

THE
WORKS
OF
JOHN LOCKE Esq;

VOL. III.

CONTAINING,

Some Thoughts concerning Education.

An Essay for the Understanding St. Paul's Epistles, by consulting St. Paul himself.

A Paraphrase and Notes on the Epistle of St. Paul to the Galatians.

A Paraphrase and Notes on St. Paul's First and Second Epistle to the Corinthians.

A Paraphrase and Notes on his Epistle to the Romans.

A Paraphrase and Notes on his Epistle to the Ephesians.

POSTHUMOUS WORKS, Viz.

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II. An Examination of P. Malebranche's Opinion, of *Seeing all Things in God*.

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V. Memoirs relating to the Life of Anthony first Earl of Shaftsbury.

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Familiar Letters between Mr. Locke and several of his Friends.

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Black Street in Park-Water, London.

SOME
THOUGHTS
CONCERNING
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T O

Edward Clarke of Chipley, Esq;

S I R,



THESE Thoughts concerning Education, which now come Abroad into the World, do of right belong to You, being written several Years since for Your sake, and are no other than what You have already by You in my Letters. I have so little varied any Thing, but only the Order of what was sent You at different Times, and on several Occasions, that the Reader will easily find, in the Familiarity and Fashion of the Style, that they were rather the private Conversation of two Friends, than a Discourse designed for publick View.

The Importunity of Friends is the common Apology for Publications Men are afraid to own themselves forward to. But You know I can truly say, That if some, who having heard of these Papers of mine, had not pressed to see them, and afterwards to have them printed, they had lain dormant still in that Privacy they were designed for. But those whose Judgment I defer much to, telling me, That they were perswaded, that this rough Draught of mine might be of some Use, if made more publick, touch'd upon what will always be very prevalent with me. For I think it every Man's indispensable Duty, to do all the Service he can to his Country: And I see not what Difference he puts between himself and his Cattel, who lives without that Thought. This Subject is of so great Concernment, and a right way of Education is of so general Advantage, that did I find my Abilities answer my Wishes, I should not have needed Exhortations or Importunities from others. However, the Meanness of these Papers, and my just Distrust of them, shall not keep me, by the Shame of doing so little, from contributing my Mite, when there is no more required of me, than my throwing it into the publick Receptacle. And if there be any more of their Size and Notions, who liked them so well, that they thought them worth Printing, I may flatter my self, they will not be lost Labour to every Body.

I my self have been consulted of late by so many, who profess themselves at a Loss how to breed their Children; and the early Corruption of Youth is now become so general a Complaint, that he cannot be thought wholly impertinent, who brings the Consideration of this Matter on the Stage, and offers something, if it be but to excite others, or afford Matter of Correction. For Errors in Education should be less indulged than any: These, like Faults in the first Concoction, that are never mended in the second or third, carry their afterwards-incorrigible Taint with them, through all the Parts and Stations of Life.

I am so far from being conceited of any thing I have here offered, that I should not be sorry, even for your sake, if some one abler and fitter for such a Task, would in a just Treatise of Education, suited to our English Gentry, rectifie the Mistakes I have made in this; it being much more desirable to me, that young Gentlemen should

The Epistle DEDICATORY.

be put into (that which every one ought to be solicitous about) the best way of being formed and instructed, than that my Opinion should be received concerning it. You will however, in the mean time, bear me witness, that the Method here propos'd has had no ordinary Effects upon a Gentleman's Son it was not designed for. I will not say the good Temper of the Child did not very much contribute to it, but this, I think, You and the Parents are satisfied of, that a contrary Usage, according to the ordinary Disciplining of Children, would not have mended that Temper, nor have brought him to be in love with his Book; to take a Pleasure in Learning, and to desire, as he does, to be taught more than those about him think fit always to teach him.

But my Business is not to recommend this Treatise to You, whose Opinion of it I know already; nor It to the World, either by your Opinion or Patronage. The well-Educating of their Children is so much the Duty and Concern of Parents, and the Welfare and Prosperity of the Nation so much depends on it, that I would have every one lay it seriously to Heart; and after having well examined and distinguished what Fancy, Custom, or Reason advises in the Case, set his helping hand to promote every where that way of training-up Youth, with regard to their several Conditions, which is the easiest, shortest, and likeliest to produce vertuous, useful, and able Men in their distinct Callings: Though that most to be taken care of, is the Gentleman's Calling. For if those of that Rank are by their Education once set right, they will quickly bring all the rest into Order.

I know not whether I have done more than shewn my good Wishes towards it in this short Discourse: Such as it is the World now has it; and if there be any thing in it worth their Acceptance, they owe their Thanks to you for it. My Affection to you gave the first Rise to it, and I am pleased, that I can leave to Posterity this Mark of the Friendship has been between us. For I know no greater Pleasure in this Life, nor a better Remembrance to be left behind one, than a long continued Friendship, with an honest, useful, and worthy Man, and Lover of his Countrey. I am,

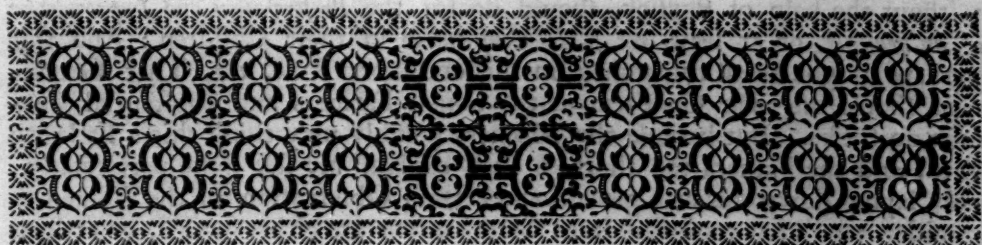
S I R,

Your most humble and most faithful Servant,

7 March,
1690.

JOHN LOCKE.





SOME THOUGHTS CONCERNING EDUCATION.

§. 1.



SOUND Mind in a sound Body, is a short, but full Description of a happy State in this World: He that has these Two, has little more to wish for; and he that wants either of them, will be but little the better for any thing else. Men's Happiness or Misery, is most part of their own making. He, whose Mind directs not wisely, will never take the right Way; and he, whose Body is crazy and feeble, will never be able to advance in it. I confess there are some Mens Constitutions of Body and Mind so vigorous, and well framed by Nature, that they need not much Assistance from others, but by the Strength of their natural Genius, they are from their Cradles carried towards what is Excellent; and by the Privilege of their happy Constitutions, are able to do Wonders. But Examples of this kind are but few, and I think I may say, that of all the Men we meet with, nine parts of ten are what they are, good or evil, useful or not, by their Education. 'Tis that which makes the great Difference in Mankind. The little, or almost insensible Impressions on our tender Infancies, have very important and lasting Consequences: And there 'tis, as in the Fountains of some Rivers, where a gentle application of the hand turns the flexible Waters into Channels, that make them take quite contrary Courses; and by this little Direction given them at first in the Source, they receive different Tendencies, and arrive at last at very remote and distant Places.

§. 2. I imagine the Minds of Children as easily turned this or that way, as Water it self; and though this be the principal Part, and our main Care should be about the Inside, yet the Clay Cottage is not to be neglected. I shall therefore begin with the Case, and consider first the *Health* of the Body, as that, which perhaps you may rather expect from that Study I have been thought more peculiarly to have applied my self to; and that also which will be soonest dispatch'd, as lying, if I guess not amiss, in a very little compass.

§. 3. How necessary *Health* is to our Business and Happiness: And how requisite a strong Constitution, able to endure Hardships and Fatigue, is to one that will make any Figure in the World; is too obvious to need any Proof.

V o l. III.

B

§. 4. The

Health.

§. 4. The Consideration I shall here have of *Health*, shall be, not what a Physician ought to do with a sick or crazy Child; but what the Parents, without the help of Physick, should do for the *Preservation and Improvement of an healthy*, or at least, *not sickly Constitution* in their Children: And this perhaps might be all dispatched in this one short Rule, *viz.* That Gentlemen should use their Children, as the honest Farmers and substantial Yeomen do theirs. But because the Mothers possibly may think this a little too hard, and the Fathers too short, I shall explain my self more particularly; only laying down this as a general and certain Observation for the Women to consider, *viz.* That most Childrens Constitutions are either spoiled, or at least harmed, by *Cockering and Tenderness*.

Tenderness.
Warmth.

§. 5. The first Thing to be taken care of, is, That Children be not too *warmly Clad or Cover'd*, Winter or Summer. The Face, when we are Born, is no less tender than any other part of the Body: 'Tis Use alone hardens it, and makes it more able to endure the Cold. And therefore the *Scythian* Philosopher gave a very significant Answer to the *Athenian*, who wonder'd how he could go Naked in Frost and Snow: How, said the *Scythian*, can you endure your Face expos'd to the sharp Winter Air? My Face is used to it, said the *Athenian*. Think me all Face, replied the *Scythian*. Our Bodies will endure any thing, that from the Beginning they are accustomed to.

*Nouveau
Voyage du
Levant.
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An eminent Instance of this, though in the contrary excess of Heat, being to our present purpose to shew what Use can do, I shall set down in the Author's Words, as I meet with it in a late ingenious Voyage. * 'The Heats, says he, are more violent in *Malta*, than in any part of *Europe*; they exceed those of *Rome* it self, and are perfectly Stifling; and so much the more, because there are seldom any cooling Breezes here. This makes the common People as black as Gypsies: But yet the Peasants defie the Sun; they work-on in the hottest part of the Day, without intermission, or sheltering themselves from his scorching Rays. This has convinc'd me that Nature can bring it self to many things which seem impossible, provided we accustom our selves from our Infancy. The *Malteses* do so, who harden the Bodies of their Children, and reconcile them to the Heat, by making them go stark naked, without Shirt, Drawers, or any thing on their Head, from their Cradles, till they are Ten Years old.

Give me leave therefore to advise you, not to fence too carefully against the Cold of this our Climate: There are those in *England* who wear the same Clothes Winter and Summer, and that without any Inconvenience, or more Sense of Cold than others find. But if the Mother will needs have an Allowance for Frost and Snow, for fear of harm; and the Father for fear of Censure; be sure let not his Winter-Clothing be too warm: And amongst other things remember, That when Nature has so well cover'd his Head with Hair, and strengthen'd it with a Year or two's Age, that he can run about by Day without a Cap, it is best that by Night a Child should also lie without one; there being nothing that more exposes to Head-ach, Colds, Catarrhs, Coughs, and several other Diseases, than keeping the *Head warm*.

§. 6. I have said *He* here, because the principal Aim of my Discourse is, how a young Gentleman should be brought up from his Infancy, which, in all things will not so perfectly suit the Education of *Daughters*; though, where the Difference of Sex requires different Treatment, 'twill be no hard matter to distinguish.

Feet.

§. 7. I would also advise his *Feet to be wash'd* every Day in cold Water; and to have his *Shoes* so thin, that they might leak and let in Water, when ever he comes near it. Here, I fear, I shall have the Mistress and Maids too against me. One will think it too filthy; and the other, perhaps, too much Pains to make clean his Stockings. But yet Truth will have it, that his Health is much more worth than all such Considerations, and ten-times as much more. And he that considers how mischievous and mortal a thing, taking *Wet in the Feet* is, to those who have been bred nicely, will wish he had with the poor People's Children gone *Bare-foot*: who, by that means, come to be so reconciled by Custom, to Wet in their Feet, that they take no more Cold or Harm by it, than if they were Wet in their Hands. And what

what is it, I pray, that makes this great difference between the Hands and the Feet. Feet in others, but only Custom? I doubt not, but if a Man from his Cradle had been always used to go Bare-foot, whilst his Hands were constantly wrapp'd up in warm Mittins, and cover'd with *Handshoes*, as the *Dutch* call *Gloves*; I doubt not, I say, but such a Custom would make taking wet in his Hands as dangerous to him, as now taking wet in their Feet is to a great many others. The way to prevent this, is to have his Shoes made so as to leak water; and his Feet wash'd constantly every day in cold water. It is recommendable for its cleanliness: But that which I aim at in it is Health. And therefore I limit it not precisely to any time of the day. I have known it used every night, with very good success, and that, all the Winter, without the omitting it so much as one night in extream cold Weather; when thick Ice cover'd the water, the Child bath'd his Legs and Feet in it; though he was of an Age not big enough to rub and wipe them himself, and when he began this Custom, was puleing and very tender. But the great end being to harden those parts by a frequent and familiar use of cold Water, and thereby to prevent the Mischiefs that usually attend accidental taking wet in the Feet, in those who are bred otherwise; I think it may be left to the Prudence and Convenience of the Parents, to chuse either night or morning. The time I deem indifferent, so the thing be effectually done. The Health and Hardiness procured by it, would be a good Purchase at a much dearer rate. To which, If I add the preventing of Corns, that to some Men would be a very valuable Consideration. But begin first in the Spring with luke-warm, and so colder and colder every time, till in a few days, you come to perfectly cold water, and then continue it so Winter and Summer. For it is to be observ'd in this, as in all other *Alterations* from our ordinary way of living, the Changes must be made by gentle and insensible degrees; and so we may bring our Bodies to any thing without Pain, and without Danger. Alterations.

How fond Mothers are like to receive this Doctrine, is not hard to foresee. What can it be less than to murder their tender Babes to use them thus? What! put their Feet in cold water in Frost and Snow, when all one can do is little enough to keep them warm? A little to remove their fears by Examples, without which the plainest Reason is seldom hearken'd to; *Seneca* tells us of himself, *Ep.* 53 and 83. that he used to bathe himself in cold Spring-water in the midst of Winter. This, if he had not thought it not only tolerable, but healthy too, he would scarce have done, in an exuberant Fortune, that could well have born the expence of a warm Bath; and in an Age (for he was then Old) that would have excused greater Indulgence. If we think his Stoical Principles led him to this severity; let it be so, that this Sect reconcil'd cold water to his Sufferance: What made it agreeable to his Health? For that was not impair'd by this hard Usage. But what shall we say to *Horace*, who warm'd not himself with the Reputation of any Sect, and least of all affected Stoical Austerities? Yet he assures us, he was wont in the Winter Season to bathe himself in cold water. But perhaps *Italy* will be thought much warmer than *England*, and the chillness of their Waters not to come near our's in Winter. If the Rivers of *Italy* are warmer, those of *Germany* and *Poland* are much colder, than any in this our Country; and yet in these, the *Jews*, both Men and Women, bathe all over, at all Seasons of the year, without any prejudice to their Health. And every one is not apt to believe it is Miracle, or any peculiar virtue of *St. Winifred's Well*, that makes the cold Waters of that famous Spring do no harm to the tender Bodies that bathe in it. Every one is now full of the Miracles done by cold Baths on decay'd and weak Constitutions, for the recovery of Health and Strength, and therefore they cannot be impracticable or intollerable, for the improving and hardening the Bodies of those who are in better Circumstances.

If these Examples of grown Men be not thought yet to reach the Case of Children; but that they may be judg'd still to be too tender and unable to bear such usage; let them examine what the *Germans* of old, and the *Irish* now do to them; and they will find that Infants too, as tender as they are thought, may, without any danger, endure Bathing, not only of their Feet, but of their

Feet. their whole Bodies in cold water. And there are, at this day, Ladies in the Highlands of *Scotland*, who use this discipline to their Children in the midst of Winter; and find that cold water does them no harm, even when there is Ice in it.

Swimming. §. 8. I shall not need here to mention *Swimming*, when he is of an Age able to learn, and has any one to teach him. 'Tis that saves many a Man's life: And the *Romans* thought it so necessary, that they rank'd it with Letters; and it was the common Phrase to mark one ill Educated and good for nothing; That he had neither learn'd to Read nor to Swim. *Nec literas didicit nec natare.* But besides the gaining a Skill, which may serve him at need; the advantages to Health, by often *batheing in cold water*, during the heat of Summer, are so many, that I think nothing need to be said to encourage it, provided this one caution be used, That he never go into the water, when Exercise has at all warm'd him, or left any emotion in his Blood or Pulse.

Air. §. 9. Another thing that is of great advantage to every one's Health, but especially Children's, is, to be much in the *open Air*, and very little as may be by the Fire, even in Winter. By this he will accustom himself also to Heat and Cold, Shine and Rain; all which if a Man's body will not endure, it will serve him to very little purpose in this World: And when he is grown up, it is too late to begin to use him to it: It must be got early and by degrees. Thus the Body may be brought to bear almost any thing. If I should advise him to play in the *Wind and the Sun without a Hat*, I doubt whether it could be born. There would a thousand Objections be made against it, which at last would amount to no more in truth, than being Sun-burnt. And if my young Master be to be kept always in the Shade, and never exposed to the Sun and Wind, for fear of his Complexion, it may be a good way to make him a *Beau*, but not a Man of Business. And although greater regard be to be had to Beauty in the Daughters, yet I will take the liberty to say, that the more they are in the *Air*, without prejudice to their Faces, the stronger and healthier they will be; and the nearer they come to the Hardships of their Brothers in their Education, the greater advantage will they receive from it all the remaining part of their lives.

§. 10. Playing in the *open Air*, has but this one danger in it, that I know; and that is, That when he is hot with running up and down, he should sit or lie down on the cold or moist Earth. This I grant, and drinking cold drink, when they are hot with Labour or Exercise, brings more People to the Grave, or to the brink of it, by Fevers, and other Diseases, than any thing I know. These Mischiefs are easily enough prevented whilst he is little, being then seldom out of sight. And if during his Childhood, he be constantly and rigorously kept from sitting on the ground, or drinking any cold Liquor whilst he is hot, the Custom of forbearing grown into a habit, will help much to preserve him, when he is no longer under his Maid's or Tutor's eye. This is all I think can be done in the case. For, as years encrease, Liberty must come with them; and in a great many things he must be trusted to his own conduct, since there cannot always be a Guard upon him; except what you have put into his own Mind by good Principles, and establish'd Habits, which is the best and surest, and therefore most to be taken care of. For, from repeated Cautions and Rules, ever so often inculcated, you are not to expect any thing either in this, or any other case, farther than practice has establish'd them into Habits.

Clothes. §. 11. One thing the mention of the Girls brings into my Mind, which must not be forgot; and that is, That your Son's *Clothes* be never made *strait*, especially about the Breast. Let Nature have scope to fashion the Body as she thinks best. She works of her self a great deal better and exacter, than we can direct her. And if Women were themselves to frame the Bodies of their Children in their Wombs, as they often endeavour to mend their Shapes when they are out, we should as certainly have no perfect Children born, as we have few well-shap'd that are *strait-laced*, or much tamper'd with. This Consideration should methinks keep busie People (I will not say ignorant Nurses and Bodice-makers) from meddling in a matter they understand not; and they should be afraid to put Nature out of her way in fashioning the Parts,

Parts, when they know not how the least and meanest is made. And yet I *Clothes*, have seen so many Instances of Children receiving great harm from *strait-lacing*, that I cannot but conclude there are other Creatures, as well as Monkeys, who little wiser than they, destroy their young ones by senseless fondness, and too much embracing.

§. 12. Narrow Breasts, short and stinking Breath, ill Lungs, and Crookedness, are the natural and almost constant effects of *hard Bodice*, and *Clothes that pinch*. That way of making slender Wastes and fine Shapes, serves but the more effectually to spoil them. Nor can there indeed but be disproportion in the Parts, when the Nourishment prepared in the several Offices of the Body, cannot be distributed as Nature designs. And therefore what wonder is it, if, it being laid where it can, on some part not so *braced*, it often makes a Shoulder or a Hip higher or bigger than its just proportion. 'Tis generally known that the Women of *China* (imagining I know not what kind of Beauty in it) by bracing and binding them hard from their Infancy, have very little Feet. I saw lately a pair of *China* Shoes, which I was told were for a grown Woman; they were so exceedingly disproportion'd to the Feet of one of the same Age amongst us, that they would scarce have been big enough for one of our little Girls. Besides this, 'tis observ'd that their Women are also very little, and short-liv'd; whereas the Men are of the ordinary Stature of other Men, and live to a proportionable Age. These defects in the Female Sex of that Country, are by some imputed to the unreasonable binding of their Feet; whereby the free circulation of the Blood is hinder'd, and the Growth and Health of the whole Body suffers. And how often do we see that some small part of the Foot being injur'd by a Wrench or a Blow, the whole Leg, or Thigh thereby loses it's Strength and Nourishment, and dwindles away? How much greater Inconveniencies may we expect, when the *Thorax*, wherein is placed the heart and seat of Life, is unnaturally *compressed*, and hinder'd from its due expansion?

§. 13. As for his *Diet*, it ought to be very plain and simple; and if I might *Diet*, advise, Flesh should be forborn as long as he is in Coats, or at least till he is two or three years old. But whatever advantage this may be to his present and future Health and Strength, I fear it will hardly be consented to by Parents, misled by the Custom of eating too much Flesh themselves; who will be apt to think their Children, as they do themselves, in danger to be starved, if they have not Flesh at least twice a day. This I am sure, Children would breed their Teeth with much less danger, be freer from Diseases whilst they were little, and lay the Foundations of an healthy and strong Constitution much surer, if they were not cram'd so much as they are by fond Mothers and foolish Servants, and were kept wholly from Flesh, the first three or four years of their Lives.

But if my young Master must needs have Flesh, let it be but once a day, and of one sort at a Meal. Plain Beef, Mutton, Veal, &c. without other Sauce than Hunger, is best: And great care should be used, that he eat Bread plentifully, both alone and with every thing else. And whatever he eats that is solid, make him *chew* it well. We *English* are often negligent herein; from whence follows Indigestion, and other great Inconveniencies.

§. 14. For *Breakfast* and *Supper*, Milk, Milk-Pottage, Water-Gruel, Flummery, and twenty other things, that we are wont to make in *England*, are very fit for Children: Only, in all these let care be taken, that they be plain, and without much mixture, and very sparingly season'd with Sugar, or rather none at all: Especially all *Spice*, and other things that may heat the Blood, are carefully to be avoided. Be sparing also of *Salt* in the seasoning of all his Victuals, and use him not to high-season'd Meats. Our Palates grow into a relish, and liking of the Seasoning and Cookery which by Custom they are set to; and an over-much use of Salt, besides that it occasions Thirst, and over-much Drinking, has other ill effects upon the Body. I should think that a good piece of well made and well baked *Brown-bread*, sometimes with and sometimes without *Butter* or *Cheese*, would be often the best Breakfast for my young Master. I am sure 'tis as wholesome, and will make him as strong a Man as greater Delicacies; and if he be used to it, it will be as pleasant to him.

Diet. him. If he at any time calls for Victuals between Meals, use him to nothing but dry *Bread*. If he be hungry more than wanton, *Bread* alone will down; and if he be not hungry, 'tis not fit he should eat. By this you will obtain two good effects; 1. That by Custom he will come to be in love with *Bread*; for, as I said, our Palates and Stomachs too are pleased with the things we are used to. Another good you will gain hereby, is, That you will not teach him to eat more, nor oftner than Nature requires. I do not think that all Peoples Appetites are alike: Some have naturally stronger, and some weaker Stomachs. But this I think, that many are made *Gormands* and *Gluttons* by Custom, that were not so by Nature: And I see in some Countries Men as lusty and strong, that eat but two Meals a day, as others that have set their Stomachs by a constant usage, like Larums to call on them for four or five. The *Romans* usually fasted till Supper; the only set Meal, even of those who ate more than once a day: And those who used Breakfasts, as some did at eight, some at ten, others at twelve of the Clock, and some later, neither ate *Flesh*, nor had any thing made ready for them. *Augustus*, when the greatest Monarch on the Earth, tells us, he took a bit of dry *Bread* in his Chariot. And *Seneca* in his 83d Epistle, giving an account how he managed himself, even when he was Old, and his Age permitted Indulgence, says, That he used to eat a piece of dry *Bread* for his Dinner, without the formality of sitting to it: Though his Estate would have as well paid for a better Meal (had Health requir'd it) as any Subject's in *England*, were it doubled. The Masters of the World were bred up with this spare Diet: And the young Gentlemen of *Rome* felt no want of Strength or Spirit, because they ate but once a day. Or if it happen'd by chance, that any one could not fast so long as till Supper, their only set Meal; he took nothing but a bit of dry *Bread*, or at most a few Raisins, or some such slight thing with it, to stay his Stomach. This part of Temperance was found so necessary both for Health and Business, that the Custom of only one Meal a day held out against that prevailing Luxury, which their Eastern Conquests and Spoils had brought in amongst them: And those who had given up their old frugal Eating, and made Feasts, yet began them not till the evening. And more than one set Meal a day was thought so monstrous, that it was a reproach as low down as *Cæsar's* time, to make an Entertainment, or sit down to a full Table, 'till towards Sun-set. And therefore, if it would not be thought too severe, I should judge it most convenient, that my young Master should have nothing but *Bread* too for *Breakfast*. You cannot imagine of what force Custom is: And I impute a great part of our Diseases in *England*, to our eating too much *Flesh*, and too little *Bread*.

Meals. §. 15. As to his *Meals*, I should think it best, that as much as it can be conveniently avoided, they should not be kept constantly to an hour. For when Custom has fix'd his eating to certain stated periods, his Stomach will expect Victuals at the usual hour, and grow peevish if he passes it; either fretting it self into a troublesome excess, or flagging into a downright want of Appetite. Therefore I would have no time kept constantly to for his *Breakfast*, *Dinner* and *Supper*, but rather varied almost every day. And if betwixt these, which I call *Meals*, he will eat, let him have, as often as he calls for it, good dry *Bread*. If any one think this too hard and sparing a Diet for a Child, let them know, that a Child will never starve, nor dwindle for want of nourishment, who, besides *Flesh* at Dinner, and Spoon-meat, or some such other thing at Supper, may have good *Bread* and Beer as often as he has a Stomach: For thus, upon second thoughts, I should judge it best for Children to be order'd. The Morning is generally design'd for Study, to which a full Stomach is but an ill preparation. Dry *Bread*, though the best nourishment, has the least temptation: And no body would have a Child cram'd at *Breakfast*, who has any regard to his Mind or Body, and would not have him dull and unhealthy. Nor let any one think this unsuitable to one of Estate and Condition. A Gentleman in any Age, ought to be so bred, as to be fitted to bear Arms, and be a Soldier. But he that in this, breeds his Son so, as if he design'd him to sleep over his Life, in the plenty and ease of a full Fortune he intends to leave him, little considers the examples he has seen, or the Age he lives in.

§. 16. His *Drink* should be only Small Beer; and that too he should never *Drink* be suffer'd to have between Meals, but after he had eat a piece of Bread. The Reasons why I say this, are these:

§. 17. 1. More Fevers and Surteits are got by People's Drinking when they are hot, than by any one thing I know. Therefore, if by Play he be hot and dry, Bread will ill go down; and so, if he cannot have *Drink*, but upon that Condition, he will be forced to forbear. For, if he be very hot, he should by no means *Drink*. At least, a good piece of Bread first to be eaten, will gain time to warm the Beer *Blood-hot*, which then he may drink safely. If he be very dry, it will go down so warm'd, and quench his Thirst better: And if he will not drink it so warm'd, abstaining will not hurt him. Besides, This will teach him to forbear, which is an Habit of greatest Use for Health of Body and Mind too.

§. 18. 2. Not being permitted to *drink* without eating, will prevent the Custom of having the Cup often at his Nose; a dangerous Beginning, and Preparation to *Good-fellowship*. Men often bring habitual Hunger and Thirst on themselves by Custom. And if you please to try, you may, though he be weaned from it, bring him by Use, to such a Necessity again of *Drinking* in the Night, that he will not be able to sleep without it. It being the Lullaby used by Nurses, to still crying Children; I believe Mothers generally find some Difficulty to wean their Children from *Drinking* in the Night, when they first take them home. Believe it, Custom prevails as much by Day as by Night; and you may, if you please, bring any one to be Thirsty every hour.

I once lived in an House, where to appease a froward Child, they gave him *Drink* as often as he cried; so that he was constantly bibbing: And tho' he could not speak, yet he drank more in twenty four hours than I did. Try it when you please, you may with Small, as well as with Strong Beer, drink your self into a Drought. The great Thing to be minded in Education is, what *Habits* you settle: And therefore in this, as all other Things, do not *Habits* begin to make any thing *Customary*, the Practice whereof you would not have continue, and increase. It is convenient for Health and Sobriety, to *drink* no more than natural Thirst requires: And he that eats not Salt Meats, nor drinks Strong Drink, will seldom thirst between Meals, unless he has been accustomed to such unseasonable *Drinking*.

§. 19. Above all, take great Care that he seldom, if ever, taste any *Wine*, *Strong Drink* or *Strong Drink*. There is nothing so ordinarily given Children in *England*, and nothing so destructive to them. They ought *never* to drink any *Strong Liquor*, but when they need it as a Cordial, and the Doctor prescribes it. And in this Case it is, that Servants are most narrowly to be watched, and most severely to be reprehended, when they transgress. Those mean Sort of People, placing a great part of their Happiness in *Strong-Drink*, are always forward to make court to my young Master, by offering him that which they love best themselves: And finding themselves made merry by it, they foolishly think 'twill do the Child no harm. This you are carefully to have your Eye upon, and restrain with all the Skill and Industry you can: There being nothing that lays a surer Foundation of Mischiefe, both to Body and Mind, than Children's being used to *Strong Drink*; especially, to drink in private *with the Servants*.

§. 20. *Fruit* makes one of the most difficult Chapters in the Government *Fruit* of Health, especially that of Children. Our first Parents ventur'd *Paradise* for it: And 'tis no wonder our Children cannot stand the Temptation, though it cost them their Health. The Regulation of this cannot come under any one General Rule: For I am by no means of their mind, who would keep Children almost wholly from *Fruit*, as a thing totally unwholsome for them: By which strict way they make them but the more ravenous after it; and to eat good and bad, ripe or unripe, all that they can get, whenever they come at it. *Melons*, *Peaches*, most sorts of *Plumbs*, and all sorts of *Grapes* in *England*, I think Children should be *wholly kept from*, as having a very tempting Taste, in a very unwholsome Juice; so that, if it were possible, they should never so much as see them, or know there were any such thing.

But

Fruit. But *Strawberries*, *Cherries*, *Goose-berries*, or *Currans*, when thorough ripe, I think may be very safely allowed them, and that with a pretty liberal Hand, if they be eaten with these Cautions. 1. Not after Meals, as we usually do, when the Stomach is already full of other Food. But I think they should be eaten rather before or between Meals, and Children should have them for their Breakfasts. 2. Bread eaten with them. 3. Perfectly ripe. If they are thus eaten, I imagine them rather conducing, than hurtful to our Health. *Summer-Fruits*, being suitable to the hot Season of the Year they come in, refresh our Stomachs, languishing and fainting under it : And therefore I should not be altogether so strict in this Point, as some are to their Children ; who, being kept so very short, instead of a moderate quantity of well-chosen *Fruit*, which being allowed them, would content them, whenever they can get loose, or bribe a Servant to supply them, satisfy their Longing with any Trash they can get, and eat to a Surfeit.

Apples and *Pears* too, which are thorough ripe, and have been gathered some time, I think may be safely eaten at any time, and in pretty large quantities ; especially *Apples*, which never did any body hurt, that I have heard, after *October*.

Fruits also dried without Sugar, I think very wholesome. But *Sweet-meats* of all kinds are to be avoided ; which whether they do more harm to the Maker, or Eater, is not easie to tell. This I am sure, it is one of the most inconvenient ways of Expence, that Vanity hath yet found out ; and so I leave them to the Ladies.

Sleep. §. 21. Of all that looks soft and effeminate, nothing is more to be indulged in Children than *Sleep*. In this alone they are to be permitted to have their full Satisfaction ; nothing contributing more to the Growth and Health of Children, than *Sleep*. All that is to be regulated in it is, in what part of the twenty-four Hours they should take it : Which will easily be resolved, by only saying, That it is of great Use to accustom them to rise early in the Morning. It is best so to do, for Health : And he that from his Childhood, has by a settled Custom made *Rising betimes* easie and familiar to him, will not, when he is a Man, waste the best and most useful part of his Life in Drowziness, and Lying a Bed. If Children therefore are to be called up early in the Morning, it will follow of course, that they must go to Bed betimes ; whereby they will be accustomed to avoid the unhealthy and unsafe Hours of Debauchery, which are those of the Evenings : And they who keep good Hours, seldom are guilty of any great Disorders. I do not say this, as if your Son, when grown up, should never be in Company past Eight, nor ever chat over a Glass of Wine till Midnight. You are now, by the accustoming of his tender Years, to indispose him to those Inconveniences as much as you can : And it will be no small advantage, that contrary Practice having made Sitting-up uneasy to him, it will make him often avoid, and very seldom propose Midnight-Revels. But if it should not reach so far, but Fashion and Company should prevail, and make him live as others do above Twenty, 'tis worth the while to accustom him to *Early Rising*, and Early going to Bed, between this and that ; for the present Improvement of his Health, and other Advantages.

Though I have said a large Allowance of *Sleep*, even as much as they will take, should be made to Children when they are little ; yet I do not mean, that it should always be continu'd to them in so large a Proportion, and they suffer'd to indulge a drowzy Laziness in their Beds as they grow up bigger. But whether they should begin to be restrain'd at Seven, or Ten Years old, or any other time, is impossible to be precisely determin'd. Their Tempers, Strength and Constitutions must be consider'd. But some time between Seven and Fourteen, if they are too great Lovers of their Beds, I think it may be seasonable to begin to reduce them by degrees to about Eight Hours, which is generally Rest enough for Healthy grown People. If you have accustom'd him, as you should do, to rise constantly very early in the Morning, this Fault of being too long in Bed will easily be reformed ; and most Children will be forward enough to shorten that time themselves, by coveting to sit up with the Company at Night : Though, if they be not look'd after,

after, they will be apt to take it out in the Morning, which should by no *Sleep* means be permitted. They should constantly be call'd up, and made to rise at their early Hour; but great care should be taken in waking them, that it be not done hastily, nor with a loud or shrill Voice, or any other suddain violent Noise. This often affrights Children, and does them great harm. And sound *Sleep* thus broke off, with suddain Alarms, is apt enough to discompose any one. When Children are to be waken'd out of their *Sleep*, be-fore to begin with a low Call, and some gentle Motion, and so draw them out of it by Degrees, and give them none but kind Words and Usage, till they are come perfectly to themselves, and being quite Dressed, you are sure they are thoroughly awake. The being forced from their *Sleep*, how gently soever you do it, is Pain enough to them: And care should be taken not to add any other Uneasiness to it, especially such that may terrifie them.

§. 22. Let his *Bed* be *hard*, and rather Quilts than Feathers. Hard Lodg- *Bed*. ing strengthens the Parts; whereas being buried every Night in Feathers, melts and dissolves the Body, is often the cause of Weakness, and the Fore-runner of an early Grave. And, besides the Stone, which has often its rise from this warm Wrapping of the Reins; several other Indispositions, and that which is the Root of them all, a tender weakly Constitution, is very much owing to *Down-Beds*. Besides, He that is used to hard Lodging at Home, will not miss his *Sleep* (where he has most need of it) in his Travels abroad, for want of his soft *Bed*, and his Pillows laid in order. And therefore, I think it would not be amiss, to *make* his *Bed* after different Fashions, sometimes lay his Head higher, sometimes lower, that he may not feel every little Change he must be sure to meet with, who is not design'd to lie always in my young Master's *Bed* at home, and to have his Maid lay all Things in print, and tuck him in warm. The great Cordial of Nature is *Sleep*. He that misses that, will suffer by it: And he is very unfortunate, who can take his Cordial only in his Mother's fine Gilt Cup, and not in a Wooden Dish. He that can sleep soundly, takes the Cordial: And it matters not, whether it be on a soft *Bed*, or the hard Boards. 'Tis *Sleep* only that is the thing necessary.

§. 23. One thing more there is, which hath a great Influence upon the *Cognitive* Health, and that is, *Going to Stool* regularly; People that are very *loose*, have *nefs*. seldom strong Thoughts, or strong Bodies. But the Cure of this, both by Diet, and Medicine, being much more easie than the contrary Evil, there needs not much to be said about it: For if it come to threaten, either by its Violence, or Duration, it will soon enough, and sometimes too soon, make a Physician be sent for: And if it be moderate or short, it is commonly best to leave it to Nature. On the other side, *Costiveness* has too its ill Effects, and is much harder to be dealt with by Physick; purging Medicines, which seem to give relief, rather increasing than removing the Evil.

§. 24. It being an Indisposition I had a particular reason to enquire into, and not finding the Cure of it in Books, I set my Thoughts on work, believing that greater Changes than that might be made in our Bodies, if we took the right Course, and proceeded by rational Steps.

1. Then I considered, that *Going to Stool* was the effect of certain Motions of the Body, especially of the Peristaltick Motion of the Guts.

2. I considered, that several Motions, that were not perfectly voluntary, might yet by Use and constant Application, be brought to be Habitual, if by an unintermitted Custom, they were at certain Seasons endeavoured to be constantly produced.

3. I had observed some Men, who by taking after Supper a Pipe of Tobacco, never failed of a *Stool*; and began to doubt with my self, whether it were not more Custom, than the Tobacco, that gave them the Benefit of Nature; or at least, if the Tobacco did it, it was rather by exciting a vigorous Motion in the Guts, than by any purging quality; for then it would have had other Effects.

Having thus once got the Opinion, that it was possible to make it habitual; the next thing was to consider, what way and means was the likeliest to obtain it.

Costiveness.

4. Then I guessed, that if a Man, after his first eating in the Morning, would presently sollicite Nature, and try, whether he could strain himself so as to obtain a *Stool*, he might in time, by a constant Application, bring it to be habitual.

§. 25. The Reasons that made me chuse this Time, were:

1. Because the Stomach being then empty, if it received any thing grateful to it (for I would never, but in case of Necessity, have any one Eat, but what he likes, and when he has an Appetite) it was apt to embrace it close by a strong Constriction of its Fibres; which Constriction, I supposed, might probably be continued-on in the Guts, and so increase their peristaltick Motion; as we see in the *Ileus*, that an inverted Motion, being begun any where below, continues it self all the whole length, and makes even the Stomach obey that irregular Motion.

2. Because when Men eat, they usually relax their Thoughts, and the Spirits, then free from other Employments, are more vigorously distributed into the lower Belly, which thereby contribute to the same effect.

3. Because, whenever Men have leisure to eat, they have leisure enough also to make so much court to Madam *Cloacina*, as would be necessary to our present purpose; but else, in the variety of humane Affairs and Accidents, it was impossible to affix it to any Hour certain; whereby the Custom would be interrupted. Whereas Men in Health, seldom failing to eat once a Day, tho' the Hour be changed, the Custom might still be preserved.

§. 26. Upon these Grounds, the Experiment began to be tried, and I have known none, who have been steady in the Prosecution of it, and taken care to go constantly to the necessary House, after their first Eating, when ever that happen'd, whether they found themselves called on or no, and there endeavour'd to put Nature upon her Duty, but in a few Months they obtained the desired Success, and brought themselves to so regular an Habit, that they seldom ever failed of a *Stool*, after their first eating, unless it were by their own neglect. For, whether they have any motion or no, if they go to the Place, and do their part, they are sure to have Nature very obedient.

§. 27. I would therefore advise, that this Course should be taken with a Child every Day, presently after he has eaten his Break-fast. Let him be set upon the *Stool*, as if disburthening were as much in his power, as filling his Belly; and let not him, or his Maid know any thing to the contrary, but that it is so: And if he be forced to endeavour, by being hinder'd from his Play, or eating again till he has been effectually at *Stool*, or at least done his utmost; I doubt not but in a little while it will become natural to him. For there is reason to suspect, that Children being usually intent on their Play, and very heedless of any thing else, often let pass those Motions of Nature, when she calls them but gently; and so they, neglecting the seasonable Offers, do by degrees bring themselves into an habitual Costiveness. That by this method Costiveness may be prevented, I do more than guess; having known, by the constant Practice of it for some time, a Child brought to have a *Stool* regularly after his Break-fast every Morning.

§. 28. How far any grown People will think fit to make tryal of it, must be left to them; tho' I cannot but say, that considering the many Evils that come from that defect, of a requisite easing of Nature, I scarce know any thing more conducing to the preservation of Health than this is. Once in four and twenty Hours, I think is enough; and no body, I guess, will think it too much. And by this means it is to be obtained without Physick, which commonly proves very ineffectual, in the Cure of a settled and habitual Costiveness.

Physick.

§. 29. This is all I have to trouble you with concerning his Management, in the ordinary Course of his Health. Perhaps it will be expected from me, that I should give some Directions of *Physick*, to prevent Diseases: For which, I have only this one very Sacredly to be observed: Never to give Children any *Physick* for prevention. The Observation of what I have already advised, will, I suppose, do that better than the Ladies Diet-drinks or Apothecary's Medicines. Have a great care of tampering that way, lest, instead of

of preventing, you draw on Diseases. Nor even upon every little Indis-^{Physick}position is *Physick* to be given, or the Physician to be called to Children; especially if he be a busy Man, that will presently fill their Windows with Gally-pots, and their Stomachs with Drugs. It is safer to leave them wholly to Nature, than to put them into the hands of one forward to tamper; or that thinks Children are to be cured in ordinary Distempers, by any thing but Diet, or by a method very little distant from it. It seeming suitable both to my Reason and Experience, that the tender Constitutions of Children, should have as little done to them as is possible, and as the absolute necessity of the Case requires. A little cold-still'd red *Poppy-water*, which is the true Surfeit-water, with ease and abstinence from Flesh, often puts an end to several Distempers in the beginning, which, by too forward Applications, might have been made lusty Diseases. When such a gentle treatment will not stop the growing Mischief, nor hinder it from turning into a form'd Disease, it will be time to seek the Advice of some sober and discreet Physician. In this part, I hope, I shall find an easy belief; and no body can have a Pretence to doubt the Advice of one, who has spent some time in the Study of *Physick*, when he counsels you not to be too forward in making use of *Physick* and *Physicians*.

§. 30. And thus I have done with what concerns the Body and Health; which reduces it self to these few and easily observable Rules. Plenty of open Air, Exercise and Sleep; plain Diet, no Wine or Strong-drink, and very little or no *Physick*; not too warm and streight Clothing; especially the Head and Feet kept cold, and the Feet often used to cold water, and exposed to wet.

§. 31. Due care being had to keep the Body in strength and vigour, so that it may be able to obey and execute the orders of the *Mind*; the next *Mind* and principal Business is, to set the *Mind* right, that on all occasions it may be disposed to consent to nothing, but what may be suitable to the dignity and excellency of a rational Creature.

§. 32. If what I have said in the beginning of this Discourse be true, as I do not doubt but it is, viz. That the difference to be found in the Manners and Abilities of Men, is owing more to their Education than to any thing else; we have reason to conclude, that great care is to be had of the forming Childrens *Minds*, and giving them that seasoning early, which shall influence their Lives always after. For when they do well or ill, the praise or blame will be laid there: And when any thing is done awkwardly, the common saying will pass upon them; That it is suitable to their *Breeding*.

§. 33. As the strength of the Body lies chiefly in being able to endure Hardships, so also does that of the Mind. And the great Principle and Foundation of all Virtue and Worth, is placed in this, That a Man is able to deny himself his own Desires, cross his own Inclinations, and purely follow what Reason directs as best, tho' the Appetite lean the other way.

§. 34. The great Mistake I have observ'd in People's breeding their Chil-^{Early}dren has been, that this has not been taken care enough of in its *due season*; That the Mind has not been made obedient to Discipline, and pliant to Reason, when at first it was most tender, most easy to be bowed. Parents, being wisely ordain'd by Nature to love their Children, are very apt, if Reason watch not that natural Affection very warily; are apt, I say, to let it run into Fondness. They love their little ones, and 'tis their duty: But they often, with them, cherish their Faults too. They must not be crossed, forsooth; they must be permitted to have their Wills in all things; and, they being in their Infancies not capable of great Vices, their Parents think they may safely enough indulge their little irregularities, and make themselves sport with that pretty Perverseness, which they think well enough becomes that innocent Age. But to a fond Parent, that would not have his Child corrected for a perverse trick, but excused it, saying, it was a small matter; *Solon* very well replied, 'Ay, but Custom is a great one.

§. 35. The Fondling must be taught to strike, and call Names; must have what he cries for, and do what he pleases. Thus Parents, by humouring and cockering them when little, corrupt the Principles of Nature in their Children, and wonder afterwards to taste the bitter Waters, when they themselves have poisoned

Early. poisoned the Fountain. For when their Children are grown up, and these ill habits with them; when they are now too big to be dandled, and their Parents can no longer make use of them as Play-things; then they complain, that the Brats are untoward and perverse; then they are offended to see them wilful, and are troubled with those ill humours, which they themselves infused and fomented in them; and then, perhaps too late, would be glad to get out those Weeds which their own hands have planted, and which now have taken too deep root to be easily extirpated. For he that has been used to have his Will in every thing, as long as he was in Coats, why should we think it strange, that he should desire it, and contend for it still, when he is in Breeches? Indeed, as he grows more towards a Man, Age shews his Faults the more, so that there be few Parents then so blind, as not to see them; few so insensible as not to feel the ill effects of their own Indulgence. He had the will of his Maid before he could speak or go; he had the mastery of his Parents ever since he could prattle; and why, now he is grown up, is stronger and wiser than he was then, why now of a sudden must he be restrained and curbed? Why must he at seven, fourteen, or twenty years old, lose the Privilege which the Parents Indulgence, till then, so largely allow'd him? Try it in a Dog or an Horse, or any other Creature, and see whether the ill and resty tricks, they have learn'd when young, are easily to be mended when they are knit: And yet none of those Creatures are half so wilful and proud, or half so desirous to be Masters of themselves and others, as Man.

§. 36. We are generally wise enough to begin with them when they are *very young*; and discipline *betimes* those other Creatures we would make useful and good for somewhat. They are only our own Off-spring, that we neglect in this point; and having made them ill Children, we foolishly expect they should be good Men. For if the Child must have Grapes, or Sugar-plumbs, when he has a mind to them, rather than make the poor Babby cry, or be out of humour; why, when he is grown up, must he not be satisfied too, if his Desires carry him to Wine or Women? They are Objects as suitable to the longing of one of more years, as what he cried for, when little, was to the inclinations of a Child. The having Desires accommodated to the apprehensions and relish of those several Ages, is not the Fault; but the not having them subject to the Rules and Restraints of Reason: The Difference lies not in the having or not having Appetites, but in the power to govern, and deny our selves in them. He that is not used to submit his Will to the Reason of others, *when he is young*, will scarce hearken or submit to his own Reason, when he is of an Age to make use of it. And what a kind of a Man such a one is like to prove, is easie to fore-see.

§. 37. These are over-sights usually committed by those who seem to take the greatest care of their Childrens Education. But if we look into the common management of Children, we shall have reason to wonder, in the great dissoluteness of Manners which the World complains of, that there are any Foot-steps at all left of Virtue. I desire to know what Vice can be named, which Parents, and those about Children, do not season them with, and drop into them the Seeds of, as often as they are capable to receive them? I do not mean by the Examples they give, and the Patterns they set before them, which is encouragement enough; but that which I would take notice of here, is the downright teaching them Vice, and actual putting them out of the way of Virtue. Before they can go, they principle them with Violence, Revenge, and Cruelty. *Give me a Blow that I may beat him*, is a Lesson, which most Children every day hear: And it is thought nothing, because their Hands have not strength enough to do any mischief. But I ask, Does not this corrupt their Minds? Is not this the way of Force and Violence, that they are set in? And if they have been taught, when little, to strike and hurt others by Proxy, and encouraged to rejoice in the harm they have brought upon them, and see them suffer; are they not prepar'd to do it, when they are strong enough to be felt themselves, and can strike to some purpose?

The coverings of our Bodies, which are for Modesty, Warmth, and Defence, are, by the Folly or Vice of Parents, recommended to their Children for other uses. They are made matter of Vanity and Emulation. A Child

is set a longing after a new Suit, for the finery of it: And when the little *Early* Girl is tricked up in her new Gown and Commode, how can her Mother do less than teach her to Admire her self, by calling her, *her little Queen* and *her Princess*? Thus the little ones are taught to be *Proud* of their Clothes, before they can put them on. And why should they not continue to value themselves for this out-side Fashionableness of the Taylor or Tire-woman's making, when their Parents have so early instructed them to do so?

Lying and *Equivocations*, and *Excuses* little different from *Lying*, are put into the Mouths of young People, and commended in Apprentices and Children, whilst they are for their Master's or Parent's Advantage. And can it be thought, that he, that finds the straining of Truth dispensed with, and encouraged, whilst it is for his Godly Master's turn, will not make use of that Privilege for himself, when it may be for his own Profit?

Those of the meaner Sort are hinder'd by the streightness of their Fortunes, from encouraging *Intemperance* in their Children, by the Temptation of their Diet, or Invitations to Eat or Drink more than enough: But their own ill Examples, whenever Plenty comes in their way, shew that 'tis not the dislike of Drunkenness and Gluttony that keeps them from Excess, but want of Materials. But if we look into the Houses of those who are a little warmer in their Fortunes, there Eating and Drinking are made so much the great Business and Happiness of Life, that Children are thought neglected, if they have not their share of it. Sauces, and Raggoufts, and Food disguised by all the Arts of Cookery, must tempt their Palates, when their Bellies are full: And then, for fear the Stomach should be over-charg'd, a pretence is found for t'other Glass of Wine to help Digestion, though it only serves to increase the Surfeit.

Is my young Master a little out of Order: The first Question is, *What will my Dear eat? What shall I get for thee?* Eating and Drinking are instantly pressed: And every Body's Invention is set on work to find out something, luscious and delicate enough to prevail over that want of Appetite, which Nature has wisely order'd in the Beginning of Distempers, as a defence against their Increase; that, being freed from the ordinary Labour of digesting any new load in the Stomach, she may be at leisure to correct, and master the peccant Humours.

And where Children are so happy in the Care of their Parents, as by their Prudence to be kept from the Excess of their Tables, to the Sobriety of a plain and simple Diet; yet there too they are scarce to be preserved from the Contagion that poisons the Mind. Though by a discreet Management, whilst they are under Tuition, their Healths perhaps may be pretty well secur'd; yet their Desires must needs yield to the Lessons, which every where will be read to them upon this part of Epicurism. The Commendation that *eating well* has every where, cannot fail to be a successful Incentive to natural Appetite, and bring them quickly to the Liking and Expence of a fashionable Table. This shall have from every one, even the Reprovers of Vice, the Title of *Living well*. And what shall sullen Reason dare to say against the Publick Testimony? Or can it hope to be heard, if it should call that *Luxury*, which is so much owned, and universally practis'd by those of the best Quality?

This is now so grown a Vice, and has so great Supports, that I know not whether it do not put in for the Name of Vertue; and whether it will not be thought Folly, or want of Knowledge of the World, to open one's Mouth against it. And truly I should suspect, that what I have here said of it might be censured as a little Satyr out of my way, did I not mention it with this View, that it might awaken the Care and Watchfulness of Parents in the Education of their Children; when they see how they are beset on every side, not only with Temptations, but Instructors to Vice, and that perhaps in those they thought Places of Security.

I shall not dwell any longer on this Subject; much less run over all the Particulars, that would shew what Pains are used to corrupt Children, and instil Principles of Vice into them: But I desire Parents soberly to consider, What Irregularity or Vice there is, which Children are not visibly taught;

and whether it be not their Duty and Wisdom to provide them other Instructions.

Craving.

§. 38. It seems plain to me, that the Principle of all Vertue and Excellency lies in a Power of denying our selves the Satisfaction of our own Desires, where Reason does not authorize them. This Power is to be got and improved by Custom, made easie and familiar by an *early* Practice. If therefore I might be heard, I would advise, that, contrary to the ordinary way, Children should be used to submit their Desires, and go without their Longings, even *from their very Cradles*. The very first thing they should learn to know should be, that they were not to have any thing, because it pleased them, but because it was thought fit for them. If things suitable to their Wants were supplied to them, so that they were never suffered to have what they once cried for, they would learn to be content without it; would never with Bawling and Peevishness contend for Mastery; nor be half so uneasie to themselves and others as they are, because *from the first* Beginning they are not thus handled. If they were never suffered to obtain their Desire by the Impatience they expressed for it, they would no more cry for other Things, than they do for the Moon.

§. 39. I say not this, as if Children were not to be indulged in any Thing, or that I expected they should, in Hanging-Sleeves, have the Reason and Conduct of Counsellors. I consider them as Children, who must be tenderly used, who must play, and have Play-things. That which I mean is, That whenever they crav'd what was not fit for them to have or do, they should not be permitted it, because they were *little*, and desired it: Nay, Whatever they were importunate for, they should be sure, for that very Reason, to be denied. I have seen Children at a Table, who, whatever was there, never asked for any thing, but contentedly took what was given them: And at another Place I have seen others cry for every Thing they saw, must be served out of every Dish, and that first too. What made this vast Difference, but this; That one was accustomed to have what they called or cried for; the other to go without it? The *younger* they are, the less I think are their unruly and disorderly Appetites to be complied with; and the less Reason they have of their own, the more are they to be under the Absolute Power and Restraint of those, in whose Hands they are. From which, I confess, it will follow, That none but discreet People should be about them. If the World commonly does otherwise, I cannot help that. I am saying what I think should be; which, if it were already in Fashion, I should not need to trouble the World with a Discourse on this Subject. But yet I doubt not, but when it is considered, there will be others of Opinion with me, That the *sooner* this Way is begun with Children, the easier it will be for them, and their Governours too; And, that this ought to be observed as an inviolable Maxim, That whatever once is denied them, they are certainly not to obtain by Crying or Importunity, unless one has a Mind to teach them to be impatient and troublesome, by rewarding them for it, when they are so.

Early.

§. 40. Those therefore that intend ever to govern their Children, should begin it whilst they are *very little*; and look that they perfectly comply with the Will of their Parents. Would you have your Son obedient to you when past a Child? Be sure then to establish the Authority of a Father, *as soon* as he is capable of Submission, and can understand in whose Power he is. If you would have him stand in Awe of you, imprint it *in his Infancy*; and, as he approaches more to a Man, admit him nearer to your Familiarity: So shall you have him your obedient Subject (as is fit) whilst he is a Child, and your affectionate Friend, when he is a Man. For, methinks, they mightily misplace the Treatment due to their Children, who are indulgent and familiar when they are little, but severe to them, and keep them at a distance when they are grown up. For Liberty and Indulgence can do no Good to Children: Their want of Judgment makes them stand in need of Restraint and Discipline. And, on the contrary, Imperiousness and Severity, is but an ill Way of Treating Men, who have Reason of their own to guide them, unless you have a mind to make your Children when grown up, weary of you; and secretly to say within themselves, *When will you Die, Father?*

§. 41.

§. 41. I imagine every one will judge it reasonable, that their Children, *Early.*
when little, should look upon their Parents as their Lords, their Absolute Governours; and, as such, stand in Awe of them: And that, when they come to riper Years, they should look on them as their best, as their only sure Friends; and, as such, love and reverence them. The Way, I have mentioned, if I mistake not, is the only one to obtain this. We must look upon our Children, when grown up, to be like our selves; with the same Passions, the same Desires. We would be thought Rational Creatures, and have our Freedom; we love not to be uneasie under constant Rebukes and Brow-beatings; nor can we bear severe Humours, and great Distance in those we converse with. Whoever has such Treatment when he is a Man, will look out other Company, other Friends, other Conversation, with whom he can be at Ease. If therefore a strict Hand be kept over Children *from the Beginning*, they will in that Age, be tractable, and quietly submit to it, as never having known any other: And if, as they grow up to the Use of Reason, the Rigour of Government be, as they deserve it, gently relaxed, and the Father's Brow more smooth'd to them, and the distance by Degrees abated; his former Restraints will increase their Love, when they find it was only a Kindness to them, and a Care to make them capable to deserve the Favour of their Parents, and the Esteem of every Body else.

§. 42. Thus much for the Settling your Authority over your Children in general. Fear and Awe ought to give you the first Power over their Minds, and Love and Friendship in riper Years to hold it: For the Time must come, when they will be past the Rod, and Correction; and then, if the Love of you make them not obedient and dutiful; if the Love of Virtue and Reputation keep them not in laudable Courses; I ask, What Hold will you have upon them, to turn them to it? Indeed, Fear of having a scanty Portion if they displease you, may make them Slaves to your Estate, but they will be never the less ill and wicked in private; and that Restraint will not last always. Every Man must some time or other be trusted to himself, and his own Conduct; and he that is a good, a vertuous and able Man, must be made so within. And therefore, what he is to receive from Education, what is to sway and influence his Life, must be something put into him betimes: Habits woven into the very Principles of his Nature; and not a counterfeit Carriage, and dissembled Outside, put on by Fear, only to avoid the present Anger of a Father, who perhaps may disinherit him.

§. 43. This being laid down in general, as the Course ought to be taken, *Punish-*
'tis fit we now come to consider the Parts of the Discipline to be used, a *lit-*
ments. tle more particularly. I have spoken so much of carrying a *strict Hand* over Children, that perhaps I shall be suspected of not considering enough, what is due to their tender Age and Constitutions. But that Opinion will vanish, when you have heard me a little farther. For I am very apt to think, that *great Severity* of Punishment does but very little Good; nay, great Harm in Education: And I believe it will be found, that, *ceteris paribus*, those Children who have been most *chastised*, seldom make the best Men. All that I have hitherto contended for, is, That whatsoever *Rigour* is necessary, it is more to be used the younger Children are, and having by a due Application wrought its Effect, it is to be relaxed, and changed into a milder Sort of Government.

§. 44. A Compliance, and Suppleness of their Wills, being by a steady *Awe.*
Hand introduced by Parents, before Children have Memories to retain the Beginnings of it, will seem natural to them, and work afterwards in them, as if it were so; preventing all Occasions of Struggling, or Repining. The only Care is, That it be begun early, and inflexibly kept to, till *Awe* and *Respect* be grown familiar, and there appears not the least Reluctancy in the Submission, and ready Obedience of their Minds. When this *Reverence* is once thus established, (which it must be early, or else it will cost Pains and Blows to recover it, and the more, the longer it is deferred) 'tis by it, mixed still with as much Indulgence as they made not an ill Use of, and not by *Beating*, *Chiding*, or other *Servile Punishments*, they are for the future to be governed, as they grow up to more Understanding.

Self-deni-
al.

§. 45. That this is so, will be easily allowed, when it is but consider'd, what is to be aim'd at in an ingenuous Education ; and upon what it turns.

1. He that has not a Mastery over his Inclinations, he that knows not how to *resist* the Importunity of *present Pleasure or Pain*, for the sake of what Reason tells him is fit to be done, wants the true Principle of Virtue and Industry ; and is in danger of never being good for any thing. This Temper therefore, so contrary to unguided Nature, is to be got betimes ; and this Habit, as the true Foundation of future Ability and Happiness, is to be wrought into the Mind, as early as may be, even from the first Dawnings of any Knowledge or Apprehension in Children ; and so to be confirmed in them, by all the Care and Ways imaginable, by those who have the Over-sight of their Education:

Dejected.

§. 46. 2. On the other side, if the *Mind* be curbed, and *humbled* too much in Children ; if their *Spirits* be abased and *broken* much, by too strict an Hand over them, they lose all their Vigour and Industry, and are in a worse State than the former. For extravagant young Fellows, that have Liveliness and Spirit, come sometimes to be set right, and so make Able and Great Men : But *dejected Minds*, timorous and tame, and *low Spirits*, are hardly ever to be raised, and very seldom attain to any thing. To avoid the Danger that is on either hand, is the great Art ; and he that has found a way how to keep up a Child's Spirit, easy, active and free ; and yet, at the same time, to restrain him from many things he has a mind to, and to draw him to things that are uneasy to him ; he, I say, that knows how to reconcile these seeming Contradictions, has, in my Opinion, got the true Secret of Education.

Beating.

§. 47. The usual lazy and short way by Chastisement, and the Rod, which is the only Instrument of Government that Tutours generally know, or ever think of, is the most unfit of any to be used in Education ; because it tends to both those Mischiefs ; which, as we have shewn, are the *Scylla* and *Charybdis*, which on the one hand or the other, ruine all that miscarry.

§. 48. 1. This kind of Punishment contributes not at all to the Mastery of our Natural Propensity to indulge corporal and present Pleasure, and to avoid Pain at any rate ; but rather encourages it ; and thereby strengthens that in us, which is the Root from whence spring all Vicious Actions, and the Irregularities of Life. For what other Motive, but of sensual Pleasure and Pain, does a Child act by, who drudges at his Book against his Inclination or abstains from eating unwholesome Fruit, that he takes Pleasure in, only out of Fear of *whipping* ? He in this only prefers the greater *Corporal Pleasure*, or avoids the greater *Corporal Pain*. And what is it, to govern his Actions, and direct his Conduct by such Motives as these ? What is it, I say, but to cherish that Principle in him, which it is our Business to root out and destroy ? And therefore I cannot think any Correction useful to a Child, where the Shame of Suffering for having done amiss, does not work more upon him than the Pain.

§. 49. 2. This sort of Correction naturally breeds an Aversion to that which 'tis the Tutour's Business to create a liking to. How obvious is it to observe, that Children come to hate things which were at first acceptable to them, when they find themselves *whipped*, and *chid*, and *teazed* about them ? And it is not to be wondered at in them ; when grown Men would not be able to be reconciled to any thing by such Ways. Who is there that would not be disgusted with any innocent Recreation, in it self indifferent to him, if he should with *Blows*, or ill Language be *haled* to it, when he had no Mind ; Or be constantly so treated, for some Circumstances in his Application to it ? This is natural to be so. Offensive Circumstances ordinarily infect innocent things, which they are joyn'd with : And the very sight of a Cup, wherein any one uses to take nauseous Physick, turns his Stomach ; so that nothing will relish well out of it, tho' the Cup be ever so clean, and well shaped, and of the richest Materials.

§. 50. 3. Such a sort of *Slavish Discipline* makes a *Slavish Temper*. The Child submits and dissembles Obedience, whilst the Fear of the Rod hangs over him ; but when that is removed, and, by being out of sight, he can promise himself

himself Impunity, he gives the greater scope to his natural Inclination; *Beating*, which by this way is not at all alter'd, but on the contrary heighten'd and increased in him; and after such restraint, breaks out usually with the more Violence; or,

§. 51. 4. If *Severity* carried to the highest pitch does prevail, and works a Cure upon the present unruly Distemper, it is often bringing in the room of it a worse and more dangerous Disease, by breaking the Mind; and then in the place of a disorderly young Fellow, you have a *low-spirited moap'd* Creature: Who, however with his unnatural Sobriety he may please silly People, who commend tame unactive Children because they make no noise, nor give them any trouble; yet, at last, will probably prove as uncomfortable a thing to his Friends, as he will be, all his Life, an useless thing to himself, and others.

§. 52. *Beating* them, and all other sorts of slavish and corporal Punish- *Rewards*. ments, are not the Discipline fit to be used in the Education of those we would have wise, good, and ingenuous Men; and therefore very rarely to be applied, and that only in great Occasions, and cases of Extremity. On the other side, to flatter Children by *Rewards* of things, that are pleasant to them, is as carefully to be avoided. He that will give to his Son *Apples*, or *Sugar-plumbs*, or what else of this kind he is most delighted with; to make him learn his Book, does but authorize his Love of Pleasure, and cocker up that dangerous Propensity, which he ought by all means to subdue and stifle in him. You can never hope to teach him to master it, whilst you compound for the check you give his Inclination in one place, by the satisfaction you propose to it in another. To make a good, a wise, and a virtuous Man, 'tis fit he should learn to cross his Appetite, and deny his Inclinations to *Riches*, *Finery*, or *pleasing his Palate*, &c. whenever his Reason advises the contrary, and his Duty requires it. But when you draw him to do any thing that is fit, by the offer of *Money*; or reward the pains of learning his Book, by the pleasure of a luscious Morfel; When you promise him a *Lace-Cravat*, or a *fine new Suit*, upon performance of some of his little tasks; what do you, by proposing these as *Rewards*, but allow them to be the good things he should aim at, and thereby encourage his longing for them, and accustom him to place his happiness in them? Thus People, to prevail with Children to be industrious about their Grammar, Dancing, or some other such matter, of no great moment to the happiness or usefulness of their Lives, by mis-applied *Rewards* and *Punishments* sacrifice their Virtue, invert the Order of their Education, and teach them Luxury, Pride, or Covetousness, &c. For in this way, flattering those wrong Inclinations, which they should restrain and suppress, they lay the Foundations of those future Vices, which cannot be avoided, but by curbing our Desires, and accustoming them early to submit to Reason.

§. 53. I say not this, that I would have Children kept from the Conveniencies or Pleasures of Life, that are not injurious to their Health or Virtue: On the contrary, I would have their Lives made as pleasant, and as agreeable to them as may be, in a plentiful enjoyment of whatsoever might innocently delight them: Provided it be with this Caution, that they have those Enjoyments, only as the Consequences of the state of Esteem and Acceptation they are in with their Parents and Governors; but they should *never* be offer'd or bestow'd on them, as the *Rewards of this or that particular Performance* that they shew an aversion to, or to which they would not have applied themselves without that temptation.

§. 54. But if you take away the Rod on one hand, and these little Encouragements, which they are taken with, on the other: How then (will you say) shall Children be govern'd? Remove Hope and Fear, and there is an end of all Discipline. I grant, that Good and Evil, *Reward* and *Punishment*, are the only Motives to a rational Creature; these are the Spur and Reins, whereby all Mankind are set on work, and guided, and therefore they are to be made use of to Children too. For I advise their Parents and Governours always to carry this in their Minds, that Children are to be treated as rational Creatures.

Rewards: §. 55. *Rewards*, I grant, and *Punishments* must be proposed to Children, if we intend to work upon them. The Mistake, I imagine, is, that those that are generally made use of, are *ill chosen*. The Pains and Pleasures of the Body are, I think, of ill consequence, when made the Rewards and Punishments, whereby Men would prevail on their Children: For, as I said before, they serve but to encrease and strengthen those Inclinations which 'tis our Business to subdue and master. What Principle of Vertue do you lay in a Child, if you will redeem his Desires of one Pleasure, by the proposal of another? This is but to enlarge his Appetite, and instruct it to wander. If a Child cries for an unwholsome and dangerous Fruit, you purchase his quiet by giving him a less hurtful Sweet-meat. This perhaps may preserve his Health, but spoils his Mind, and sets that farther out of order. For here you only change the Object; but flatter still his *Appetite*, and allow that must be satisfied, wherein, as I have shewed, lies the root of the Mischief: And till you bring him to be able to bear a Denial of that Satisfaction, the Child may at present be quiet and orderly, but the Disease is not cured. By this way of proceeding you foment and cherish in him, that which is the Spring from whence all the Evil flows, which will be sure on the next occasion to break out again with more Violence, give him stronger Longings, and you more Trouble.

Reputation. §. 56. The *Rewards* and *Punishments* then, whereby we should keep Children in order, are quite of another kind; and of that force, that when we can get them once to work, the Business, I think, is done, and the difficulty is over. *Esteem* and *Disgrace* are, of all others, the most powerful Incentives to the Mind, when once it is brought to relish them. If you can once get into Children a Love of Credit, and an Apprehension of Shame and Disgrace, you have put into them the true Principle, which will constantly work, and incline them to the right. But it will be asked, How shall this be done?

I confess, it does not at first appearance want some difficulty; but yet I think it worth our while to seek the ways (and practise them when found) to attain this, which I look on as the great Secret of Education.

§. 57. *First*, Children (earlier perhaps than we think) are very sensible of *Praise* and Commendation. They find a Pleasure in being esteem'd, and valued, especially by their Parents, and those whom they depend on. If therefore the Father *caresses* and *commends* them, when they do well; shew a cold and neglectful Countenance to them upon doing ill; and this accompanied by a like Carriage of the Mother, and all others that are about them, it will in a little time make them sensible of the difference; and this, if constantly observed, I doubt not but will of it self work more than Threats or Blows, which lose their force, when once grown common, and are of no use when Shame does not attend them; and therefore are to be forborn, and never to be used, but in the Case hereafter mentioned, when it is brought to extremity.

§. 58. But *Secondly*, To make the Sense of *Esteem* or *Disgrace* sink the deeper, and be of the more weight, other agreeable or disagreeable things should constantly accompany these different States; not as particular Rewards and Punishments of this or that particular Action, but as necessarily belonging to, and constantly attending one, who by his Carriage has brought himself into a State of Disgrace or Commendation. By which way of treating them, Children may as much as possible be brought to conceive, that those that are commended and in esteem for doing well, will necessarily be beloved and cherish'd by every Body, and have all other good things as a Consequence of it; and on the other side, when any one by Miscarriage, falls into dis-esteem, and cares not to preserve his Credit, he will unavoidably fall under Neglect and Contempt; and in that State the Want of what ever might satisfy or delight him, will follow. In this way the Objects of their Desires are made assisting to Virtue; when a settled experience from the beginning teaches Children, that the Things they delight in, belong to, and are to be enjoy'd by those only, who are in a State of Reputation. If by these Means you can come once to shame them out of their Faults, (for besides that, I would willingly have no Punishment) and make them

them in love with the Pleasure of being well thought on, you may turn them as you please, and they will be in love with all the ways of Virtue. Reputation.

§. 59. The great difficulty here, is, I imagine, from the Folly and Perverfeness of Servants, who are hardly to be hinder'd from crossing herein the design of the Father and Mother. Children, discountenanc'd by their Parents for any Fault, find usually a Refuge and Relief in the Careffes of those foolish Flatterers, who thereby undo whatever the Parents endeavour to establish. When the Father or Mother looks fowre on the Child, every Body else should put on the same coldness to him, and no body give him Countenance, till Forgiveness ask'd, and a Reformation of his Fault, has set him right again, and restor'd him to his former Credit. If this were constantly observ'd, I guess there would be little need of Blows, or Chiding: Their own ease and satisfaction would quickly teach Children to court Commendation, and avoid doing that which they found every Body condemn'd, and they were sure to suffer for, without being chid or beaten. This would teach them Modesty and Shame; and they would quickly come to have a natural abhorrence for that, which they found made them slighted and neglected by every body. But how this Inconvenience from Servants is to be remedied, I must leave to Parents Care and Consideration. Only I think it of great importance; and that they are very happy, who can get discreet People about their Children.

§. 60. Frequent *Beating* or *Chiding* is therefore carefully to be avoided. Be-Shame. cause this sort of Correction never produces any Good, farther than it serves to raise *Shame* and Abhorrence of the Miscarriage that brought it on them. And if the greatest part of the Trouble be not the Sense that they have done amiss, and the Apprehension that they have drawn on themselves the just Displeasure of their best Friends, the pain of Whipping will work but an imperfect Cure. It only patches up for the present, and skins it over, but reaches not to the bottom of the Sore. Ingenuous *Shame*, and the Apprehensions of Displeasure, are the only true restraint: These alone ought to hold the Reins, and keep the Child in order. But corporal Punishments must necessarily lose that effect, and wear out the Sense of *Shame*, where they frequently return. *Shame* in Children has the same place that Modesty has in Women; which cannot be kept, and often transgressed against. And as to the Apprehension of *Displeasure in the Parents*, that will come to be very insignificant, if the Marks of that Displeasure quickly cease, and a few Blows fully expiate. Parents should well consider, what Faults in their Children are weighty enough to deserve the Declaration of their Anger: But when their Displeasure is once declared to a degree that carries any Punishment with it, they ought not presently to lay by the Severity of their Brows, but to restore their Children to their former Grace with some difficulty; and delay a full Reconciliation, till their Conformity, and more than ordinary Merit, make good their Amendment. If this be not so order'd, *Punishment* will by Familiarity become a mere thing of Course, and lose all its influence: Offending, being chastised, and then forgiven, will be thought as natural and necessary as Noon, Night, and Morning following one another.

§. 61. Concerning Reputation; I shall only remark this one Thing more Reputation. of it; That, though it be not the true Principle and Measure of Virtue, (for that is the Knowledge of a Man's Duty, and the Satisfaction it is to obey his Maker, in following the Dictates of that Light God has given him, with the Hopes of Acceptation and Reward) yet it is that which comes nearest to it: And being the Testimony and Applause that other People's Reason, as it were by a common Consent, gives to virtuous and well-order'd Actions, it is the proper Guide and Encouragement of Children, till they grow able to judge for themselves, and to find what is right by their own Reason.

§. 62. This Consideration may direct Parents, how to manage themselves in reproving and commending their Children. The Rebukes and Chiding, which their Faults will sometimes make hardly to be avoided, should not only be in sober, grave and unpassionate Words, but also alone and in private: But the Commendations Children deserve, they should receive before others. This doubles the Reward, by spreading their Praise; but the Backwardness
Parents

Reputation. Parents shew in divulging their Faults, will make them set a greater Value on their Credit themselves, and teach them to be the more careful to preserve the good Opinion of others, whilst they think they have it: But when, being exposed to Shame, by publishing their Miscarriages, they give it up for lost, that Check upon them is taken off; And they will be the less careful to preserve others good Thoughts of them, the more they suspect that their Reputation with them is already blemish'd.

Childishness. §. 63. But if a right course be taken with Children, there will not be so much need of the Application of the common Rewards and Punishments, as we imagine, and as the general Practice has establish'd. For all their innocent Folly, Playing, and *Childish Actions*, are to be left perfectly free and unrestrain'd, as far as they can consist with the Respect due to those that are present; and that with the greatest Allowance. If these Faults of their Age, rather than of the Children themselves, were, as they should be, left only to Time and Imitation, and riper Years to cure, Children would escape a great deal of mis-applied and useless Correction; which either fails to over-power the Natural Disposition of their Childhood, and so, by an ineffectual Familiarity, makes Correction in other necessary Cases of less use; or else, if it be of Force to restrain the natural Gaiety of that Age, it serves only to spoil the Temper both of Body and Mind. If the Noise or Bustle of their Play prove at any time inconvenient, or unsuitable to the Place or Company they are in (which can only be where their Parents are) a Look or a Word from the Father or Mother, if they have establish'd the Authority they should, will be enough either to remove, or quiet them for that Time. But this Gamefome Humour, which is wisely adapted by Nature to their Age and Temper, should rather be encouraged, to keep up their Spirits, and improve their Strength and Health, than curbed or restrained: And the chief Art is to make all that they have to do, Sport and Play too.

Rules. §. 64. And here give me leave to take notice of one thing I think a Fault in the ordinary Method of Education; and that is, The charging of Childrens Memories, upon all occasions, with *Rules* and Precepts, which they often do not understand, and constantly as soon forget as given. If it be some Action you would have done, or done otherwise; whenever they forget, or do it awkwardly, make them do it over and over again, till they are perfect: Whereby you will get these two Advantages: *First*, To see whether it be an Action they can do, or is fit to be expected of them. For sometimes Children are bid to do Things, which, upon Trial, they are found not able to do; and had need be taught and exercised in, before they are required to do them. But it is much easier for a Tutor to command, than to teach. *Secondly*, Another Thing got by it will be this; That by repeating the same Action, till it be grown habitual in them, the Performance will not depend on Memory, or Reflection, the Concomitant of Prudence and Age, and not of Childhood; but will be natural in them. Thus bowing to a Gentleman when he salutes him, and looking in his Face when he speaks to him, is by constant Use as natural to a well-bred Man, as breathing; it requires no Thought, no Reflection. Having this way cured in your Child any Fault, it is cured forever: And thus one by one you may weed them out all, and plant what Habits you please.

§. 65. I have seen Parents so heap *Rules* on their Children, that it was impossible for the poor little Ones to remember a tenth part of them, much less to observe them. However, they were either by Words or Blows corrected for the Breach of those multiplied and often very impertinent Precepts. Whence it naturally follow'd, that the Children minded not what was said to them; when it was evident to them, that no Attention, they were capable of, was sufficient to preserve them from Transgression, and the Rebukes which follow'd it.

Let therefore your *Rules* to your Son, be as few as is possible, and rather fewer than more than seem absolutely necessary. For if you burden him with many *Rules*, one of these two things must necessarily follow; that, either he must be very often punish'd, which will be of ill consequence, by making Punishment too frequent and familiar; or else you must let the Transgressions

Transgressions of some of your Rules go unpunish'd, whereby they will of course grow contemptible, and your Authority become cheap to him. Make but few *Laws*, but see they be well observ'd, when once made. Few Years require but few *Laws*, and as his Age increases, when one Rule is by Practice well establish'd, you may add another.

§. 66. But pray remember, Children are *not* to be taught by Rules, which will be always slipping out of their Memories. What you think necessary for them to do, settle in them by an indispensable Practice, as often as the Occasion returns; and if it be possible make Occasions. This will beget Habits in them, which being once establish'd, operate of themselves easily and naturally, without the assistance of the Memory. But here let me give two Cautions.

1. The one is, That you keep them to the Practice of what you would have grow into a Habit in them, by kind Words, and gentle Admonitions, rather as minding them of what they forget, than by harsh Rebukes and Chiding, as if they were willfully guilty. 2^{dly}, Another thing you are to take care of, is, not to endeavour to settle too many Habits at once, lest by variety you confound them, and so perfect none. When constant Custom has made any one thing easy and natural to them, and they practise it without Reflection, you may then go on to another.

This Method of teaching Children by a repeated Practice, and the same Action done over and over again, under the Eye and Direction of the Tutor, till they have got the Habit of doing it well, and not by relying on Rules trusted to their Memories, has so many Advantages, which way soever we consider it, that I cannot but wonder (if ill Customs could be wonder'd at in any thing) how it could possibly be so much neglected. I shall name one more that comes now in my way. By this Method we shall see, whether what is requir'd of him be adapted to his Capacity, and any way suited to the Child's natural Genius and Constitution: For that too must be consider'd in a right Education. We must not hope wholly to change their Original Tempers, nor make the Gay Pensive and Grave, nor the Melancholy Sportive, without spoiling them. God has stamp'd certain Characters upon Mens Minds, which, like their Shapes, may perhaps be a little mended; but can hardly be totally alter'd, and transform'd into the contrary.

He therefore, that is about Children, should well study their Natures and Aptitudes, and see by often Tryals, what turn they easily take, and what becomes them; observe what their Native Stock is, how it may be improved, and what it is fit for: He should consider what they want, whether they be capable of having it wrought into them by Industry, and incorporated there by Practice; and whether it be worth while to endeavour it. For in many Cases, all that we can do, or should aim at, is to make the best of what Nature has given, to prevent the Vices and Faults to which such a Constitution is most inclined, and give it all the Advantages it is capable of. Every one's Natural Genius should be carried as far as it could, but to attempt the putting another upon him, will be but Labour in vain; and what is so Plaister'd on, will at best sit but untowardly, and have always hanging to it the Ungracefulness of Constraint and Affectation.

Affectation is not, I confess, an early Fault of Childhood, or the Product of untaught Nature; it is of that sort of Weeds, which grow not in the wild uncultivated Waste, but in Garden-Plots, under the negligent Hand, or unskillful Care of a Gardiner. Management and Instruction, and some Sense of the Necessity of Breeding, are requisite to make any one capable of Affectation, which endeavours to correct Natural Defects, and has always the Laudable Aim of Pleasing, though it always misses it; and the more it labours to put on Gracefulness, the farther it is from it. For this Reason it is the more carefully to be watched, because it is the proper Fault of Education; a perverted Education indeed, but such as young People often fall into, either by their own Mistake, or the ill Conduct of those about them.

He that will examine wherein that Gracefulness lies, which always pleases, will find it arises from that Natural Coherence, which appears between the thing done, and such a Temper of Mind, as cannot but be approved

Affectation. of as suitable to the Occasion. We cannot but be pleased with an Humane, Friendly, Civil Temper, where-ever we meet with it. A Mind free, and Master of it self and all its Actions, not low and narrow, not haughty and insolent, not blemish'd with any great Defect, is what every one is taken with. The Actions, which naturally flow from such a well-form'd Mind, please us also, as the genuine Marks of it; and being as it were natural Emanations from the Spirit and Disposition within, cannot but be easie and unconstrain'd. This seems to me to be that Beauty, which shines through some Mens Actions, sets off all that they do, and takes all they come near; when by a constant Practice, they have fashion'd their Carriage, and made all those little Expressions of Civility and Respect, which Nature or Custom has established in Conversation so easy to themselves, that they seem not Artificial or Studied, but naturally to follow from a Sweetness of Mind, and a well-turn'd Disposition.

On the other side, *Affectation* is an aukward and forced Imitation of what should be genuine and easie, wanting the Beauty that accompanies what is Natural; because there is always a Disagreement between the outward Action, and the Mind within, one of these two ways; 1. Either when a Man would outwardly put on a Disposition of Mind, which then he really has not, but endeavours by a forced Carriage to make shew of; yet so, that the Constraint he is under, discovers it self: And thus Men affect sometimes to appear Sad, Merry, or Kind, when, in Truth, they are not so.

2. The other is, when they do not endeavour to make shew of Dispositions of Mind, which they have not, but to express those they have, by a Carriage not suited to them: And such in Conversation are all constrain'd Motions, Actions, Words, or Looks, which, though designed to shew either their Respect or Civility to the Company, or their Satisfaction and Easiness in it, are not yet Natural nor Genuine Marks of the one or the other; but rather of some Defect or Mistake within. Imitation of others, without discerning what is Graceful in them, or what is peculiar to their Characters, often makes a great part of this. But *Affectation* of all kinds, whencesoever it proceeds, is always Offensive: Because we naturally hate whatever is Counterfeit; and condemn those, who have nothing better to recommend themselves by.

Plain and rough Nature left to it self, is much better than an Artificial Ungracefulness, and such studied Ways of being ill fashion'd. The want of an Accomplishment, or some Defect in our Behaviour, coming short of the utmost Gracefulness, often escapes Observation and Censure. But *Affectation* in any part of our Carriage, is lighting up a Candle to our Defects; and never fails to makes us be taken notice of, either as wanting Sense, or wanting Sincerity. This Governours ought the more diligently to look after; because, as I above observ'd, 'tis an acquired Uglinefs, owing to Mistaken Education, few being Guilty of it, but those who pretend to Breeding, and would not be thought Ignorant of what is fashionable and becoming in Conversation: And, if I mistake not, it has often its rise from the lazy Admonitions of those who give Rules, and propose Examples, without joyning Practice with their Instructions, and making their Pupils repeat the Action in their Sight, that they may Correct what is indecent or constrain'd in it, till it be perfected into an habitual and becoming Easiness.

Manners. §. 67. *Manners*, as they call it, about which Children are so often perplex'd, and have so many goodly Exhortations made them, by their wise Maids and Governesses, I think, are rather to be learn'd by Example than Rules; and then Children, if kept out of ill Company, will take a pride to behave themselves prettily, after the fashion of others, perceiving themselves esteem'd and commended for it. But if, by a little Negligence in this part, the Boy should not put off his Hat, nor make Legs very gracefully, a Dancing-master will cure that Defect, and wipe off all that Plainness of Nature, which the A-la-mode People call Clownishness. And since nothing appears to me to give Children so much becoming Confidence and Behaviour, and so to raise them to the Conversation of those above their Age, as *Dancing*; I think they should be taught to Dance, as soon as they are capable of learning it. For, though this consist only in outward gracefulness of Motion, yet, I know

know not how, it gives Children manly Thoughts, and Carriage more than *Manners*. any thing. But otherwise I would not have little Children much tormented about Punctilio's, or Niceties of Breeding.

Never trouble your self about those Faults in them, which you know Age will cure. And therefore want of well-fashion'd Civility in the Carriage, whilst *Civility* is not wanting in the Mind (for there you must take care to plant it early) should be the Parents least care, whilst they are young. If his tender Mind be fill'd with a Veneration for his Parents and Teachers, which consists in Love and Esteem, and a Fear to offend them; and with *Respect and good Will* to all People; that Respect will of it self teach those ways of expressing it, which he observes most acceptable. Be sure to keep up in him the Principles of good Nature and Kindness; make them as habitual as you can, by Credit and Commendation, and the good Things accompanying that State: And when they have taken root in his Mind, and are settled there by a continued Practice, fear not, the Ornaments of Conversation, and the Out-side of fashionable Manners, will come in their due time; If when they are remov'd out of their Maid's Care, they are put into the Hands of a well-bred Man to be their Governour.

Whilst they are very young, any *Carelessness* is to be born with in Children, that carries not with it the Marks of Pride or ill Nature: But those when ever they appear in any Action, are to be corrected immediately by the Ways above mentioned. What I have said concerning Manners, I would not have so understood, as if I meant that those, who have the Judgment to do it, should not gently fashion the Motions, and Carriage of Children, when they are very young. It would be of great Advantage, if they had People about them, from their being first able to go, that had the Skill, and would take the right way to do it. That which I complain of, is the wrong Course that is usually taken in this Matter. Children who were never taught any such thing as Behaviour, are often (especially when Strangers are present) chid for having some way or other failed in good Manners, and have thereupon Reproofs and Precepts heaped upon them, concerning putting off their Hats, or making of Legs, &c. Though in this those concern'd pretend to correct the Child, yet in truth, for the most part, it is but to cover their own Shame: And they lay the Blame on the poor little Ones, sometimes passionately enough, to divert it from themselves, for fear the By-standers should impute to their want of Care and Skill the Child's ill Behaviour.

For, as for the Children themselves, they are never one jot better'd by such occasional Lectures: They at other times should be shewn what to do, and by reiterated Actions, be fashioned before-hand into the Practice of what is fit and becoming; and not told, and talk'd to do upon the Spot, of what they have never been accustomed, nor know how to do as they should: To hare and rate them thus at every turn, is not to teach them, but to vex, and torment them to no purpose. They should be let alone, rather than Chid for a Fault, which is none of their's, nor is in their Power to mend for speaking to. And it were much better their natural childish Negligence or Plainness should be left to the Care of riper years, than that they should frequently have Rebukes misplaced upon them, which neither do, nor can, give them graceful Motions. If their Minds are well disposed, and principled with inward Civility, a great part of the Roughness, which sticks to the outside for want of better Teaching, Time and Observation will rub off, as they grow up, if they are bred in good Company; but if in ill, all the Rules in the World, all the Correction imaginable, will not be able to polish them. For you must take this for a certain Truth, that let them have what Instructions you will, and ever so learned Lectures of Breeding daily inculcated into them, that which will most influence their Carriage, will be the Company they converse with, and the fashion of those about them. Children (nay, and Men too) do most by Example. We are all a sort of Camelions, that still take a Tincture from things near us: Nor is it to be wonder'd at in Children, who better understand what they see, than what they hear.

Company. §. 68. I mention'd above, one great Mischief that came by Servants to Children, when by their Flatteries they take off the edge and force of the Parents Rebukes, and so lessen their Authority. And here is another great inconvenience which Children receive from the ill Examples which they meet with amongst the meaner Servants.

They are wholly, if possible, to be kept from such Conversation: For the Contagion of these ill Precedents, both in Civility and Vertue, horribly infects Children, as often as they come within reach of it. They frequently learn from unbred or debauched Servants such Language, untowardly Tricks and Vices, as otherwise they possibly would be ignorant of all their Lives.

§. 69. 'Tis a hard matter wholly to prevent this Mischief. You will have very good luck, if you never have a Clownish or Vicious Servant, and if from them your Children never get any Infection. But yet as much must

† How much the Romans thought the Education of their Children a business that properly belong'd to the Parents themselves, see in Suetonius, August. Sect. 64. Plutarch in vita Catois Censoris; Diodorus Siculus, l. 2. cap. 3.

be done towards it, as can be; and the Children kept as much as may be † in the *Company of their Parents*, and those to whose Care they are committed. To this purpose, their being in their presence should be made easie to them: They should be allowed the Liberties and Freedom suitable to their Ages, and not be held under unnecessary Restraints, when in their Parent's or Governour's sight. If it be a Prison to them, 'tis no wonder they should not like it. They must not be hinder'd from being Children, or from playing, or doing as Children, but from doing ill. All other Liberty is to be allowed them. Next, to make them in love with the *Company of their Parents*, they should receive all their good things there, and from their hands. The Servants should be hinder'd from making court to them, by giving them strong Drink, Wine, Fruit, Play-things, and other such matters, which may make them in love with their Conversation.

§. 70. Having named *Company*, I am almost ready to throw away my Pen, and trouble you no farther on this Subject. For since that does more than all Precepts, Rules, and Instructions, methinks 'tis almost wholly in vain to make a long Discourse of other things, and to talk of that almost to no purpose. For you will be ready to say, What shall I do with my Son? If I keep him always at Home, he will be in danger to be my young Master; and if I send him Abroad, how is it possible to keep him from the contagion of Rudeness and Vice, which is every where so in fashion? In my House, he will perhaps be more innocent, but more ignorant too of the World: Wanting there change of *Company*, and being used constantly to the same Faces, he will, when he comes abroad, be a sheepish or conceited Creature.

I confess, both sides have their Inconveniencies. Being abroad, 'tis true, will make him bolder, and better able to bustle and shift amongst Boys of his own age; and the Emulation of School-fellows often puts Life and Industry into young Lads. But till you can find a School, wherein it is possible for the Master to look after the Manners of his Scholars, and can shew as great Effects of his Care of forming their Minds to Virtue, and their Carriage to good Breeding, as of forming their Tongues to the learned Languages; you must confess, that you have a strange value for Words, when preferring the Languages of the ancient Greeks and Romans, to that which made them such brave Men, you think it worth while, to hazard your Son's Innocence and Virtue, for a little Greek and Latin. For, as for that Boldness and Spirit which Lads get amongst their Play-fellows at School, it has ordinarily such a mixture of Rudeness, and an ill-turn'd Confidence, that those mis-becoming and dis-ingenuous ways of shifting in the World, must be unlearn'd, and all the Tincture wash'd out again, to make way for better Principles, and such Manners as make a truly worthy Man. He that considers how diametrically opposite the Skill of living well, and managing, as a Man should do, his Affairs in the World, is to that mal-pertness, tricking, or violence learnt amongst School-Boys, will think the Faults of a privater Education infinitely to be prefer'd to such Improvements; and will take care to preserve his Child's Innocence and Modesty at Home, as being nearer

nearer of Kin, and more in the way of those qualities which make an useful and able Man. Nor does any one find, or so much as suspect, that that Retirement and Bashfulness, which their Daughters are brought up in, makes them less knowing or less able Women. Conversation, when they come into the World, soon gives them a becoming Assurance; and whatsoever, beyond that, there is of rough and boisterous, may in Men be very well spared too: For Courage and Steadiness, as I take it, lie not in Roughness and ill Breeding.

Vertue is harder to be got, than a Knowledge of the World; and if lost in a young Man, is seldom recovered. Sheepishness and Ignorance of the World, the Faults imputed to a private Education, are neither the necessary Consequences of being bred at Home, nor if they were, are they incurable Evils. Vice is the more stubborn, as well as the more dangerous Evil of the two; and therefore, in the first place, to be fenced against. If that sheepish softness, which often enervates those who are bred like Fondlings at Home, be carefully to be avoided, it is principally so for Vertue's sake: For fear lest such a yielding temper should be too susceptible of vitious Impressions, and expose the Novice too easily to be corrupted. A young Man, before he leaves the shelter of his Father's House, and the Guard of a Tutor, should be fortified with Resolution, and made acquainted with Men, to secure his Vertues; lest he should be led into some ruinous course, or fatal precipice, before he is sufficiently acquainted with the Dangers of Conversation, and has Steadiness enough not to yield to every Temptation. Were it not for this, a young Man's Bashfulness, and Ignorance in the World, would not so much need an early Care. Conversation would cure it in a great measure; or if that will not do it early enough, it is only a stronger reason for a good Tutor at home. For if pains be to be taken to give him a manly air and assurance betimes, it is chiefly as a fence to his Vertue when he goes into the World under his own Conduct.

It is preposterous therefore to sacrifice his Innocency to the attaining of Confidence, and some little Skill of bustling for himself among others, by his Conversation with ill-bred and vitious Boys; when the chief use of that sturdiness, and standing upon his own Legs, is only for the preservation of his Vertue. For if Confidence or Cunning come once to mix with Vice, and support his Miscarriages, he is only the surer lost: And you must undo again, and strip him of that he has got from his Companions, or give him up to Ruin. Boys will unavoidably be taught assurance by Conversation with Men, when they are brought into it; and that is time enough. Modesty and Submission till then, better fits them for Instruction: And therefore there needs not any great Care to stock them with Confidence beforehand. That which requires most time, pains, and assiduity, is to work into them the Principles and Practice of Vertue, and good Breeding. This is the Seasoning they should be prepar'd with, so as not easily to be got out again. This they had need to be well provided with. For Conversation, when they come into the World, will add to their knowledge and assurance, but be too apt to take from their Vertue; which therefore they ought to be plentifully stored with, and have that tincture sunk deep into them.

How they should be fitted for Conversation, and entered into the World, when they are ripe for it, we shall consider in another place. But how any one's being put into a mixed Herd of unruly Boys, and there learning to wrangle at Trap, or rook at Span-farthing, fits him for civil Conversation, or Business, I do not see. And what Qualities are ordinarily to be got from such a Troop of Play-fellows as Schools usually assemble together from Parents of all kinds, that a Father should so much covet it, is hard to divine. I am sure, he who is able to be at the charge of a Tutor at home, may there give his Son a more genteel Carriage, more manly Thoughts, and a Sense of what is worthy and becoming, with a greater Proficiency in Learning in to the Bargain, and ripen him up sooner into a Man, than any at School can do. Not that I blame the School-Master in this, or think it to be laid to his charge. The difference is great between two or three Pupils in the same House, and three or fourscore Boys lodg'd up and down. For let the

Company. Master's Industry and Skill be ever so great, it is impossible he should have 50 or 100 Scholars under his Eye, any longer than they are in the School together: Nor can it be expected, that he should instruct them Successfully in any thing but their Books; the forming of their Minds and Manners requiring a constant Attention, and particular Application to every single Boy, which is impossible in a numerous Flock; and would be wholly in vain (could he have time to Study and Correct every one's particular Defects, and wrong Inclinations) when the Lad was to be left to himself, or the prevailing Infection of his Fellows, the greatest part of the four and twenty Hours.

But Fathers, observing that Fortune is often most successfully courted by bold and bustling Men, are glad to see their Sons pert and forward betimes; take it for an happy Omen that they will be thriving Men, and look on the Tricks they play their School-fellows, or learn from them, as a Proficiency in the Art of Living, and making their way through the World. But I must take the liberty to say, that he that lays the Foundation of his Son's Fortune in Vertue, and good Breeding, takes the only sure and warrantable way. And 'tis not the Waggeries or Cheats practised among School-boys, 'tis not their Roughness one to another, nor the well-laid Plots of Robbing an Orchard together, that makes an able Man; but the Principles of Justice, Generosity and Sobriety, joyn'd with Observation and Industry, Qualities, which I judge School-boys do not learn much of one another. And if a Young Gentleman, bred at home, be not taught more of them than he could learn at School, his Father has made a very ill choice of a Tutour. Take a Boy from the top of a Grammar-School, and one of the same Age, bred as he should be in his Father's Family, and bring them into good Company together, and then see which of the two will have the more manly Carriage, and address himself with the more becoming Assurance to Strangers. Here I imagin the School-boy's Confidence will either fail or discredit him: And, if it be such as fits him only for the Conversation of Boys, he had better be without it.

Vice. Vice, if we may believe the general Complaint, ripens so fast now-a-days, and runs up to Seed so early in young People, that it is impossible to keep a Lad from the spreading Contagion, if you will venture him abroad in the Herd, and trust to Chance or his own Inclination for the choice of his Company at School. By what Fate Vice has so thriven amongst us these Years past; and by what Hands it has been nurs'd up into so uncontroul'd a Dominion, I shall leave to others to enquire. I wish, that those, who complain of the great Decay of Christian Piety and Vertue every where, and of Learning and acquired Improvements in the Gentry of this Generation, would consider how to retrieve them in the next. This I am sure, That if the Foundation of it be not laid in the Education and Principling of the Youth, all other Endeavours will be in vain. And if the Innocence, Sobriety, and Industry, of those who are coming up, be not taken care of and preserved, 'twill be ridiculous to expect, that those who are to succeed next on the Stage, should abound in that Vertue, Ability, and Learning, which has hitherto made *England* considerable in the World. I was going to add Courage too, though it has been look'd on as the natural Inheritance of Englishmen. What has been talked of some late Actions at Sea, of a Kind unknown to our Ancestors, gives me occasion to say, that Debauchery sinks the Courage of Men: And when Dissoluteness has eaten out the Sense of true Honour, Bravery seldom stays long after it. And I think it impossible to find an instance of any Nation, however renowned for their Valour, who ever kept their Credit in Arms, or made themselves redoubtable amongst their Neighbours, after Corruption had once broke through, and dissolv'd the restraint of Discipline; and Vice was grown to such an head, that it durst shew it self barefaced, without being out of Countenance.

Vertue. 'Tis Vertue then, direct Vertue, which is the hard and valuable part to be aimed at in Education; and not a forward Pertness, or any little Arts of Shifting. All other Considerations and Accomplishments should give way and be postpon'd to this. This is the solid and substantial good, which Tutors should not only read Lectures, and talk of; but the Labour, and Art of Educa-

Education should furnish the Mind with, and fasten there, and never cease till the young Man had a true Relish of it, and placed his Strength, his Glory and his Pleasure in it.

The more this advances, the easier way will be made for other Accomplishments in their turns. For he that is brought to submit to Vertue, will not be refractory, or resty, in any thing that becomes him. And therefore I cannot but prefer Breeding of a young Gentleman at Home in his Father's sight, under a good Governour, as much the best and safest way to this great and main End of Education; when it can be had, and is order'd as it should be. Gentlemens Houses are seldom without Variety of Company: They should use their Sons to all the Strange Faces that come there, and engage them in Conversation with Men of Parts and Breeding, as soon as they are capable of it. And why those who live in the Country should not take them with them, when they make Visits of Civility to their Neighbours, I know not: This I am sure, a Father that breeds his Son at home, has the Opportunity to have him more in his own Company, and there give him what Encouragement he thinks fit; and can keep him better from the Taint of Servants, and the meaner sort of People, than is possible to be done Abroad. But what shall be resolv'd in the case, must in great measure be left to the Parents, to be determin'd by their Circumstances and Conveniencies. Only I think it the worst sort of good Husbandry, for a Father not to strain himself a little for his Son's Breeding; which, let his Condition be what it will, is the best Portion he can leave him. But if, after all, it shall be thought by some, that the Breeding at Home has too little Company; and that at ordinary Schools, not such as it should be, for a young Gentleman; I think there might be ways found out to avoid the Inconveniencies on the one side and the other.

§. 71. Having under Consideration how great the Influence of Company is, and how prone we are all, especially Children, to Imitation; I must here take the liberty to mind Parents of this one Thing, viz. That he that will have his Son have a Respect for him, and his Orders, must himself have a great Reverence for his Son. *Maxima debetur pueris reverentia.* You must do nothing before him, which you would not have him imitate. If any thing scape you, which you would have pass for a Fault in him, he will be sure to shelter himself under your Example, and shelter himself so, as that it will not be easie to come at him to correct it in him the right way. If you punish him for what he sees you praise your self, he will not think that Severity to proceed from Kindness in you, careful to amend a Fault in him; but will be apt to interpret it, the Peevishness, and Arbitrary Imperiousness of a Father, who, without any ground for it, would deny his Son the Liberty and Pleasures he takes himself. Or if you assume to your self the liberty you have taken, as a Privilege belonging to riper Years, to which a Child must not aspire, you do but add new force to your Example, and recommend the Action the more powerfully to him. For you must always remember, that Children affect to be Men earlier than is thought: And they love Breeches, not for their Cut, or Ease, but because the having them is a Mark or a Step towards Manhood. What I say of the Father's Carriage before his Children, must extend it self to all those who have any Authority over them, or for whom he would have them have any Respect.

§. 72. But to return to the Business of Rewards and Punishments. All the Actions of Childishness, and unfashionable Carriage, and whatever Time and Age will of it self be sure to reform, being (as I have said) exempt from the Discipline of the Rod, there will not be so much need of beating Children, as is generally made use of. To which if we add Learning to Read, Write, Dance, Foreign Language, &c. as under the same Privilege, there will be but very rarely any occasion for Blows or Force in an ingenious Education. The right way to teach them those Things, is, to give them a Liking and Inclination to what you propose to them to be learn'd, and that will engage their Industry and Application. This I think no hard matter to do, if Children be handled as they should be, and the Rewards and Punishments above-mention'd be carefully applied, and with them these few Rules observ'd in the Method of Instructing them.

§. 73. 1. None

Task. §. 73. 1. None of the Things they are to learn should ever be made a Burthen to them, or imposed on them as a *Task*. Whatever is so proposed, presently becomes irksome: The Mind takes an Aversion to it, though before it were a thing of Delight or Indifferency. Let a Child be but ordered to whip his Top at a certain Time every day, whether he has, or has not a mind to it; let this be but required of him as a Duty, wherein he must spend so many Hours Morning and Afternoon, and see whether he will not soon be weary of any Play at this rate. Is it not so with grown Men? What they do chearfully of themselves, do they not presently grow sick of, and can no more endure, as soon as they find it is expected of them as a Duty? Children have as much a mind to shew that they are free, that their own good Actions come from themselves, that they are absolute and independent, as any of the proudest of you grown Men, think of them as you please.

Disposition. §. 74. 2. As a Consequence of this, they should seldom be put about doing even those Things you have got an Inclination in them to, but when they have a Mind and *Disposition* to it. He that loves Reading, Writing, Musick, &c. finds yet in himself certain Seasons wherein those things have no relish to him: And, if at that time he forces himself to it, he only potheres and wearies himself to no purpose. So it is with Children. This Change of Temper should be carefully observ'd in them, and the favourable *Seasons of Aptitude and Inclination* be heedfully laid hold of: And if they are not often enough forward of themselves, a good Disposition should be talk'd into them, before they be set upon any thing. This I think no hard Matter for a discreet Tutour to do; who has studied his Pupil's Temper, and will be at little pains to fill his Head with suitable Ideas, such as may make him in love with the present Business. By this means a great deal of Time and Tiring would be saved. For a Child will learn three times as much when he is *in tune*, as he will with double the time and pains, when he goes aukwardly, or is dragg'd unwillingly to it. If this were minded as it should, Children might be permitted to weary themselves with Play, and yet have Time enough to learn what is suited to the Capacity of each Age. But no such thing is considered in the ordinary way of Education, nor can it well be. That rough Discipline of the Rod is built upon other Principles, has no Attraction in it, regards not what Humour Children are in, nor looks after favourable Seasons of Inclination. And indeed it would be ridiculous, when Compulsion and Blows have raised an Aversion in the Child to his Task, to expect he should freely of his own accord leave his Play, and with Pleasure court the Occasions of Learning. Whereas, were Matters order'd right, learning any thing they should be taught, might be made as much a Recreation to their Play, as their Play is to their Learning. The Pains are equal on both sides: Nor is it that which troubles them, for they love to be busie, and the Change and Variety is that which naturally delights them. The only odds is in that which we call Play, they act at liberty, and employ their Pains (whereof you may observe them never sparing) freely; but what they are to learn, is forced upon them: They are called, compelled, and driven to it. This is that, which at first enterance balks and cools them; they want their Liberty: Get them but to ask their Tutour to teach them, as they do often their Play-fellows, instead of his calling upon them to learn; and they being satisfied that they act as freely in this, as they do in other things, they will go on with as much Pleasure in it, and it will not differ from their other Sports and Play. By these ways, carefully pursued, a Child may be brought to desire to be taught any thing you have a mind he should learn. The hardest Part, I confess, is with the first or eldest; but when once he is set aright, it is easie by him to lead the rest whither one will.

§. 75. Though it be past doubt, that the fittest Time for Children to learn any thing, is, when their *Minds* are *in tune*, and well disposed to it; when neither Flagging of Spirit, nor Intentness of Thought upon something else makes them aukward and averse; yet two Things are to be taken care of: 1. That these Seasons either not being warily observ'd, and laid

hold on, as often as they return ; or else not returning as often as they should, *Disposition.* the Improvement of the Child be not thereby neglected, and so he be let grow into an habitual Idleness, and confirm'd in this Indisposition. 2. That tho' other Things are ill learned when the Mind is either indisposed, or otherwise taken up ; yet it is of great Moment, and worth our Endeavours, to teach the Mind to get the Mastery over it self ; and to be able, upon choice, to take it self off from the hot pursuit of one thing, and set it self upon another with Facility and Delight ; or at any time to shake off its Sluggishness, and vigorously employ it self about what Reason, or the Advice of another shall direct. This is to be done in Children, by trying them sometimes, when they are by Laziness unbent, or by Avocation bent another way, and endeavouring to make them buckle to the Thing propos'd. If by this means the Mind can get an habitual Dominion over it self, lay by *Idea's*, or Business, as occasion requires, and betake it self to new and less acceptable Employments, without Reluctancy or Discomposure, it will be an Advantage of more Consequence than Latin, or Logick, or most of those Things Children are usually required to learn.

§. 76. Children being more Active and Busy in that Age, than in any *Compulsion.* other Part of their Life, and being indifferent to any Thing they can do, so they may be but doing, *Dancing* and *Scotch-hoppers* would be the same thing to them, were the Encouragements and Discouragements equal. But to Things we would have them learn, the great and only Discouragement I can observe, is, that they are called to it ; 'tis *made their Business* ; they are *teazed* and *chid* about it, and do it with Trembling and Apprehension : Or, when they come willingly to it, are kept too long at it, till they are quite tired : All which intrenches too much on that natural Freedom they extremely affect. And 'tis that Liberty alone which gives the true Relish and Delight to their ordinary Play-Games. Turn the Tables, and you will find, they will soon change their Application ; especially if they see the Examples of others, whom they esteem and think above themselves. And if the Things which they observe others to do, be order'd so that they insinuate themselves into them, as the Privilege of an Age or Condition above their's, then Ambition, and the Desire still to get forward, and higher, and to be like those above them, will set them on work, and make them go on with Vigour and Pleasure : Pleasure in what they have begun by their own desire. In which way the enjoyment of their dearly beloved Freedom will be no small Encouragement to them. To all which, if there be added the Satisfaction of Credit and Reputation, I am apt to think, there will need no other Spur to excite their Application and Assiduity, as much as is necessary. I confess, there needs Patience and Skill, Gentleness and Attention, and a prudent Conduct to attain this at first. But, why have you a Tutor, if there needed no pains ? But when this is once establish'd, all the rest will follow more easily than in any more severe and imperious Discipline. And I think it no hard matter, to gain this Point ; I am sure it will not be, where Children have no ill Examples set before them. The great danger therefore I apprehend, is only from Servants, and other ill-ordered Children, or such other vicious or foolish People, who spoil Children, both by the ill Pattern they set before them in their own ill Manners, and by giving them together, the two Things they should never have at once ; I mean, vicious Pleasures, and Commendation.

§. 77. As Children should very seldom be corrected by Blows ; so, I think, *Chiding.* frequent, and especially, passionate *Chiding* of almost as ill consequence. It lessens the Authority of the Parents, and the Respect of the Child : For I bid you still remember, they distinguish early betwixt Passion and Reason : And as they cannot but have a Reverence for what comes from the latter, so they quickly grow into a Contempt of the former ; or if it causes a present Terrour, yet it soon wears off ; and natural Inclination will easily learn to slight such Scare-crows, which make a noise, but are not animated by Reason. Children being to be restrained by the Parents only in vicious (which, in their tender years, are only a few) things, a Look or Nod only ought to correct them, when they do amiss : Or, if words are sometimes to be used,

Chiding. they ought to be grave, kind and sober, representing the ill, or unbecomingness of the Faults, rather than a *hasty rating* of the Child for it, which makes him not sufficiently distinguish, whether your Dislike be not more directed to him, than his Fault. Passionate chiding usually carries rough and ill Language with it; which has this further ill effect, that it teaches and justifies it in Children: And the Names that their Parents or Preceptours give them, they will not be ashamed or backward to bestow on others, having so good Authority for the use of them.

Obstinacy. §. 78. I foresee here it will be objected to me; What then, will you have Children never Beaten nor Chid for any Fault? This will be to let loose the Reins to all kind of Disorder. Not so much, as is imagined, if a right Course has been taken in the first Seasoning of their Minds, and implanting that Awe of their Parents above-mentioned. For Beating, by constant Observation, is found to do little good, where the Smart of it is all the Punishment is feared, or felt in it; for the influence of that quickly wears out, with the memory of it. But yet there is one, and but one Fault, for which, I think, Children should be beaten; and that is *Obstinacy*, or *Rebellion*. And in this too, I would have it order'd so, if it can be, that the shame of the Whipping, and not the Pain, should be the greatest part of the Punishment. Shame of doing amiss, and deserving Chastisement, is the only true Restraint belonging to Vertue. The Smart of the Rod, if Shame accompanies it not, soon ceases, and is forgotten, and will quickly, by use, lose its Terrour. I have known the Children of a Person of Quality kept in awe, by the fear of having their Shooes pulled off; as much as others by apprehensions of a Rod hanging over them. Some such Punishment, I think better than Beating; for, 'tis Shame of the Fault, and the Disgrace that attends it, that they should stand in fear of, rather than Pain, if you would have them have a Temper truly ingenuous. But *Stubbornness*, and an *obstinate Disobedience*, must be master'd with Force and Blows: For this there is no other Remedy. Whatever particular Action you bid him do, or forbear, you must be sure to see your self obey'd; no Quarter in this case, no Resistance. For when once it comes to be a Trial of Skill, a Contest for Mastery betwixt you, as it is if you command, and he refuses; you must be sure to carry it, whatever Blows it costs, if a Nod or Words will not prevail; unless, for ever after, you intend to live in obedience to your Son. A prudent and kind Mother, of my Acquaintance, was, on such an occasion, forced to whip her little Daughter, at her first coming home from Nurse, eight times successively the same Morning, before she could master her *Stubbornness*, and obtain a compliance in a very easie and indifferent matter. If she had left off sooner, and stop'd at the seventh Whipping, she had spoiled the Child for ever; and, by her unprevailing Blows, only confirmed her *Refractoriness*, very hardly afterwards to be cured: But wisely persisting till she had bent her Mind, and suppl'd her will, the only end of Correction and Chastisement, she established her Authority thoroughly in the very first occasions, and had ever after a very ready Compliance and Obedience in all things from her Daughter. For as this was the first time, so, I think, it was the last too she ever struck her.

The Pain of the Rod, *the first* occasion that requires it, continued and increased without leaving off till it has thoroughly prevailed, should first bend the Mind, and settle the Parent's Authority: And then Gravity mixed with Kindness, should for ever after keep it.

This, if well reflected on, would make People more wary in the use of the Rod and the Cudgel; and keep them from being so apt to think Beating the safe and universal Remedy; to be applied at random, on all occasions. This is certain however, if it does no good, it does great harm; if it reaches not the Mind, and makes not the Will supple, it hardens the Offender; and whatever pain he has suffered for it, it does but indear to him his beloved *Stubbornness*, which has got him this time the Victory, and prepares him to contest and hope for it for the future. Thus, I doubt not, but by ill order'd Correction, many have been taught to be *obstinate* and *refractory*, who otherwise would have been very pliant and tractable. For if you punish a Child
so,

so, as if it were only to revenge the past Fault, which has raised your Choler : What operation can this have upon his Mind, which is the part to be amended ? If there were no *sturdy humour*, or *wilfulness* mixed with his Fault, there was nothing in it, that required the severity of Blows. A kind, or grave Admonition is enough, to remedy the slips of Frailty, Forgetfulness, or Inadvertency, and is as much as they will stand in need of. But if there were a *Perverseness* in the Will, if it were a designed, resolved Disobedience, the Punishment is not to be measured by the greatness or smallness of the matter, wherein it appeared, but by the opposition it carries, and stands in, to that Respect and Submission is due to the Father's Orders ; which must always be rigorously exacted, and the Blows, by pauses laid on, till they reach the Mind, and you perceive the Signs of a true Sorrow, Shame, and purpose of Obedience.

This, I confess, requires something more than setting Children a Task, and Whipping them without any more ado, if it be not done, and done to our Fancy. This requires Care, Attention, Observation, and a nice study of Children's Tempers, and weighing their Faults well, before we come to this sort of Punishment. But is not that better than always to have the Rod in Hand, as the only Instrument of Government ; and, by frequent use of it on all Occasions, misapply and render inefficacious this last and useful Remedy, where there is need of it ? For, what else can be expected, when it is promiscuously used upon every little slip ? When a Mistake in *Concordance*, or a wrong *Position* in Verse, shall have the severity of the Lash in a well-temper'd and industrious Lad, as surely as a wilful Crime in an obstinate and perverse Offender : How can such a way of Correction be expected to do good on the Mind, and set that right ? Which is the only thing to be look'd after ; and when set right, brings all the rest that you can desire along with it.

§. 79. Where a *wrong Bent of the Will* wants not Amendment, there can be no need of Blows. All other Faults, where the Mind is rightly disposed, and refuses not the Government and Authority of the Father or Tutor, are but Mistakes, and may often be over-look'd ; or when they are taken notice of, need no other but the gentle Remedies of Advice, Direction and Reproof ; till the repeated and wilful Neglect of those, shews the Fault to be in the Mind, and that a manifest *Perverseness* of the Will lies at the Root of their Disobedience. But when ever *Obstinacy*, which is an open Defiance, appears, that cannot be wink'd at, or neglected, but must in the first Instance, be subdued and master'd : Only Care must be had, that we mistake not ; and we must be sure it is *Obstinacy*, and nothing else.

§. 80. But since the Occasions of Punishment, especially Beating, are as much to be avoided as may be, I think it should not be often brought to this Point. If the Awe I spoke of be once got, a Look will be sufficient in most Cases. Nor, indeed should the same Carriage, Seriousness or Application be expected from young Children, as from those of riper Growth. They must be permitted, as I said, the Foolish and Childish Actions suitable to their Years, without taking notice of them. Inadvertency, Carelessness, and Gayety is the Character of that Age. I think the Severity I spoke of is not to extend it self to such unreasonable Restraints ; nor is that hastily to be interpreted *Obstinacy*, or *Wilfulness*, which is the natural Product of their Age or Temper. In such Miscarriages they are to be assisted, and help'd towards an Amendment, as weak People under a natural Infirmary ; which though they are warn'd of, yet every Relapse must not be counted a perfect Neglect, and they presently treated as *Obstinate*. Faults of Frailty, as they should never be neglected, or let pass without minding ; so, unless the Will mix with them, they should never be exaggerated, or very sharply reprov'd ; but with a gentle Hand set right, as Time and Age permit. By this means, Children will come to see what 'tis in any Miscarriage, that is chiefly offensive, and so learn to avoid it. This will encourage them to keep their Wills right ; which is the great Business ; when they find that it preserves them from any great Displeasure ; and

Obstinacy. and that in all their other Failings they meet with the kind Concern and Help, rather than the Anger and passionate Reproaches of their Tutor and Parents. Keep them from Vice, and vicious Dispositions, and such a kind of Behaviour in general will come, with every Degree of their Age, as is suitable to that Age, and the Company they ordinarily converse with: And as they grow in Years, they will grow in Attention and Application. But that your Words may always carry Weight and Authority with them, if it shall happen, upon any Occasion, that you bid him leave off the Doing of any even Childish things, you must be sure to carry the Point, and not let him have the Mastery. But yet, I say, I would have the Father seldom interpose his Authority and Command in these Cases, or in any other but such as have a Tendency to vicious Habits. I think there are better ways of prevailing with them: And a gentle Persuasion in Reasoning (when the first Point of Submission to your Will is got) will most Times do much better.

Reasoning. §. 81. It will perhaps be wonder'd that I mention *Reasoning* with Children: And yet I cannot but think that the true Way of Dealing with them. They understand it as early as they do Language; and, if I mis-observe not, they love to be treated as Rational Creatures sooner than is imagined. 'Tis a Pride should be cherished in them, and as much as can be, made the greatest Instrument to turn them by.

But when I talk of *Reasoning*, I do not intend any other, but such as is suited to the Child's Capacity and Apprehension. No Body can think a Boy of Three, or Seven Years old, should be argued with, as a grown Man. Long Discourses, and Philosophical Reasonings, at best, amaze and confound, but do not instruct Children. When, I say therefore, that they must be treated as *Rational Creatures*, I mean, that you should make them sensible, by the Mildness of your Carriage, and the Composure even in your Correction of them, that what you do is reasonable in you, and useful and necessary for them: And that it is not out of *Capricio*, Passion, or Fancy, that you command or forbid them any Thing. This they are capable of understanding; and there is no Vertue they should be excited to, nor Fault they should be kept from, which I do not think they may be convinced of; but it must be by such *Reasons* as their Age and Understanding are capable of, and those proposed always in very few and plain Words. The Foundations on which several Duties are built, and the Fountains of Right and Wrong, from which they spring, are not perhaps, easily to be let into the Minds of grown Men, not used to abstract their Thoughts from common receiv'd Opinion. Much less are Children capable of *Reasonings* from remote Principles. They cannot conceive the Force of long Deductions: The *Reasons* that move them must be *obvious*, and level to their Thoughts, and such as may (if I may so say) be felt, and touched. But yet, if their Age, Temper, and Inclinations be considered, there will never want such Motives, as may be sufficient to convince them. If there be no other more particular, yet these will always be intelligible, and of force, to deter them from any Fault, fit to be taken notice of in them (*viz.*) That it will be a Discredit and Disgrace to them, and displease you.

Examples. §. 82. But of all the ways whereby Children are to be instructed, and their Manners formed, the plainest, easiest, and most efficacious, is, to set before their Eyes the *Examples* of those Things you would have them do, or avoid. Which, when they are pointed out to them, in the Practice of Persons within their Knowledge, with some Reflections on their Beauty or Unbecomingness, are of more force to draw or deter their Imitation, than any Discourses which can be made to them. Vertues and Vices can by no Words be so plainly set before their Understandings, as the Actions of other Men will shew them, when you direct their Observation, and bid them view this or that good or bad Quality in their Practice. And the Beauty or Uncomeliness of many Things, in good and ill Breeding, will be better learnt, and make deeper Impressions on them, in the *Examples* of others, than from any Rules or Instructions can be given about them.

This is a Method to be used, not only whilst they are young, but to be continued even as long as they shall be under another's Tuition or Conduct. Nay, I know not whether it be not the best way to be used by a Father, as long as he shall think fit, on any occasion, to reform any thing he wishes mended in his Son: Nothing sinking so gently, and so deep, into Men's Minds, as *Example*. And what Ill they either overlook, or indulge in themselves, they cannot but dislike, and be ashamed of, when it is set before them in another.

§. 83. It may be doubted concerning *Whipping*, when, as the last Remedy, it comes to be necessary; at what Times, and by whom it should be done: Whether presently upon the committing the Fault, whilst it is yet fresh and hot; And whether Parents themselves should beat their Children. As to the First: I think it should *not* be done *presently*, lest Passion mingle with it; and so, though it exceed the just proportion, yet it lose of its due Weight: For, even Children discern when we do things in Passion. But, as I said before, that has most weight with them, that appears sedately to come from their Parent's Reason; and they are not without this distinction. Next, If you have any discreet Servant capable of it, and has the Place of governing your Child (for if you have a Tutor, there is no doubt) I think it is best the *Smart* should come more immediately *from another's hand*, though by the Parent's Order, who should see it done; whereby the Parents's Authority will be preserv'd, and the Child's Aversion for the Pain it suffers rather be turn'd on the Person that immediately inflicts it. For I would have a *Father seldom strike his Child*, but upon very urgent Necessity, and as the last Remedy: And then perhaps it will be fit to do it so, that the Child should not quickly forget it.

§. 84. But, as I said before, *Beating* is the worst, and therefore the last Means to be used in the Correction of Children; and that only in Cases of Extremity, after all gentler Ways have been tried, and proved unsuccessful: Which, if well observ'd, there will be very seldom any need of Blows. For, it not being to be imagin'd that a Child will often, if ever, dispute his Father's present Command in any particular Instance; and the Father not interposing his absolute Authority, in peremptory Rules, concerning either childish or indifferent Actions, wherein his Son is to have his Liberty; or concerning his Learning or Improvement, wherein there is no Compulsion to be used: There remains only the Prohibition of some vicious Actions, wherein a Child is capable of *Obstinacy*, and consequently can deserve Beating: And so there will be but very few occasions of that Discipline to be used by any one, who considers well, and orders his Child's Education as it should be. For the first Seven Years, What Vices can a Child be guilty of, but Lying, or some ill-natur'd Tricks; the repeated Commission whereof, after his Father's direct Command against it, shall bring him into the Condemnation of *Obstinacy*, and the Chastisement of the Rod? If any vicious Inclination in him be, in the first Appearances and Instances of it, treated as it should be, first, with your Wonder, and then, if returning again a second time, discountenanced with the severe Brow of the Father, Tutor, and all about him, and a Treatment suitable to the State of Discredit before-mentioned; and this continued till he be made sensible, and ashamed of his Fault; I imagine there will be no need of any other Correction, nor ever any Occasion to come to Blows. The Necessity of such Chastisement is usually the Consequence only of former Indulgencies, or Neglects. If vicious Inclinations were watched from the Beginning, and the first Irregularities which they caused, corrected by those gentler ways, we should seldom have to do with more than one Disorder at once; which would be easily set right without any stir or noise, and not require so harsh a Discipline as Beating. Thus, one by one, as they appear'd, they might all be weeded out, without any Signs or Memory that ever they had been there. But we letting their Faults (by Indulging and Humouring our little Ones) grow up, till they are Sturdy and Numerous, and the Deformity of them makes us ashamed and uneasy; we are fain to come to the Plough and the Harrow; the Spade and the Pick-axe must go deep to come at the Roots, and all the Force,

Whipping. Skill, and Diligence we can use, is scarce enough to cleanse the vitiated Seed-Plat overgrown with Weeds, and restore us the Hopes of Fruits to reward our Pains in its Season.

§ 85. This Course, if observ'd, will spare both Father and Child the trouble of repeated Injunctions, and multiplied Rules of Doing and Forbearing. For, I am of Opinion, that of those Actions, which tend to vitious Habits (which are those alone that a Father should interpose his Authority and Commands in) none should be forbidden Children till they are found Guilty of them. For such untimely Prohibitions, if they do nothing worse, do at least so much towards teaching and allowing them, that they suppose that Children may be guilty of them, who would possibly be safer in the Ignorance of any such Faults. And the best Remedy to stop them, is, as I have said, to shew *Wonder and Amazement* at any such Action as hath a vitious tendency, when it is first taken notice of in a Child. For Example, When he is first found in a Lye, or any ill-natur'd Trick; the first Remedy should be, to talk to him of it as a *strange Monstrous Matter* that it could not be imagin'd he would have done, and so shame him out of it.

§ 86. It will be ('tis like) objected, That whatsoever I fancy of the Tractableness of Children, and the Prevalency of those softer ways of Shame and Commendation; yet there are many, who will never apply themselves to their Books, and to what they ought to learn, unless they are scourged to it. This I fear is nothing but the Language of ordinary Schools and Fashion, which have never suffer'd the other to be tried as it should be, in Places where it could be taken notice of. *Why, else, does the Learning of Latin and Greek need the Rod, when French and Italian need it not?* Children learn to Dance and Fence without Whipping; nay, Arithmetick, Drawing, &c. they apply themselves well enough to without Beating: Which would make one suspect, that there is something strange, unnatural, and disagreeable to that Age, in the things requir'd in Grammar-Schools, or in the Methods used there, that Children cannot be brought to, without the severity of the Lash, and hardly with that too; or else, that it is a mistake, that those Tongues could not be taught them without Beating.

§ 87. But let us suppose some so Negligent or Idle, that they will not be brought to learn by the gentle ways propos'd: For we must grant, that there will be Children found of all Tempers: Yet it does not thence follow, that the rough Discipline of the Cudgel is to be used to all. Nor can any one be concluded unmanageable by the *milder Methods* of Government, till they have been *thoroughly tried* upon him; and if they will not prevail with him to use his Endeavours, and do what is in his Power to do, we make no Excuses for the Obstinate: Blows are the proper Remedies for those; but Blows laid on in a way different from the ordinary. He that wilfully neglects his Book, and stubbornly refuses any thing he can do, required of him by his Father expressing himself in a positive serious Command, should not be corrected with two or three angry Lashes, for not performing his Task, and the same Punishment repeated again and again, upon every the like Default: But when it is brought to that pass, that Wilfulness evidently shews it self, and makes Blows necessary; I think the Chastisement should be a little more Sedate, and a little more Severe; and the Whipping (mingled with Admonition between) so continued, till the Impressions of it on the Mind were found legible in the Face, Voice, and Submission of the Child, not so sensible of the Smart, as of the Fault he has been guilty of, and melting in true Sorrow under it. If such a Correction as this, tried some few times at fit distances, and carried to the utmost Severity, with the visible Displeasure of the Father all the while, will not work the Effect, turn the Mind, and produce a future Compliance: What can be hoped from *Blows*, and to what purpose should they be any more used? *Beating*, when you can expect no good from it, will look more like the Fury of an enraged Enemy, than the good Will of a compassionate Friend; and such Chastisement carries with it only Provocation without any prospect of Amendment. If it be any Father's Misfortune to have a Son thus perverse and untractable, I know not what more he can do, but pray for him.

him. But, I imagine, if a right Course be taken with Children from the be-^{Whipping.}ginning, very few will be found to be such; and when there are any such Instances, They are not to be the Rule for the Education of those who are better Natur'd, and may be managed with better Usage.

§. 88. If a *Tutour* can be got, that, thinking himself in the Father's place,^{Tutour.} charged with his Care, and relishing these Things, will at the beginning apply himself to put them in Practice, he will afterwards find his Work very easie: And you will, I guess, have your Son in a little time, a greater Proficient in both Learning and Breeding, than perhaps you imagine. But let him by no Means beat him, at any time, without your Consent and Direction; at least till you have Experience of his Discretion and Temper. But yet to keep up his Authority with his Pupil, besides concealing that he has not the Power of the Rod, you must be sure to use him with great Respect your self, and cause all your Family to do so too. For you cannot expect, your Son should have any regard for one, whom he sees you, or his Mother, or others slight. If you think him worthy of Contempt, you have chosen amiss: And if you shew any Contempt of him, he will hardly scape it from your Son: And whenever that happens, whatever Worth he may have in himself, and Abilities for this Employment, they are all lost to your Child, and can afterwards never be made useful to him.

§. 89. As the Father's Example must teach the Child Respect for his *Tutour*; so the *Tutour's* Example must lead the Child into those Actions he would have him do. His Practice must by no means cross his Precepts, unless he intend to set him wrong. It will be to no purpose for the *Tutour* to talk of the Restraint of the Passions, whilst any of his own are let loose: And he will in vain endeavour to reform any Vice or Indecency in his Pupil, which he allows in himself. Ill Patterns are sure to be follow'd more than good Rules: And therefore he must also carefully preserve him from the Influence of ill Precedents, especially the most dangerous of all, the Examples of the Servants; from whose Company he is to be kept, not by Prohibitions, for that will but give him an Itch after it, but by other Ways I have mention'd.

§. 90. In all the whole Business of Education, there is nothing like to be^{Gover-} less hearken'd to, or harder to be well observ'd, than what I am now going^{nour.} to say; and that is, That Children should from their first beginning to talk, have some *Discreet, Sober, nay, Wise* Person about them, whose Care it should be to fashion them aright, and keep them from all Ill, especially the Infection of bad Company. I think this Province requires great *Sobriety, Temperance, Tenderness, Diligence, and Discretion*; Qualities hardly to be found united in Persons, that are to be had for ordinary Salaries; nor easily to be found any where. As to the Charge of it, I think it will be the Money best laid out that can be about our Children; and therefore though it may be Expensive more than is ordinary, yet it cannot be thought dear. He, that at any Rate procures his Child a good Mind, well Principled, temper'd to Vertue and Usefulness, and adorned with Civility and good Breeding, makes a better Purchase for him, than if he laid out the Money for an Addition of more Earth to his former Acres. Spare it in Toys and Play-Games, in Silk and Ribbons, Laces and other useless Expences, as much as you please; but be not sparing in so necessary a part as this. 'Tis not good Husbandry to make his Fortune rich, and his Mind poor. I have often with great Admiration seen People lavish it profusely in tricking up their Children in fine Clothes, Lodging, and Feeding them sumptuously, allowing them more than enough of useless Servants, and yet at the same time starve their Minds, and not take sufficient Care to cover that, which is the most Shameful Nakedness, viz. their natural wrong Inclinations and Ignorance. This I can look on as no other than a Sacrificing to their own Vanity; it shewing more their Pride, than true Care of the Good of their Children. Whatsoever you employ to the Advantage of your Son's Mind will shew your true Kindness, tho' it be to the lessening of his Estate. A Wise and Good Man can hardly want either the Opinion or Reality of being Great and Happy. But he that is Foolish, or Vicious, can be neither Great nor Happy, what Estate soever you

Governour. you leave him: And I ask you, Whether there be not Men in the World, whom you had rather have your Son be with 500 *l. per Annum*, than some other you know, with 5000 *l.*?

§. 91. The Consideration of Charge ought not therefore to deter those who are able: The great difficulty will be where to find a *proper Person*. For those of small Age, Parts, and Vertue, are unfit for this Employment; and those that have greater, will hardly be got to undertake such a Charge. You must therefore look out early, and enquire every where: For the World has People of all sorts. And I remember, *Montaigne* says in one of his Essays, That the Learned *Castalio* was fain to make Trenchers at *Basle* to keep himself from Starving, when his Father would have given any Money for such a Tutor for his Son, and *Castalio* have willingly embraced such an Employment upon very reasonable Terms; But this was for want of Intelligence.

§. 92. If you find it difficult to meet with such a Tutor as we desire, you are not to wonder. I only can say, Spare no Care nor Cost to get such an one. All things are to be had that way: And I dare assure you, That if you can get a good one, you will never repent the Charge; but will always have the Satisfaction to think it the Money of all other the best laid out. But be sure take no Body upon Friends, or Charitable, no, nor bare great Commendations. Nay, if you will do as you ought, the Reputation of a Sober Man with a good Stock of Learning (which is all usually required in a Tutor) will not be enough to serve your turn. In this Choice be as Curious, as you would be in that of a Wife for him: For you must not think of Trial, or Changing afterwards: That will cause great Inconveniency to you, and greater to your Son. When I consider the Scruples and Cautions I here lay in your way, methinks it looks, as if I advised you to something, which I would have offer'd at, but in Effect not done. But he that shall consider, how much the Business of a Tutor, rightly employed, lies out of the Road; and how remote it is from the Thoughts of many, even of those who propose to themselves this Employment, will perhaps be of my Mind, that one, fit to educate and form the Mind of a Young Gentleman, is not every where to be found; and that more than ordinary Care is to be taken in the Choice of him, or else you may fail of your End.

Tutor. §. 93. The Character of a Sober Man and a Scholar, is, as I have above observ'd, what every one expects in a Tutor. This generally is thought enough, and is all that Parents commonly look for. But when such an one has emptied out into his Pupil all the Latin and Logick he has brought from the University, will that Furniture make him a fine Gentleman? Or can it be expected, that he should be better Bred, better skill'd in the World, better Principled in the Grounds and Foundations of true Vertue and Generosity, than his young Tutor is?

To form a young Gentleman as he should be, 'tis fit his *Governour* should himself be well-Bred, understand the Ways of Carriage, and Measures of Civility in all the Variety of Persons, Times and Places; and keep his Pupil, as much as his Age requires, constantly to the Observation of them. This is an Art not to be learnt, nor taught by Books. Nothing can give it but good Company, and Observation joyn'd together. The Taylor may make his Cloathes Modish, and the Dancing-Master give Fashion to his Motions; yet neither of these, though they set off well, make a well-bred Gentleman; No, though he have Learning to boot; which, if not well managed, makes him more impertinent and intolerable in Conversation. Breeding is that which sets a Gloss upon all his other good Qualities, and renders them useful to him, in procuring him the Esteem and Good-Will of all that he comes near. Without good Breeding, his other Accomplishments make him pass but for Proud, Conceited, Vain, or Foolish.

Courage in an ill-bred Man, has the Air, and escapes not the Opinion of Brutality: Learning becomes Pedantry; Wit, Buffoonery; Plainness, Rusticity; Good Nature, Fawning. And there cannot be a good Quality in him, which want of Breeding will not warp, and disfigure to his Disadvantage. Nay, Vertue and Parts, though they are allow'd their due Commendation, yet

yet are not enough to procure a Man a good Reception, and make him Wel-^{Tutour}come where-ever he comes. No body contents himself with rough Diamonds, and wears them so, who would appear with Advantage. When they are polish'd, and set, then they give a lustre. Good Qualities are the Substantial Riches of the Mind, but 'tis good Breeding sets them off: And he that will be acceptable, must give Beauty as well as Strength to his Actions. Solidity, or even Usefulness, is not enough: A graceful Way and Fashion, in every thing, is that which gives the Ornament and Liking. And in most Cases the manner of doing is of more Consequence than the thing done; And upon that depends the Satisfaction or Disgust wherewith it is received. This therefore, which lies not in the putting off the Hat, nor making of Complements; but in a due and free composure of Language, Looks, Motion, Posture, Place, &c. suited to Persons and Occasions, and can be learn'd only by Habit and Use, though it be above the capacity of Children, and little ones should not be perplex'd about it; yet it ought to be begun, and in a good Measure learn'd by a young Gentleman whilst he is under a Tutour, before he comes into the World upon his own Legs: For then usually it is too late to hope to reform several habitual Indecencies, which lie in little things. For the Carriage is not as it should be, till it is become Natural in every Part; falling, as skilful Musicians Fingers do, into Harmonious Order, without Care, and without Thought. If in Conversation a Man's Mind be taken up with a solicitous Watchfulness about any part of his Behaviour; instead of being mended by it, it will be constrain'd, uneasy, and ungraceful.

Besides, this part is most necessary to be form'd by the Hands and Care of a *Governour*: Because, though the Errours committed in Breeding are the first that are taken notice of by others, yet they are the last that any one is told of. Not, but that the Malice of the World is forward enough to tattle of them; but it is always out of his hearing, who should make profit of their Judgment, and Reform himself by their Censure. And indeed, this is so nice a Point to be meddled with, that even those who are Friends, and wish it were mended, scarce ever dare mention it, and tell those they love, that they are Guilty in such or such Cases of ill Breeding. Errors in other things, may often with Civility be shewn another; and 'tis no Breach of good Manners or Friendship, to set him right in other Mistakes: But good Breeding it self allows not a Man to touch upon this; or to insinuate to another that he is guilty of want of Breeding. Such Information can come only from those who have Authority over them: And from them too it comes very hardly and harshly to a grown Man; and however soften'd, goes but ill down with any one, who has lived ever so little in the World. Wherefore it is necessary, that this Part should be the *Governour's* principal Care; that an habitual Gracefulness, and Politeness in all his Carriage may be settled in his Charge, as much as may be, before he goes out of his Hands: And that he may not need Advice in this Point, when he has neither Time, nor Disposition to receive it, nor has any Body left to give it him. The *Tutour* therefore ought in the first place to be well bred: And a young Gentleman, who gets this one Qualification from his *Governour*, sets out with great Advantage; and will find, that this one Accomplishment, will more open his way to him, get him more Friends, and carry him farther in the World, than all the hard Words, or real Knowledge he has got from the Liberal Arts, or his *Tutour's* learned *Encyclopaedia*; not that those should be neglected, but by no means preferr'd, or suffer'd to thrust out the other.

§. 94. Besides being well-bred, the *Tutour* should know the World well; the Ways, the Humours, the Follies, the Cheats, the Faults of the Age he is fallen into, and particularly of the Country he lives in. These he should be able to shew to his Pupil, as he finds him capable; teach him Skill in Men, and their Manners; pull off the Mask which their several Callings, and Pretences cover them with; and make his Pupil discern what lies at the bottom under such Appearances; that he may not as unexperienc'd young Men are apt to do, if they are unwarn'd, take one thing for another,

Tutor. judge by the Out-side, and give himself up to Show, and the Insinuation of a fair Carriage, or an obliging Application ; A Governour should teach his Scholar to guess at, and beware of, the Designs of Men he hath to do with, neither with too much Suspicion, nor too much Confidence ; but, as the young Man is by Nature most enclined to either side, rectifie him and bend him the other way. He should accustom him to make as much as is possible a true Judgment of Men by those Marks, which serve best to shew what they are, and give a Prospect into their Inside ; which often shews it self in little things, especially when they are not in Parade, and upon their Guard. He should acquaint him with the true State of the World, and dispose him to think no Man better or worse, wiser or foolisher, than he really is. Thus by safe and insensible Degrees, he will pass from a Boy to a Man ; which is the most hazardous Step in all the whole Course of Life. This therefore should be carefully watch'd, and a young Man with great Diligence handed over it ; and not, as now usually is done, be taken from a Governour's Conduct, and all at once thrown into the World under his own, not without manifest Dangers of immediate Spoiling ; there being nothing more frequent, than Instances of the great Looseness, Extravagancy and Debauchery, which young Men have run into as soon as they have been let loose from a severe and strict Education : Which I think may be chiefly imputed to their wrong way of Breeding, especially in this Part : For having been bred up in a great Ignorance of what the World truly is, and finding it quite another thing, when they come into it, than what they were taught it should be, and so imagined it was, are easily persuaded, by other kind of Tutours, which they are sure to meet with, that the Discipline they were kept under, and the Lectures were read to them, were but the Formalities of Education, and the Restraints of Childhood ; that the Freedom belonging to Men, is to take their Swing in a full Enjoyment of what was before forbidden them. They shew the young Novice the World full of fashionable and glittering Examples of this every where, and he is presently dazzled with them. My young Master, failing not to be willing to shew himself a Man, as much as any of the Sparks of his Years, lets himself loose to all the Irregularities he finds in the most Debauch'd ; and thus courts Credit and Manliness, in the casting off the Modesty, and Sobriety, he has till then been kept in ; and thinks it brave, at his first setting out, to signalize himself in running counter to all the Rules of Vertue, which have been preach'd to him by his Tutor.

The shewing him the World as really it is, before he comes wholly into it, is one of the best Means, I think, to prevent this Mischief. He should by degrees be informed of the Vices in fashion, and warn'd of the Applications and Designs of those, who will make it their Business to corrupt him. He should be told the Arts they use, and the Trains they lay ; and now and then have set before him the tragical or ridiculous Examples of those, who are ruining, or ruined this way. The Age is not like to want Instances of this kind, which should be made Land-marks to him ; that by the Disgraces, Diseases, Beggary and Shame of hopeful young Men thus brought to Ruin, he may be precaution'd, and be made see, how those joyn in the Contempt and Neglect of them that are undone, who by Pretences of Friendship and Respect lead them into it, and help to prey upon them whilst they were undoing ; that he may see, before he buys it by a too dear Experience, that those who persuade him not to follow the sober Advices he has received from his Governours, and the Counsel of his own Reason, which they call being govern'd by others, do it only, that they may have the Government of him themselves ; and make him believe, he goes like a Man of himself, by his own Conduct, and for his own Pleasure, when, in truth, he is wholly as a Child led by them into those Vices which best serve their Purposes. This is a Knowledge which, upon all Occasions, a Tutor should endeavour to instil, and by all Methods try to make him comprehend, and thoroughly relish.

I know it is often said, That to discover to a young Man the Vices of the Age, is to teach them him. That I confess is a good deal so, according

as it is done ; and therefore requires a discreet Man of Parts, who knows the *Tutor* World, and can judge of the Temper, Inclination and weak Side of his Pupil. This farther is to be remember'd, that it is not possible now (as perhaps formerly it was) to keep a young Gentleman from Vice, by a total Ignorance of it ; unless you will all his Life mew him up in a Closet, and never let him go into Company. The longer he is kept thus hood-wink'd, the less he will see, when he comes Abroad into open Day-light, and be the more exposed to be a Prey to himself, and others. And an old Boy at his first Appearance, with all the Gravity of his Ivy-bush about him, is sure to draw on him the Eyes and Chirping of the whole Town Volery ; amongst which, there will not be wanting some Birds of Prey, that will presently be on the wing for him.

The only Fence against the World, is a thorough Knowledge of it : into which a young Gentleman should be enter'd by Degrees, as he can bear it ; and the earlier the better, so he be in safe and skilful Hands to guide him. The Scene should be gently open'd, and his Enterance made Step by Step, and the Dangers pointed out that attend him, from the several Degrees, Tempers, Designs and Clubs of Men. He should be prepared to be shock'd by some, and caress'd by others ; warn'd who are like to oppose, who to mislead, who to undermine him, and who to serve him. He should be instructed how to know, and distinguish them ; where he should let them see, and when dissemble the Knowledge of them, and their Aims and Workings. And if he be too forward to venture upon his own Strength and Skill, the Perplexity and Trouble of a Misadventure now and then, that reaches not his Innocence, his Health, or Reputation, may not be an ill way to teach him more Caution.

This I confess, containing one great part of Wisdom, is not the Product of some superficial Thoughts, or much Reading ; but the effect of Experience and Observation in a Man, who has lived in the World with his Eyes open, and convers'd with Men of all Sorts. And therefore I think it of most value to be instill'd into a young Man, upon all Occasions which offer themselves, that, when he comes to launch into the Deep himself, he may not be like one at Sea without a Line, Compass, or Sea-Chart ; but may have some notice before-hand of the Rocks and Shoals, the Currents and Quick-sands, and know a little how to steer, that he sink not, before he get Experience. He that thinks not this of more moment to his Son, and for which he more needs a Governour, than the Languages and learned Sciences, forgets of how much more use it is to judge right of Men, and manage his Affairs wisely with them, than to speak Greek and Latin, or argue in Mood and Figure : Or to have his Head fill'd with the abstruse Speculations of Natural Philosophy, and Metaphysics ; nay, than to be well-versed in Greek and Roman Writers, though that be much better for a Gentleman, than to be a good Peripatetick or Cartesian : Because those ancient Authors observ'd and painted Mankind well, and give the best Light into that kind of Knowledge. He that goes into the Eastern Parts of *Asia*, will find able and acceptable Men without any of these : But without Vertue, Knowledge of the World and Civility, an accomplished and valuable Man can be found no where.

A great part of the Learning now in fashion in the Schools of *Europe*, and that goes ordinarily into the Round of Education, a Gentleman may in a good measure be unfurnished with, without any great Disparagement to himself, or Prejudice to his Affairs. But Prudence and good Breeding are in all the Stations and Occurrences of Life necessary ; and most young Men suffer in the want of them ; and come rawer and more awkward into the World than they should, for this very Reason ; because these Qualities, which are of all other the most necessary to be taught, and stand most in need of the assistance and help of a Teacher, are generally neglected, and thought but a Slight, or no part of a *Tutor's* Business. Latin and Learning make all the Noise : And the main Stress is laid upon his Proficiency in Things, a great part whereof belong not to a Gentleman's Calling ; which is to have the Knowledge of a Man of Business, a Carriage suitable to his Rank, and to be

Tutor. be Eminent and Useful in his Country, according to his Station. Whenever either spare Hours from that, or an Inclination to perfect himself in some parts of Knowledge, which his *Tutor* did but just enter him in, set him upon any Study; the first Rudiments of it, which he learn'd before, will open the way enough for his own Industry to carry him as far as his Fancy will prompt, or his Parts enable him to go. Or, if he thinks it may save his Time and Pains, to be help'd over some Difficulties by the Hand of a Master, he may then take a Man that is perfectly well skill'd in it, or choose such an one as he thinks fittest for his purpose. But to initiate his Pupil in any part of Learning, as far as is necessary for a young Man in the ordinary course of his Studies, an ordinary Skill in the *Governour* is enough. Nor is it requisite, that he should be a thorough Scholar, or possess in perfection all those Sciences, which 'tis convenient a young Gentleman should have a taste of in some general View, or short System. A Gentleman, that would penetrate deeper, must do it by his own Genius and Industry afterwards: For no Body ever went far in Knowledge, or became Eminent in any of the Sciences by the Discipline and Constraint of a Master.

The great Work of a *Governour* is to fashion the Carriage, and form the Mind; to settle in his Pupil good Habits, and the Principles of Vertue and Wisdom; to give him by little and little a view of Mankind; and work him into a love and imitation of what is Excellent and Praise-worthy; and in the Prosecution of it to give him Vigour, Activity, and Industry. The Studies which he sets him upon, are but as it were the Exercises of his Faculties, and Employment of his Time, to keep him from Sauntering and Idleness, to teach him Application, and accustom him to take Pains, and to give him some little taste of what his own Industry must perfect. For who expects, that under a *Tutor* a young Gentleman should be an accomplished Critick, Oratour, or Logician; Go to the bottom of Metaphysicks, Natural Philosophy or Mathematicks; Or be a Master in History or Chronology? Though something of each of these is to be taught him: But it is only to open the Door, that he may look in, and as it were begin an Acquaintance, but not to dwell there: And a *Governour* would be much to be blam'd, that should keep his Pupil too long, and lead him too far in most of them. But of good Breeding, Knowledge of the World, Vertue, Industry, and a love of Reputation, he cannot have too much: And if he have these, he will not long want what he needs, or desires of the other.

And since it cannot be hoped, he should have Time and Strength to learn all Things, most Pains should be taken about that which is most necessary; and that principally look'd after, which will be of most and frequentest Use to him in the World.

Seneca complains of the contrary Practice in his time: And yet the *Burgess*'s and the *Scheiblers* did not swarm in those Days, as they do now in these. What would he have thought, if he had lived now, when the *Tutors* think it their great Business to fill the Studies and Heads of their Pupils with such Authors as these? He would have had much more Reason to say, as he does, *Non Vita sed Schola discimus*, we learn not to live, but to Dispute; and our Education fits us rather for the University than the World. But 'tis no Wonder if those who make the Fashion, suit it to what they have, and not to what their Pupils want. The Fashion being once establish'd, who can think it strange, that in this, as well as in all other things it should prevail; and that the greatest part of those, who find their Account in an easie Submission to it, should be ready to cry out *Herefie*, when any one departs from it? 'Tis nevertheless Matter of Astonishment, that Men of Quality, and Parts, should suffer themselves to be so far misled by Custom and Implicit Faith. Reason, if consulted with, would advise, that their Childrens time should be spent in acquiring what might be useful to them when they come to be Men, rather than to have their Heads stuff'd with a deal of Trash, a great part whereof they usually never do ('tis certain they never need to) think on again as long as they live; and so much of it as does stick by them they are only the worse for. This is so well known, that I appeal to Parents themselves, who have been at Cost to have their young Heirs taught

taught it, whether it be not Ridiculous for their Sons to have any Tincture of that sort of Learning, when they come abroad into the World; whether any appearance of it would not lessen and disgrace them in Company. And that certainly must be an admirable Acquisition, and deserves well to make a part in Education, which Men are ashamed of where they are most concerned to shew their Parts and Breeding.

There is yet another Reason, why Politeness of Manners, and Knowledge of the World should principally be look'd after in a *Tutor*: And that is, because a Man of Parts, and Years, may enter a Lad far enough in any of those Sciences which he has no deep insight into himself. Books in these will be able to furnish him, and give him Light, and Precedency enough, to go before a young Follower: But he will never be able to set another right in the Knowledge of the World, and above all, in Breeding, who is a Novice in them himself.

This is a Knowledge he must have about him, worn into him by Use, and Conversation, and a long forming himself by what he has observ'd to be practis'd and allowed in the best Company. This, if he has it not of his own, is no where to be borrowed, for the use of his Pupil: Or if he could find pertinent Treatises of it in Books, that would reach all the Particulars of an English Gentleman's Behaviour; his own ill-fashion'd Example, if he be not well-bred himself, would spoil all his Lectures; it being impossible, that any one should come forth well fashion'd, out of unpolish'd, ill-bred Company.

I say this, not that I think such a *Tutor* is every Day to be met with, or to be had at the ordinary Rates. But that those, who are able, may not be sparing of Enquiry or Cost in what is of so great moment; and that other Parents, whose Estates will not reach to greater Salaries, may yet remember, what they should principally have an eye to in the Choice of one to whom they would commit the Education of their Children; and what part they should chiefly look after themselves, whilst they are under their Care, and as often as they come within their Observation; and not think, that all lies in Latin and French, or some dry Systems of Logic and Philosophy.

§. 95. But to return to our Method again. Though I have mentioned the Severity of the Father's Brow, and the Awe settled thereby in the Mind of Children when young, as one main Instrument, whereby their Education is to be managed; yet I am far from being of an Opinion, that it should be continued all along to them; whilst they are under the Discipline and Government of Pupilage, I think it should be relaxed, as fast as their Age, Discretion, and Good Behaviour could allow it; even to that degree, that a Father will do well, as his Son grows up, and is capable of it, to talk familiarly with him; nay, ask his Advice, and Consult with him, about those things wherein he has any Knowledge, or Understanding. By this, the Father will gain two things, both of great moment. The one is, That it will put serious Considerations into his Son's Thoughts, better than any Rules or Advices he can give him. The sooner you treat him as a Man, the sooner he will begin to be one: And, if you admit him into serious Discourses sometimes with you, you will insensibly raise his Mind above the usual Amusements of Youth, and those trifling Occupations which it is commonly wasted in. For it is easie to observe, that many young Men continue longer in the Thought and Conversation of School-Boys, than otherwise they would, because their Parents keep them at that distance, and in that low Rank, by all their Carriage to them.

§. 96. Another thing of greater consequence, which you will obtain by such a way of treating him, will be his Friendship. Many Fathers, though they proportion to their Sons liberal Allowances, according to their Age and Condition; yet they keep the knowledge of their Estates, and Concerns from them, with as much Reservedness, as if they were guarding a secret of State from a Spy, or an Enemy. This, if it looks not like Jealousie, yet it wants those Marks of Kindness and Intimacy, which a Father should shew to his Son; and, no doubt, often hinders, or abates, that Cheerfulness and Satisfaction, wherewith a Son should address himself to, and rely upon,

Familiarity. his Father. And I cannot but often wonder to see Fathers, who love their Sons very well, yet so order the matter by a constant Stiffness, and a Mein of Authority and Distance to them all their Lives, as if they were never to enjoy or have any Comfort from those they love best in the World, till they had lost them by being removed into another. Nothing cements and establishes Friendship and Good-will, so much as *confident Communication* of Concernments and Affairs. Other Kindnesses without this, leave still some Doubts: But when your Son sees you open your Mind to him, when he finds that you interest him in your Affairs, as Things you are willing should in their turn come into his Hands, he will be concerned for them, as for his own; wait his Season with Patience, and love you in the mean time, who keep him not at the Distance of a Stranger. This will also make him see, that the Enjoyment you have is not without Care; which the more he is sensible of, the less will he envy you the Possession, and the more think himself Happy under the Management of so favourable a Friend, and so careful a Father. There is scarce any young Man of so little Thought, or so void of Sense, that would not be glad of a *sure Friend*, that he might have recourse to, and freely Consult on Occasion. The Reservedness and Distance, that Fathers keep, often deprive their Sons of that Refuge, which would be of more Advantage to them than an hundred Rebukes and Chidings. Would your Son engage in some Frolick, or take a Vagary, were it not much better he should do it with, than without your Knowledge? For, since Allowances for such Things must be made to Young Men, the more you know of his Intrigues and Designs, the better will you be able to prevent great Mischiefs; and, by letting him see what is like to follow, take the right way of prevailing with him to avoid less Inconveniencies. Would you have him open his Heart to you, and ask your Advice? You must begin to do so with him first, and by your Carriage beget that Confidence.

§. 97. But whatever he consults you about, unless it lead to some fatal and irremediable Mischief, be sure you advise only as a Friend of more Experience; but with your Advice mingle nothing of Command or Authority, nor more than you would to your Equal, or a Stranger. That would be to drive him for ever from any farther demanding, or receiving Advantage from your Counsel. You must consider that he is a Young Man, and has Pleasures and Fancies, which you are pass'd. You must not expect his Inclinations should be just as your's, nor that at Twenty he should have the same Thoughts you have at Fifty. All that you can wish is, That since Youth must have some Liberty, some Out-leaps, they might be with the Ingenuity of a Son, and *under the Eye of a Father*, and then no very great harm can come of it. The way to obtain this, as I said before, is (according as you find him capable) to talk with him about your Affairs, propose Matters to him *familiarly*, and ask his Advice; and when he ever lights on the Right, follow it as his; and if it succeed well, let him have the Commendation. This will not at all lessen your Authority, but increase his Love and Esteem of you. Whilst you keep your Estate, the Staff will still be in your own Hands; and your Authority the surer, the more it is strengthen'd with *Confidence and Kindness*. For you have not that Power you ought to have over him, till he comes to be more afraid of offending so good a Friend, than of losing some part of his future Expectation.

§. 98. Familiarity of Discourse, if it can become a Father to his Son, may much more be condescended to by a Tutor to his Pupil. All their time together should not be spent in Reading of Lectures, and magisterially dictating to him what he is to observe and follow: Hearing him in his turn, and using him to reason about what is propos'd, will make the Rules go down the easier, and sink the deeper, and will give him a liking to Study and Instruction: And he will then begin to value Knowledge when he sees that it enables him to Discourse; and he finds the Pleasure, and Credit of bearing a Part in the Conversation, and of having his Reasons sometimes approved, and hearken'd to. Particularly in Morality, Prudence, and Breeding, Cases should be put to him, and his Judgment ask'd: This opens the Understanding better than Maxims, how well soever explain'd, and settles the Rules better in the Memory for Practice.

Practice. This way lets things into the Mind, which stick there, and retain their Evidence with them; whereas Words at best are faint Representations, being not so much as the true Shadows of Things, and are much sooner forgotten. He will better comprehend the Foundations and Measures of Decency, and Justice; and have livelier, and more lasting Impressions of what he ought to do, by giving his Opinion on Cases proposed, and Reasoning with his Tutor on fit Instances, than by giving a silent, negligent, sleepy Audience to his Tutor's Lectures; and much more than by captious Logical Disputes, or set Declamations of his own, upon any Question. The one sets the Thoughts upon Wit, and false Colours, and not upon Truth: The other teaches Fallacy, Wrangling and Opiniatry: And they are both of them things, that spoil the Judgment, and put a Man out of the way of right and fair Reasoning; and therefore carefully to be avoided by one who would improve himself, and be acceptable to others.

§. 99. When, by making your Son sensible that he depends on you, and is in your Power, you have establish'd your Authority; and by being inflexibly severe in your Carriage to him, when obstinately persisting in any ill-natur'd Trick which you have forbidden, especially Lying, you have imprint-ed on his Mind that Awe which is necessary; and on the other side, when (by permitting him the full Liberty due to his Age, and laying no Restraint in your Presence to those childish Actions and Gaiety of Carriage, which, whilst he is very young, is as necessary to him as Meat or Sleep) you have reconciled him to your Company, and made him sensible of your Care and Love of him by Indulgence and Tenderness, especially Caressing him on all Occasions wherein he does any thing well, and being kind to him after a thousand Fashions suitable to his Age, which Nature teaches Parents better than I can: When, I say, by these Ways of Tenderness and Affection, which Parents never want for their Children, you have also planted in him a particular Affection for you, he is then in the State you could desire, and you have form'd in his Mind that true *Reverence*, which is always afterwards carefully to be continued, and maintain'd in both Parts of it, *Love* and *Fear*, as the great Principles, whereby you will always have hold upon him, to turn his Mind to the Ways of Vertue and Honour.

§. 100. When this Foundation is once well laid, and you find this *Reverence* begin to work in him, the next thing to be done, is carefully to consider his *Temper*, and the particular Constitution of his Mind. Stubbornness, Lying, and ill-natur'd Actions are not (as has been said) to be permitted in him from the Beginning, whatever his Temper be: Those Seeds of Vices are not to be suffer'd to take any Root, but must be carefully weeded out, as soon as ever they begin to shew themselves in him; and your Authority is to take place, and influence his Mind from the very Dawning of any Knowledge in him, that it may operate as a natural Principle, whereof he never perceived the Beginning, never knew that it was, or could be otherwise. By this, if the *Reverence* he owes you be establish'd early, it will always be Sacred to him, and it will be as hard for him to resist it, as the Principles of his Nature.

§. 101. Having thus very early set up your Authority, and, by the gentler Applications of it, shamed him out of what leads towards an immoral Habit; as soon as you have observ'd it in him (for I would by no means have Chiding used, much less Blows, till Obstinacy and Incurribleness make it absolutely necessary) it will be fit to consider which way the natural Make of his Mind inclines him. Some Men by the unalterable Frame of their Constitutions are *Stout*, others *Timorous*; some *Confident*, others *Modest*, *Tractable* or *Obstinate*, *Curious* or *Careless*, *Quick* or *Slow*. There are not more Differences in Mens Faces, and the outward Lineaments of their Bodies, than there are in the Makes and Tempers of their Minds; only there is this Difference, that the distinguishing Characters of the Face, and the Lineaments of the Body grow more plain and visible with Time and Age, but the peculiar *Physiognomy* of the Mind is most discernible in Children, before Art and Cunning have taught them to hide their Deformities, and conceal their ill Inclinations under a dissembled Outside.

§. 102. Be-

Temper. §. 102. Begin therefore betimes nicely to observe your Son's *Temper*; and that, when he is under least restraint, in his Play, and as he thinks out of your sight. See what are his *predominate Passions*, and *prevailing Inclinations*; whether he be Fierce or Mild, Bold or Bashful, Compassionate or Cruel, Open or Reserv'd, &c. For as these are different in him, so are your Methods to be different, and your Authority must hence take measures to apply it self different ways to him. These *native Propensities*, these Prevalencies of Constitution, are not to be cured by Rules, or a direct Contest; especially those of them that are the humbler and meaner sort, which proceed from fear, and lowness of Spirit; though with Art they may be much mended, and turned to good purposes. But this, be sure, after all is done, the Biass will always hang on that side that Nature first placed it: And if you carefully observe the Characters of his Mind, now in the first Scenes of his Life, you will ever after be able to judge which way his Thoughts lean, and what he aims at, even hereafter, when, as he grows up, the Plot thickens, and he puts on several Shapes to act it.

Dominion. §. 103. I told you before that Children love *Liberty*; and therefore they should be brought to do the things are fit for them, without feeling any Restraint laid upon them. I now tell you, they love something more; and that is *Dominion*: And this is the first Original of most vicious Habits, that are ordinary and natural. This Love of *Power* and *Dominion* shews it self very early, and that in these Two Things.

§. 104. 1. We see Children (as soon almost as they are born, I am sure long before they can speak) cry, grow peevish, fullen, and out of humour, for nothing but to have their *Wills*. They would have their Desires submitted to by others; they contend for a ready compliance from all about them; especially from those that stand near, or beneath them in Age or Degree, as soon as they come to consider others with those distinctions.

§. 105. Another thing wherein they shew their Love of *Dominion*, is their desire to have things to be their's; they would have *Propriety* and Possession, pleasing themselves with the Power which that seems to give, and the Right they thereby have to dispose of them as they please. He, that has not observ'd these two Humours working very betimes in Children, has taken little notice of their Actions: And he, who thinks that these two Roots of almost all the Injustice and Contention, that so disturb Humane Life, are not early to be weeded out, and contrary Habits introduced, neglects the proper Season to lay the Foundations of a good and worthy Man. To do this, I imagine, these following things may somewhat conduce.

Craving. §. 106. 1. That a Child should never be suffered to have what he *craves*, much less what he *cries for*, I had said, or *so much as speaks for*. But, that being apt to be mis-understood, and interpreted as if I meant a Child should never speak to his Parents for any thing; which will perhaps be thought to lay too great Curb on the Minds of Children, to the prejudice of that Love and Affection which should be between them and their Parents; I shall explain my self a little more particularly. It is fit that they should have liberty to declare their Wants to their Parents, and that with all Tendernefs they should be hearken'd to, and supplied, at least whilst they are very little. But 'tis one thing to say, I am hungry; another to say, I would have Roast Meat. Having declared their Wants, their natural Wants, the Pain they feel from Hunger, Thirst, Cold, or any other necessity of Nature; 'tis the Duty of their Parents, and those about them, to relieve them: But Children must leave it to the choice and ordering of their Parents, what they think properest for them, and how much; and must not be permitted to choose for themselves, and say, I would have Wine, or White-bread; the very naming of it should make them lose it.

§. 107. That which Parents should take care of here, is to distinguish between the Wants of Fancy, and those of Nature, which *Horace* has well taught them to do in this Verse,

Queis humana sibi doleat natura negatis.

Those

Those are truly Natural Wants, which Reason alone, without some other *Craving*. Help, is not able to fence against, nor keep from disturbing us. The Pains of Sickneſs and Hurts, Hunger, Thirſt and Cold; want of Sleep, and Reſt or Relaxation of the Part wearied with Labour, are what all Men feel, and the beſt diſpos'd Minds cannot but be ſenſible of their uneaſineſs: And therefore ought by fit Applications to ſeek their removal, though not with impatience, or over-great haſt, upon the firſt approaches of them, where Delay does not threaten ſome irreparable harm. The Pains that come from the Neceſſities of Nature, are Monitors to us to beware of greater Miſchiefs, which they are the Forerunners of: And therefore they muſt not be wholly neglected, nor ſtrain'd too far. But yet the more Children can be enur'd to Hardſhips of this kind, by a wiſe Care to make them ſtronger in Body and Mind, the better it will be for them. I need not here give any Caution to keep within the Bounds of doing them good, and to take Care, that what Children are made to ſuffer, ſhould neither break their Spirits, nor injure their Health; Parents being but too apt of themſelves to incline more than they ſhould to the ſofter Side.

But whatever Compliance the Neceſſities of Nature may require, the Wants of Fancy Children ſhould never be gratified in, nor ſuffer'd to mention. The very *ſpeaking* for any ſuch thing, ſhould make them loſe it. Cloaths, when they need, they muſt have; but if they *ſpeak* for this Stuff, or that Colour, they ſhould be ſure to go without it: Not that I would have Parents purpoſely croſs the Deſires of their Children in matters of indifference: On the contrary, where their Carriage deſerves it, and one is ſure it will not corrupt, or effeminate their Minds, and make them fond of Trifles, I think all things ſhould be contrived, as much as could be, to their Satisfaction, that they might find the eaſe and pleaſure of doing well. The beſt for Children is, that they ſhould not place any pleaſure in ſuch things at all, nor regulate their Delight by their Fancies; but be indifferent to all that Nature has made ſo. This is what their Parents and Teachers ſhould chiefly aim at; but till this be obtain'd, all that I oppoſe here, is the liberty of *Asking*; which in theſe things of Conceit ought to be reſtrain'd by a conſtant forfeiture annex'd to it.

This may perhaps be thought a little too ſevere by the natural Indulgence of tender Parents: But yet it is no more than neceſſary. For ſince the Method I propoſe, is to baniſh the Rod; this Reſtraint of their Tongues will be of great uſe to ſettle that Awe we have elſewhere ſpoken of, and to keep up in them the Reſpect and Reverence due to their Parents. Next, it will teach them to keep in, and ſo maſter their Inclinations. By this means they will be brought to learn the Art of ſtifling their Deſires as ſoon as they riſe up in them, when they are eaſieſt to be ſubdued. For giving vent gives Life and Strength to our Appetites; and he that has the confidence to turn his Wiſhes into Demands, will be but a little way from thinking he ought to obtain them. This I am ſure, every one can more eaſily bear a denial from himſelf, than from any Body elſe. They ſhould therefore be accuſtomed be- times to conſult, and make uſe of their Reason, before they give allowance to their Inclinations. 'Tis a great Step towards the maſtery of our Deſires, to give this ſtop to them, and ſhut them up in Silence. This Habit, got by Children, of ſtaying the forwardneſs of their Fancies, and deliberating whether it be fit or no, before they *ſpeak*, will be of no ſmall Advantage to them in Matters of greater Conſequence, in the future courſe of their Lives. For that which I cannot too often inculcate, is, That whatever the matter be, about which it is converſant, whether great or ſmall, the main (I had almoſt ſaid only) thing to be conſider'd in every Action of a Child, is, what influence it will have upon his Mind; what Habit it tends to, and is like to ſettle in him; How it will become him when he is bigger; and if it be encouraged, whither it will lead him when he is grown up.

My meaning therefore is not, that Children ſhould purpoſely be made uneaſie: This would reliſh too much of Inhumanity, and ill Nature; and be apt to infect them with it. They ſhould be brought to deny their Appetites; and their Minds, as well as Bodies, be made vigorous, eaſie, and

Craving. strong, by the Custom of having their Inclinations in Subjection, and their Bodies exercised with Hardships: But all this, without giving them any mark or apprehension of ill-will towards them. The constant loss of what they *craved* or *carv'd* to themselves should teach them Modesty, Submission, and a Power to forbear: But the rewarding their Modesty, and Silence, by giving them what they liked, should also assure them of the love of those, who rigorously exacted this Obedience. The contenting themselves now in the want of what they wish'd for is a Virtue, that another time should be rewarded with what is suited and acceptable to them; which should be bestowed on them, as if it were a natural consequence of their Good-Behaviour, and not a Bargain about it. But you will lose your Labour, and what is more, their Love and Reverence too, if they can receive from others what you deny them. This is to be kept very stanch, and carefully to be watched. And here the Servants come again in my way.

Curiosity. §. 108. If this be begun betimes, and they accustom themselves early to silence their Desires, this useful Habit will settle them; and as they come to grow up in Age and Discretion, they may be allowed greater liberty; when Reason comes to speak in them, and not Passion. For, whenever Reason would speak, it should be hearken'd to. But as they should never be heard, when they speak for any particular thing they would *have*, unless it be first propos'd to them; so they should always be heard, and fairly and kindly answered, when they ask after any Thing they would *know*, and desire to be inform'd about. *Curiosity* should be as carefully *cherished* in Children, as other Appetites suppressed.

Recreation. However strict an Hand is to be kept upon all Desires of Fancy, yet there is one case wherein Fancy must be permitted to speak, and be hearken'd to also. *Recreation* is as necessary as Labour, or Food. But because there can be no *Recreation* without Delight, which depends not only on Reason, but oftner on Fancy, it must be permitted Children not only to divert themselves, but to do it after their own Fashion; provided it be innocently, and without prejudice to their Health: And therefore in this case they should not be deny'd, if they propos'd any particular kind of *Recreation*. Though, I think, in a well-order'd Education, they will seldom be brought to the necessity of asking any such liberty. Care should be taken, that what is of Advantage to them they should always do with Delight; and, before they are wearied with one, they should be timely *diverted* to some other useful Employment. But if they are not yet brought to that Degree of Perfection, that one way of Improvement can be made a *Recreation* to them, they must be let loose to the childish Play they fancy; which they should be weaned from, by being made surfeit of it: But from Things of use, that they are employ'd in, they should always be sent away with an Appetite; at least be dismissed before they are tired, and grow quite sick of it; that so they may return to it again, as to a Pleasure that diverts them. For you must never think them set right, 'till they can find Delight in the Practice of laudable Things; and the useful Exercises of the Body and Mind, taking their turns, make their Lives and Improvement pleasant in a continued train of *Recreations*, wherein the wearied part is constantly relieved, and refresh'd. Whether this can be done in every Temper, or whether Tutours and Parents will be at the Pains, and have the Discretion, and Patience to bring them to this, I know not; but that it may be done in most Children, if a right course be taken to raise in them the Desire of Credit, Esteem, and Reputation, I do not at all doubt. And when they have so much true Life put into them, they may freely be talked with about what most *delights* them, and be directed, or let loose to it; so that they may perceive that they are belov'd and cherish'd, and that those under whose Tuition they are, are not Enemies to their Satisfaction. Such a Management will make them in love with the Hand that directs them, and the Virtue they are directed to.

Complaints. This farther Advantage may be made by a free liberty permitted them in their *Recreations*, That it will discover their natural Tempers, shew their Inclinations, and Aptitudes; and thereby direct wise Parents in the choice, both of the Course of Life, and Employment they shall design them for, and of

of fit Remedies in the mean time to be applied to whatever Bent of Nature they may observe most likely to mislead any of their Children. Com-
plaints.

§. 109. 2. Children who live together often strive for Mastery, whose Wills shall carry it over the rest: Whoever begins the *Contest*, should be sure to be cross'd in it. But not only that, but they should be taught to have all the *Deference*, *Complaisance* and *Civility* one for the other, imaginable. This, when they see it procures them Respect, Love, and Esteem, and that they lose no Superiority by it, they will take more Pleasure in, than in insolent Domineering; for so plainly is the other.

The Accusations of Children one against another, which usually are but the Clamours of Anger and Revenge, desiring Aid, should not be favourably receiv'd, nor hearken'd to. It weakens and effeminates their Minds to suffer them to *Complain*: And if they endure sometimes Crossing, or Pain from others, without being permitted to think it strange or intolerable, it will do them no harm to learn Sufferance, and harden them early. But though you give no Countenance to the *Complaints* of the *Querulous*, yet take care to curb the Insolence and Ill-nature of the Injurious. When you observe it your self, reprove it before the injured Party: But if the *Complaint* be of something really worth your Notice, and Prevention another time, then reprove the Offender by himself alone, out of sight of him that complained, and make him go and ask Pardon, and make Reparation. Which coming thus, as it were from himself, will be the more cheerfully perform'd, and more kindly receiv'd, the Love strengthen'd between them, and a Custom of Civility grow familiar amongst your Children.

§. 110. 3. As to having and possessing of Things, teach them to part *Liberal-ly* with what they have easily and freely to their Friends; and let them find by Experience, that the most *Liberal* has always most Plenty, with Esteem and Commendation to boot, and they will quickly learn to practise it. This I imagine will make Brothers and Sisters kinder and civiler to one another, and consequently to others, than twenty Rules about good Manners, with which Children are ordinarily perplex'd and cumber'd. Covetousness, and the Desire of having in our Possession, and under our Dominion, more than we have need of, being the Root of all Evil, should be early and carefully weeded out, and the contrary Quality of a Readiness to impart to others, implanted. This should be encouraged by great Commendation and Credit, and constantly taking care, that he loses nothing by his *Liberality*. Let all the Instances he gives of such Freeness, be always repaid, and with Interest; and let him sensibly perceive, that the Kindness he shews to others is no ill Husbandry for himself; but that it brings a Return for Kindness both from those that receive it, and those who look on. Make this a Contest among Children, Who shall out-do one another this way: And by this Means, by a constant Practice, Children having made it easie to themselves to part with what they have, good Nature may be settled in them into an Habit, and they may take Pleasure, and pique themselves in being *Kind*, *Liberal* and *Civil* to others.

If Liberality ought to be encouraged, certainly great Care is to be taken, that Children transgress not the Rules of *Justice*: And whenever they do, they should be set right, and, if there be occasion for it, severely rebuk'd. *Justice.*

Our first Actions being guided more by Self-love, than Reason or Reflection, 'tis no wonder that in Children they should be very apt to deviate from the just Measures of Right and Wrong; which are in the Mind the Result of improved Reason and serious Meditation. This the more they are apt to mistake, the more careful Guard ought to be kept over them; and every the least Slip in this great Social Vertue taken notice of and rectified; and that in Things of the least Weight and Moment, both to instruct their Ignorance, and prevent ill Habits, which from small Beginnings, in Pins and Cherry-stones, will, if let alone, grow up to higher Frauds, and be in danger to end at last in down-right harden'd Dishonesty. The first Tendency to any *Injustice* that appears, must be suppress'd with a shew of Wonder and Abhorhency in the Parents and Governours. But because Children cannot well comprehend what *Injustice* is, till they understand Property, and how parti-
cular

Justice. cular Persons come by it, the safest way to secure *Honesty*, is to lay the Foundations of it early in *Liberality*, and an Easiness to part with to others whatever they have or like themselves. This may be taught them early, before they have Language and Understanding enough to form distinct Notions of Property, and to know what is their's by a peculiar Right exclusive of others. And since Children seldom have any thing but by Gift, and that for the most part from their Parents, they may be at first taught not to take or keep any thing, but what is given them by those whom they take to have a Power over it. And, as their Capacities enlarge, other Rules and Cases of *Justice*, and Rights concerning *Meum* and *Tuum*, may be proposed and inculcated. If any Act of *Injustice* in them appears to proceed, not from Mistake, but a Perverseness in their Wills, when a gentle Rebuke and Shame will not reform this irregular and covetous Inclination, rougher Remedies must be applied: And 'tis but for the Father or Tutor to take and keep from them something that they value, and think their own; or order some Body else to do it; and by such Instances make them sensible, what little Advantage they are like to make, by possessing themselves *unjustly* of what is another's, whilst there are in the World stronger and more Men than they. But if an ingenuous Detestation of this shameful Vice, be but carefully and early instill'd into them, as I think it may, that is the true and genuine Method to obviate this Crime; and will be a better Guard against *Disbonesty*, than any Considerations drawn from Interest; Habits working more constantly, and with greater Facility than Reason: Which, when we have most need of it, is seldom fairly consulted, and more rarely obey'd.

Crying. §. 111. *Crying* is a Fault that should not be tolerated in Children; not only for the unpleasant and unbecoming Noise it fills the House with, but for more considerable Reasons, in reference to the Children themselves; which is to be our Aim in Education.

Their *Crying* is of two sorts; either *Stubborn* and *Domineering*, or *Querulous* and *Whining*.

1. Their *Crying* is very often a Striving for Mastery, and an open Declaration of their Insolence, or Obstinacy: When they have not the Power to obtain their Desire, they will by their *Clamour* and *Sobbing*, maintain their Title and Right to it. This is an avowed continuing of their Claim, and a sort of Remonstrance against the Oppression and Injustice of those who deny them what they have a mind to.

§. 112. Sometimes their *Crying* is the Effect of Pain or true Sorrow, and a *Bemoaning* themselves under it.

These two, if carefully observed, may, by the Mien, Looks, and Actions, and particularly by the Tone of their *Crying*, be easily distinguish'd; but neither of them must be suffer'd, much less encourag'd.

1. The obstinate or *stomachful Crying* should by no means be permitted; because it is but another way of flattering their Desires, and encouraging those Passions which 'tis our main Business to subdue: And if it be, as often it is, upon the receiving any Correction, it quite defeats all the good Effects of it. For any Chastisement, which leaves them in this declar'd Opposition, only serves to make them worse. The Restraints and Punishments laid on Children are all misapplied and lost, as far as they do not prevail over their Wills; teach them to submit their Passions, and make their Minds supple, and pliant to what their Parent's Reason advises them now, and so prepare them to obey what their own Reason shall advise hereafter. But if, in any thing wherein they are cross'd, they may be suffer'd to go away *crying*, they confirm themselves in their Desires, and cherish the ill Humour, with a Declaration of their Right, and a Resolution to satisfy their Inclination the first Opportunity. This therefore is another Argument against the frequent Use of Blows: For, whenever you come to that Extremity, 'tis not enough to Whip, or Beat them; you must do it, till you find you have subdued their Minds; till with Submission and Patience they yield to the Correction; which you shall best discover by their *Crying*, and their ceasing from it upon your bidding. Without this, the beating of Children is but a passionate Tyranny over them; and it is meer Cruelty, and not Correction, to put their

their Bodies in Pain, without doing their Minds any good. As this gives us *Crying*. a Reason why Children should seldom be corrected, so it also prevents their being so. For if, whenever they are chastised, it were done thus without Passion, soberly and yet effectually too, laying on the Blows and Smart not furiously and all at once, but slowly, with Reasoning between, and with Observation how it wrought, stopping when it had made them pliant, penitent and yielding; they would seldom need the like Punishment again, being made careful to avoid the Fault that deserv'd it. Besides, by this means, as the Punishment would not be lost for being too little and not effectual, so it would be kept from being too much, if we gave off as soon as we perceiv'd that it reach'd the Mind, and that was better'd. For since the Chiding or Beating of Children should be always the least that possibly may be; that which is laid on in the Heat of Anger, seldom observes that Measure; but is commonly more than it should be, though it prove less than enough.

§. 113. 2. Many Children are apt to Cry, upon any little Pain they suffer; and the least Harm that befalls them puts them into *Complaints* and *Bawling*. This few Children avoid: For it being the first and natural way to declare their Sufferings or Wants, before they can speak, the Compassion that is thought due to that tender Age, foolishly encourages, and continues it in them long after they can speak. 'Tis the Duty, I confess, of those about Children to compassionate them, whenever they suffer any Hurt; but not to shew it in pitying them. Help and ease them the best you can, but by no means bemoan them. This softens their Minds, and makes them yield to the little Harms that happen to them; whereby they sink deeper into that part which alone feels, and make larger Wounds there, than otherwise they would. They should be harden'd against all Sufferings, especially of the Body, and have no Tendernefs but what rises from an ingenuous Shame, and a quick Sense of Reputation. The many Inconveniencies this Life is expos'd to, require we should not be too sensible of every little Hurt. What our Minds yield not to, makes but a slight Impression, and does us but very little harm: 'Tis the Suffering of our Spirits that gives and continues the Pain. This Brawniness and Insensibility of Mind is the best Armour we can have, against the common Evils and Accidents of Life; and being a Temper, that is to be got by Exercise and Custom, more than any other way, the Practice of it should be begun betimes, and happy is he that is taught it early. That Effeminacy of Spirit, which is to be prevented or cured, as nothing, that I know, so much increases in Children as *Crying*; so nothing on the other side, so much checks and restrains, as their being hinder'd from that sort of *Complaining*. In the little Harms they suffer from Knocks and Falls, they should not be pitied for falling, but bid do so again; which, besides that it stops their *Crying*, is a better way to cure their Heedlessness, and prevent their Tumbling another time, than either chiding or bemoaning them. But let the Hurts they receive be what they will, stop their *Crying*, and that will give them more Quiet and Ease at present, and harden them for the future.

§. 114. The former sort of *Crying* requires Severity to silence it, and where a Look or a positive Command will not do it, Blows must. For it proceeding from Pride, Obstinacy and Stomach, the Will, where the Fault lies, must be bent, and made to comply, by a Rigour sufficient to master it. But this latter, being ordinarily from Softness of Mind, a quite contrary Cause ought to be treated with a gentler Hand. Persuasion, or diverting the Thoughts another Way, or laughing at their *Whining*, may perhaps be at first the proper Method. But for this the Circumstances of the Thing, and the particular Temper of the Child must be considered: No certain unvariable Rules can be given about it, but it must be left to the Prudence of the Parents or Tutor. But this I think I may say in general, that there should be a constant Discountenancing of this sort of *Crying* also; and that the Father, by his Authority, should always stop it; mixing a greater Degree of Roughness in his Looks or Words, proportionably as the Child is of a greater Age, or a sturdier Temper: But always let it be enough to silence their *Whimpering*, and put an end to the Disorder.

Fool-hardinefs.

§. 115. *Cowardice* and *Courage* are so nearly related to the forementioned *Temper*, that it may not be amiss here to take notice of them. Fear is a *Passion*, that, if rightly govern'd, has it's Use. And though Self-love seldom fails to keep it watchful and high enough in us, yet there may be an Excess on the daring side; *Fool-hardinefs* and Insensibility of Danger being as little reasonable, as Trembling and Shrinking at the Approach of every little Evil. Fear was given us as a Monitor to quicken our Industry, and keep us upon our Guard against the Approaches of Evil: And therefore to have no Apprehension of Mischief at hand; not to make a just Estimate of the Danger, but heedlessly to run into it, be the Hazard what it will, without considering of what Use or Consequence it may be, is not the Resolution of a rational Creature, but brutish Fury. Those, who have Children of this Temper, have nothing to do, but a little to awaken their Reason, which Self-preservation will quickly dispose them to hearken to; unless (which is usually the Case) some other Passion hurries them on head-long, without Sense, and without Consideration. A Dislike of Evil is so natural to Mankind, that no Body, I think, can be without Fear of it; Fear being nothing but an Uneasiness under the Apprehension of that coming upon us which we dislike. And therefore whenever any one runs into Danger, we may say 'tis under the Conduct of Ignorance, or the Command of some more imperious Passion; No Body being so much an Enemy to himself, as to come within the reach of Evil out of free Choice, and court Danger for Danger's sake. If it be therefore Pride, Vain-glory, or Rage, that silences a Child's Fear, or makes him not hearken to its Advice, those are by fit means to be abated; that a little Consideration may allay his Heat, and make him bethink himself whether this Attempt be worth the Venture. But this being a Fault that Children are not so often guilty of, I shall not be more particular in its Cure. Weakness of Spirit is the more common Defect, and therefore will require the greater Care.

Fortitude is the Guard and Support of the other Vertues; and without *Courage* a Man will scarce keep steady to his Duty, and fill up the Character of a truly worthy Man.

Courage.

Courage, that makes us bear up against Dangers that we fear, and Evils that we feel, is of great use in an Estate, as our's is in this Life, expos'd to Assaults on all hands: And therefore it is very adviseable to get Children into this Armour as early as we can. Natural Temper, I confess, does here a great deal: But even where that is defective, and the Heart is in it self weak and timorous, it may, by a right Management, be brought to a better Resolution. What is to be done to prevent breaking Childrens Spirits by frightful Apprehensions instill'd into them when young, or bemoaning themselves under every little Suffering, I have already taken notice. How to harden their Tempers, and raise their *Courage*, if we find them too much subject to Fear, is farther to be consider'd.

True Fortitude, I take to be the quiet possession of a Man's self, and an undisturb'd doing his Duty, whatever Evil besets, or Danger lies in his way. This there are so few Men attain to, that we are not to expect it from Children. But yet something may be done: And a wise Conduct by insensible Degrees, may carry them farther than one expects.

The Neglect of this great Care of them whilst they are young, is the Reason, perhaps, why there are so few that have this Vertue in its full Latitude when they are Men. I should not say this in a Nation so naturally Brave, as our's is, did I think, that true Fortitude required nothing but *Courage* in the Field, and a Contempt of Life in the Face of an Enemy. This, I confess, is not the least part of it, nor can be denied the Laurels and Honours always justly due to the Valour of those who venture their Lives for their Country. But yet this is not all. Dangers attack us in other Places besides the Field of Battle; and though Death be the King of Terrours, yet Pain, Disgrace and Poverty have frightful Looks, able to discompose most Men, whom they seem ready to seize on: And there are those who contemn some of these, and yet are heartily frighted with the other. True Fortitude is prepar'd for Dangers of all kinds, and unmoved whatsoever Evil it

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be that threatens: I do not mean unmov'd with any Fear at all. Where Danger shews it self, Apprehension cannot without Stupidity be wanting. Where Danger is, Sense of Danger should be; and so much Fear as should keep us awake, and excite our Attention, Industry and Vigour; but not disturb the calm Use of our Reason, nor hinder the Execution of what that dictates. *Courage.*

The first Step to get this noble and manly Steadiness, is, what I have above mention'd, carefully to keep Children from Frights of all kinds, when they are young. Let not any fearful Apprehensions be talk'd into them, nor terrible Objects surprize them. This often so shatters and discomposes the Spirits, that they never recover it again; but during their whole Life, upon the first Suggestion, or Appearance of any terrifying Idea, are scatter'd and confounded; the Body is enervated, and the Mind disturb'd, and the Man scarce himself, or capable of any composed or rational Action. Whether this be from an habitual Motion of the Animal Spirits, introduc'd by the first strong Impression, or from the Alteration of the Constitution by some more unaccountable way, this is certain, that so it is. Instances of such, who in a weak timorous Mind have born, all their whole Lives through, the Effects of a Fright when they were young, are every where to be seen; and therefore as much as may be to be prevented. *Comardice.*

The next thing is by gentle degrees to accustom Children to those things they are too much afraid of. But here great Caution is to be used, that you do not make too much haste, nor attempt this Cure too early, for fear lest you increase the Mischief instead of remedying it. Little Ones in Arms may be easily kept out of the way of terrifying Objects, and, till they can talk and understand what is said to them, are scarce capable of that Reasoning and Discourse, which should be used to let them know there is no harm in those frightful Objects, which we would make them familiar with, and do, to that purpose, by gentle degrees bring nearer and nearer to them. And therefore 'tis seldom, there is need of any Application to them of this kind, till after they can run about and talk. But yet, if it should happen, that Infants should have taken offence at any thing which cannot be easily kept out of their way; and that they shew Marks of Terrour as often as it comes in sight; all the Allays of Fright, by diverting their Thoughts, or mixing pleasant and agreeable Appearances with it, must be used, till it be grown familiar and inoffensive to them.

I think we may observe, That, when Children are first born, all Objects of sight, that do not hurt the Eyes, are indifferent to them; and they are no more afraid of a Blackamore, or a Lion, than of their Nurse, or a Cat. What is it then, that afterwards, in certain mixtures of Shape and Colour, comes to affright them? Nothing but the Apprehensions of Harm, that accompanies those things. Did a Child suck every Day a new Nurse, I make account it would be no more affrighted with the Change of Faces at six Months old than at Sixty. The Reason then, why it will not come to a Stranger, is, because having been accustomed to receive its Food and kind Usage only from one or two that are about it, the Child apprehends, by coming into the Arms of a Stranger, the being taken from what delights and feeds it, and every moment supplies its Wants, which it often feels, and therefore fears when the Nurse is away.

The only thing we naturally are afraid of, is Pain or Loss of Pleasure. And because these are not annex'd to any Shape, Colour, or Size of visible Objects, we are frighted with none of them, till either we have felt Pain from them, or have Notions put into us, that they will do us harm. The pleasant Brightness, and Lustre of Flame, and Fire, so delights Children, that at first they always desire to be handling of it: But when constant Experience has convinced them, by the exquisite Pain it has put them to, how cruel and unmerciful it is, they are afraid to touch it, and carefully avoid it. This being the Ground of Fear, 'tis not hard to find whence it arises, and how it is to be cured in all mistaken Objects of Terrour. And when the Mind is confirm'd against them, and has got a Mastery over it self, and its usual Fears, in lighter Occasions, it is in good Preparation to meet more real Dangers. *Timorousness.*

Your

*Timorous-
ness.* Your Child shrieks, and runs away at the sight of a Frog; let another catch it, and lay it down at a good distance from him: At first accustom him to look upon it; when he can do that, then to come nearer to it, and see it leap without Emotion; then to touch it lightly when it is held fast in another's Hand; and so on, till he can come to handle it as confidently as a Butter-fly, or a Sparrow. By the same way any other vain Terroures may be remov'd; if Care be taken, that you go not too fast, and push not the Child on to a new degree of Assurance, 'till he be thoroughly confirm'd in the former. And thus the young Soldier is to be train'd on to the Warfare of Life; wherein Care is to be taken, that more things be not represented as dangerous, than really are so; and then, that whatever you observe him to be more frighted at than he should, you be sure to tole him on to by insensible Degrees, till he at last, quitting his Fears, masters the Difficulty, and comes off with Applause. Successes of this kind often repeated, will make him find, that Evils are not always so certain, or so great, as our Fears represent them; and that the way to avoid them is not to run away, or be discompos'd, dejected, and deterr'd by Fear, where either our Credit or Duty requires us to go on.

Hardiness. But since the great Foundation of Fear in Children, is Pain, the way to harden, and fortifie Children against Fear and Danger, is to accustom them to suffer Pain. This 'tis possible will be thought, by kind Parents, a very unnatural thing towards their Children; and by most, unreasonable, to endeavour to reconcile any one to the sense of Pain, by bringing it upon him. 'Twill be said, it may perhaps give the Child an Aversion for him that makes him suffer; but can never recommend to him suffering it self. This is a strange Method. You will not have Children whipped and punished for their Faults, but you would have them tormented for doing well, or for Tormenting's sake. I doubt not but such Objections as these will be made, and I shall be thought inconsistent with my self, or phantastical, in proposing it. I confess, it is a Thing to be managed with great Discretion, and therefore it falls not out amiss, that it will not be received and relish'd, but by those who consider well, and look into the Reason of Things. I would not have Children much beaten for their Faults, because I would not have them think bodily Pain the greatest Punishment: And I would have them, when they do well, be sometimes put in Pain, for the same Reason, that they might be accustom'd to bear it without looking on it as the greatest Evil. How much Education may reconcile young People to Pain, and Sufferance, the Examples of *Sparta* do sufficiently shew: And they, who have once brought themselves not to think bodily Pain the greatest of Evils, or that which they ought to stand most in fear of, have made no small advance towards Vertue. But I am not so foolish to propose the *Lacedaemonian* Discipline in our Age, or Constitution. But yet I do say, that enuring Children gently to suffer some degrees of Pain without shrinking, is a way to gain firmness to their Minds, and lay a foundation for Courage and Resolution, in the future part of their Lives.

Not to bemoan them, or permit them to bemoan themselves, on every little Pain they suffer, is the first Step to be made. But of this I have spoken elsewhere.

The next thing is, sometimes designedly to put them in Pain: But care must be taken, that this be done when the Child is in good Humour, and satisfied of the good Will and Kindness of him that hurts him, at the time that he does it. There must no marks of Anger, or Displeasure, on the one side; nor Compassion, or Repenting, on the other, go along with it: And it must be sure to be no more than the Child can bear without repining or taking it amiss, or for a Punishment. Managed by these Degrees, and with such Circumstances, I have seen a Child run away laughing, with good smart Blows of a Wand on his Back, who would have cried for an unkind Word, and have been very sensible of the Chastisement of a cold Look, from the same Person. Satisfie a Child, by a constant Course of your Care and Kindness, that you perfectly love him: And he may by Degrees be accustom'd to bear very painful, and rough Usage from you, without flinching or complaining:

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And this we see Children do every Day in play one with another. *Hardiness.* The softer you find your Child is, the more you are to seek Occasions at fit times thus to harden him. The great Art in this is to begin with what is but very little painful, and to proceed by insensible Degrees, when you are playing, and in good Humour with him, and speaking well of him; and when you have once got him, to think himself made amends for his Suffering, by the Praise is given him for his Courage; when he can take a Pride in giving such Marks of his Manliness; and can prefer the Reputation of being Brave and Stout, to the avoiding a little Pain, or the Shrinking under it; you need not despair in time, and, by the Assistance of his growing Reason, to master his Timorousness, and mend the Weakness of his Constitution. As he grows bigger, he is to be set upon bolder Attempts than his natural Temper carries him to, and whenever he is observ'd to flinch from what one has reason to think he would come off well in, if he had but Courage to undertake; that he should be assisted in at first, and by Degrees shamed to, till at last Practice has given more Assurance, and with it a Mastery; which must be rewarded with great Praise, and the good Opinion of others, for his Performance. When by these Steps he has got Resolution enough not to be deterr'd from what he ought to do, by the Apprehension of Danger; when Fear does not, in sudden or hazardous Occurrences, discompose his Mind, set his Body a trembling, and make him unfit for Action, or run away from it, he has then the Courage of a rational Creature: And such an Hardiness we should endeavour by Custom and Use to bring Children to, as proper Occasions come in our way.

§. 116. One thing I have frequently observed in Children, that when they *Cruelty.* have got Possession of any poor Creature, they are apt to use it ill: They often torment, and treat very roughly young Birds, Butterflies, and such other poor Animals, which fall into their Hands; and that with a seeming kind of Pleasure. This, I think, should be watched in them, and if they incline to any such Cruelty, they should be taught the contrary Usage. For the Custom of Tormenting and Killing of Beasts, will, by Degrees, harden their Minds even towards Men; and they, who delight in the Suffering and Destruction of inferiour Creatures, will not be apt to be very compassionate, or benign to those of their own kind. Our Practice takes notice of this in the Exclusion of Butchers from Juries of Life and Death. Children should from the beginning be bred up in an abhorrence of killing, or tormenting any living Creature; and be taught not to spoil or destroy any thing, unless it be for the Preservation or Advantage of some other that is Nobler. And truly, if the Preservation of all Mankind, as much as in him lies, were every one's Persuasion, as indeed it is every one's Duty, and the true Principle to regulate our Religion, Politicks and Morality by, the World would be much quieter, and better natur'd than it is. But to return to our present Business; I cannot but commend both the Kindness and Prudence of a Mother I knew, who was wont always to indulge her Daughters, when any of them desired Dogs, Squirrels, Birds, or any such things, as young Girls use to be delighted with: But then, when they had them, they must be sure to keep them well, and look diligently after them, that they wanted nothing, or were not ill used. For, if they were negligent in their Care of them, it was counted a great Fault, which often forfeited their Possession, or at least they fail'd not to be rebuked for it; whereby they were early taught Diligence and good Nature. And indeed, I think People should be accustomed, from their Cradles, to be tender of all sensible Creatures, and to spoil or waste nothing at all.

This Delight they take in *doing of Mischief*, whereby I mean spoiling of any thing to no purpose; but more especially the Pleasure they take to put any thing in Pain, that is capable of it, I cannot persuade my self to be any other than a foreign and introduced Disposition, an Habit borrowed from Custom and Conversation. People teach Children to strike, and laugh, when they hurt, or see Harm come to others: And they have the Examples of most about them to confirm them in it. All the Entertainment and Talk of History is of nothing almost but Fighting and Killing: And the Honour and Renown, that is bestowed on Conquerours (who for the most

Cruelty. part are but the great Butchers of Mankind) farther mislead growing Youth, who by this means come to think Slaughter the laudable Business of Mankind, and the most Heroick of Vertues. By these Steps unnatural Cruelty is planted in us; and what Humanity abhors, Custom reconciles and recommends to us, by laying it in the way to Honour. Thus, by Fashion and Opinion, that comes to be a Pleasure, which in it self neither is, nor can be any. This ought carefully to be watched, and early remedied, so as to settle and cherish the contrary, and more natural Temper of Bignity and *Compassion* in the room of it: But still by the same gentle Methods, which are to be applied to the other two Faults before-mentioned. It may not perhaps be unreasonable here to add this farther Caution, *viz.* That the Mischiefs, or Harms, that come by Play, Inadvertency, or Ignorance, and were not known to be Harms, or designed for Mischief's sake, though they may perhaps be some times of considerable Damage, yet are not at all, or but very gently, to be taken notice of. For this, I think, I cannot too often inculcate, That whatever Miscarriage a Child is guilty of, and whatever be the Consequence of it, the thing to be regarded in taking notice of it, is only what Root it springs from, and what Habit it is like to establish; And to that the Correction ought to be directed, and the Child not to suffer any Punishment, for any Harm which may have come by his Play or Inadvertency. The Faults to be amended lie in the Mind; and if they are such, as either Age will cure, or no ill Habits will follow from; The present Action, whatever displeasing Circumstances it may have, is to be passed by, without any Animadversion.

§. 117. Another way to instill Sentiments of Humanity, and to keep them lively in young Folks, will be, to accustom them to Civility in their Language and Deportment towards their Inferiours and the meaner sort of People, particularly Servants. It is not unusual to observe the Children, in Gentlemens Families, treat the Servants of the House with domineering Words, Names of Contempt, and an imperious Carriage; as if they were of another Race, and Species beneath them. Whether ill Example, the Advantage of Fortune, or their natural Vanity, inspire this Haughtiness, it should be prevented, or weeded out; and a gentle, courteous, affable Carriage towards the lower Ranks of Men, placed in the room of it. No part of their Superiority will be hereby lost; but the Distinction increased, and their Authority strengthen'd; when Love in Inferiours is joyn'd to outward Respect; and an Esteem of the Person has a Share in their Submission: And Domesticks will pay a more ready and cheerful Service, when they find themselves not spurn'd, because Fortune has laid them below the Level of others at their Master's Feet. Children should not be suffer'd to lose the Consideration of Humane Nature, in the Shufflings of outward Conditions. The more they have, the better humour'd they should be taught to be; and the more compassionate, and gentle to those of their Brethren, who are placed lower, and have scantier Portions. If they are suffer'd from their Cradles to treat Men ill and rudely, because by their Father's Title, they think they have a little Power over them, at best it is ill bred, and if Care be not taken, will, by degrees, nurse up their natural Pride into an habitual Contempt of those beneath them. And where will that probably end, but in Oppression and Cruelty?

Curiosity. §. 118. Curiosity in Children (which I had occasion just to mention, §. 103.) is but an Appetite after Knowledge; and therefore ought to be encouraged in them, not only as a good Sign, but as the great Instrument Nature has provided, to remove that Ignorance they were born with; and which, without this busie *Inquisitiveness*, will make them dull and useles Creatures. The ways to encourage it, and keep it active and busie, are, I suppose, these following.

1. Not to check or discountenance any *Enquiries* he shall make, nor suffer them to be laughed at; but to answer all his *Questions*, and explain the Matters, he desires to know, so as to make them as much intelligible to him, as suits the Capacity of his Age and Knowledge. But confound not his Understanding with Explications or Notions, that are above it: Or with the

the Variety or Number of things, that are not to his present purpose. Mark *Curiosity*. what 'tis his Mind aims at in the *Question*, and not what Words he expresses it in: And when you have informed and satisfied him in that, you shall see how his Thoughts will enlarge themselves, and how by fit Answers he may be led on farther than perhaps you could imagine. For Knowledge is grateful to the Understanding, as Light to the Eyes: Children are pleased and delighted with it exceedingly, especially if they see that their *Enquiries* are regarded, and that their Desire of Knowing is encouraged and commended. And I doubt not, but one great Reason, why many Children abandon themselves wholly to silly Sports, and trifle away all their time insipidly, is, because they have found their *Curiosity* baulk'd, and their *Enquiries* neglected. But had they been treated with more Kindness and Respect, and their *Questions* answered, as they should, to their Satisfaction; I doubt not but they would have taken more Pleasure in Learning and Improving their Knowledge, wherein there would be still Newness and Variety, which is what they are delighted with, than in returning over and over to the same Play, and Play-things.

§. 119. 2. To this serious Answering their *Questions*, and informing their Understandings in what they desire, as if it were a Matter that needed it, should be added some peculiar ways of *Commendation*. Let others whom they esteem, be told before their Faces of the Knowledge they have in such and such things; and since we are all, even from our Cradles, vain and proud Creatures, let their Vanity be flatter'd with Things that will do them good; and let their Pride set them on work on something which may turn to their Advantage. Upon this ground you shall find, that there cannot be a greater Spur to the attaining what you would have the Eldest learn, and know himself, than to set him upon *teaching* it his younger Brothers and Sisters.

§. 120. 3. As Children's *Enquiries* are not to be slighted; so also great care is to be taken, that they never receive *Deceitful* and *Eluding* Answers. They easily perceive when they are slighted, or deceived; and quickly learn the Trick of Neglect, Dissimulation and Falshood, which they observe others to make use of. We are not to intrench upon Truth in any Conversation, but least of all with Children; since if we play false with them, we not only deceive their Expectation, and hinder their Knowledge, but corrupt their Innocence, and teach them the worst of Vices. They are Travellers newly arrived in a strange Country, of which they know nothing: We should therefore make Conscience not to mis-lead them. And though their *Questions* seem sometimes not very material, yet they should be seriously answer'd: For however they may appear to us (to whom they are long since known) *Enquiries* not worth the making; they are of Moment to those who are wholly ignorant. Children are Strangers to all we are acquainted with; and all the things they meet with, are at first unknown to them, as they once were to us: And happy are they who meet with civil People, that will comply with their Ignorance, and help them to get out of it.

If you or I now should be set down in *Japan*, with all our Prudence and Knowledge about us, a Conceit whereof makes us perhaps so apt to slight the Thoughts and *Enquiries* of Children; should we, I say, be set down in *Japan*, we should, no doubt (if we would inform our selves of what is there to be known) ask a Thousand Questions, which, to a supercilious or inconsiderate *Japanese*, would seem very idle and impertinent; though to us they would be very material and of Importance to be resolv'd; and we should be glad to find a Man so complaisant and courteous, as to satisfy our Demands, and instruct our Ignorance.

When any new thing comes in their way, Children usually ask, the common *Question* of a Stranger: *What is it?* Whereby they ordinarily mean nothing but the Name; and therefore to tell them how it is call'd, is usually the proper Answer to that Demand. The next *Question* usually is: *What is it for?* And to this it should be answered truly and directly: The use of the thing should be told, and the way explained, how it serves to such a Purpose, as far as their Capacities can comprehend it. And so of any other Circumstances they shall ask about it; not turning them going, till you have given

Curiosity. given them all the Satisfaction they are capable of; and so leading them by your Answers, into farther Questions. And perhaps to a grown Man, such Conversation will not be altogether so idle and insignificant, as we are apt to imagine. The native and untaught Suggestions of inquisitive Children, do often offer things that may set a considering Man's Thoughts on work. And I think there is frequently more to be learn'd from the unexpected Questions of a Child, than the Discourses of Men, who talk in a road, according to the Notions they have borrow'd, and the Prejudices of their Education.

§. 121. 4. Perhaps it may not sometimes be amiss to excite their Curiosity, by bringing strange and new things in their way, on purpose to engage their Enquiry, and give them Occasion to inform themselves about them: And if by chance their Curiosity leads them to ask what they should not know; it is a great deal better to tell them plainly, That it is a thing that belongs not to them to know, than to pop them off with a Falshood, or a frivolous Answer.

§. 122. *Pertness*, that appears sometimes so early, proceeds from a Principle, that seldom accompanies a strong Constitution of Body, or ripens into a strong Judgment of Mind. If it were desirable to have a Child a more brisk Talker, I believe there might be ways found to make him so: But, I suppose a wise Father had rather that his Son should be able and useful, when a Man, than pretty Company, and a Diversion to others, whilst a Child: Though if that too were to be consider'd, I think I may say, there is not so much Pleasure to have a Child prattle agreeably, as to reason well. Encourage therefore his *Inquisitiveness* all you can, by satisfying his Demands, and informing his Judgment as far as it is capable. When his Reasons are any way tolerable, let him find the Credit and Commendation of them: And when they are quite out of the way, let him, without being laugh'd at for his Mistake, be gently put into the right; And if he shew a forwardness to be reasoning about things that come in his way, take care as much as you can, that no body check this Inclination in him, or mislead it by captious or fallacious ways of talking with him. For when all is done, this, as the highest and most important Faculty of our Minds, deserves the greatest Care and Attention in cultivating it; The right improvement, and exercise of our Reason, being the highest Perfection that a Man can attain to in this Life.

*Saun-
tring.*

§. 123. Contrary to this busie inquisitive Temper, there is sometimes observable in Children a *listless Carelessness*, a want of regard to any thing, and a sort of *trifling* even at their Business. This *Sauntring* Humour I look on, as one of the worst Qualities can appear in a Child, as well as one of the hardest to be cured, where it is natural. But it being liable to be mistaken in some Cases, care must be taken to make a right Judgment concerning that *trifling* at their Books or Business, which may sometimes be complained of in a Child. Upon the first suspicion a Father has, that his Son is of a *Sauntring* Temper, he must carefully observe him, whether he be *listless* and *indifferent* in all his Actions, or whether in some things alone he be slow and sluggish, but in others vigorous and eager. For though he find that he does loiter at his Book, and let a good deal of the time he spends in his Chamber or Study, run idly away; he must not presently conclude, that this is from a *Sauntring* Humour in his Temper. It may be childishness, and a preferring something to his Study, which his Thoughts run on: And he dislikes his Book, as is natural, because it is forced upon him as a Task. To know this perfectly, you must watch him at Play, when he is out of his Place and Time of Study, following his own Inclinations; and see there, whether he be stirring and active; whether he designs any thing, and with labour and eagerness pursues it, till he has accomplished what he aimed at: or whether he *lazily* and *listlessly* dreams away his time. If this Sloth be only when he is about his Book, I think it may be easily cured. If it be in his Temper, it will require a little more Pains and Attention to remedy it.

§. 124. If you are satisfied, by his earnestness at Play, or any thing else he sets his Mind on, in the intervals between his Hours of Business, that he is not of himself inclin'd to *lazines*, but that only want of relish of his Book makes

makes him negligent, and *sluggish* in his application to it. The first step is *Sauntering*. to try by talking to him kindly of the Folly and Inconvenience of it, whereby he loses a good part of his time, which he might have for his Diversion: But be sure to talk calmly and kindly, and not much at first, but only these plain Reasons in short. If this prevails, you have gain'd the point in the most desirable way, which is that of Reason and Kindness. If this softer application prevails not, try to shame him out of it, by laughing at him for it, asking every day, when he comes to Table, if there be no Strangers there, How long he was that Day about his Business? And if he has not done it, in the time he might be well supposed to have dispatch'd it, expose and turn him into ridicule for it; but mix no chiding; only put on a pretty cold Brow towards him, and keep it till he reform; and let his Mother, Tutor, and all about him do so too. If this work not the Effect you desire, then tell him he shall be no longer troubled with a Tutor to take Care of his Education, you will not be at the Charge to have him spend his Time idly with him; but since he prefers This or That [whatever Play he delights in] to his Book, that only he shall do; and so in earnest set him to work on his beloved Play, and keep him steadily, and in earnest, to it Morning and Afternoon, till he be fully surfeited, and would, at any Rate, change it for some Hours at his Book again. But when you thus set him his Task of Play, you must be sure to look after him your self, or set somebody else to do it, that may constantly see him employed in it, and that he be not permitted to be idle at that too. I say, your self look after him; for it is worth the Father's while, whatever Business he has, to bestow two or three Days upon his Son, to cure so great a Mischief as his *sauntering* at his Business.

§. 125. This is what I propose, if it be *Idleness* not from his general Temper, but a peculiar or acquir'd Aversion to Learning, which you must be careful to examine and distinguish. But though you have your Eyes upon him, to watch what he does with the Time which he has at his own Disposal, yet you must not let him perceive that you or any Body else do so; for that may hinder him from following his own Inclination, which he being full of, and not daring, for fear of you, to prosecute what his Head and Heart are set upon, he may neglect all other Things, which then he relishes not, and so may seem to be idle and listless, when in truth it is nothing but being intent on that, which the fear of your Eye or Knowledge keeps him from executing. To be clear in this Point, the Observation must be made when you are out of the Way, and he not so much as under the Restraint of a Suspicion that any Body has an Eye upon him. In those Seasons of perfect Freedom, let Somebody you can trust mark how he spends his Time, whether he unactively loiters it away, when, without any Check, he is left to his own Inclination. Thus, by his employing of such Times of Liberty, you will easily discern whether it be *Listlessness* in his Temper, or Aversion to his Book, that makes him *saunter* away his Time of Study.

§. 126. If some Defect in his Constitution has cast a Damp on his Mind, and he be naturally listless and dreaming, this unpromising Disposition is none of the easiest to be dealt with, because, generally carrying with it an Unconcernedness for the future, it wants the Two great Springs of Action, *Forefight* and *Desire*; which, how to plant and increase, where Nature has given a cold and contrary Temper, will be the Question. As soon as you are satisfied that this is the Case, you must carefully enquire whether there be nothing he delights in: Inform your self, what it is he is most pleased with; and if you can find any particular Tendency his Mind hath, increase it all you can, and make use of that to set him on work, and to excite his Industry. If he loves Praise, or Play, or fine Cloaths, &c. or, on the other side, dreads Pain, Disgrace, or your Displeasure, &c. whatever it be that he loves most, except it be Sloth (for that will never set him on work) let that be made use of to quicken him, and make him bestir himself. For in this *listless Temper* you are not to fear an Excess of Appetite (as in all other Cases) by cherishing it. 'Tis that which you want, and therefore must labour to raise and increase; for where there is no Desire, there will be no Industry.

Saun-
tring.

§. 127. If you have not Hold enough upon him this Way to stir up Vigour and Activity in him, you must employ him in some constant bodily Labour, whereby he may get an Habit of doing something. The keeping him hard to some Study were the better Way to get him an Habit of exercising and applying his Mind. But because this is an invisible Attention, and no Body can tell when he is, or is not Idle at it, you must find bodily Employments for him, which he must be constantly busied in, and kept to; and if they have some little Hardship and Shame in them, it may not be the worse, that they may the sooner weary him, and make him desire to return to his Book. But be sure, when you exchange his Book for his other Labour, set him such a Task, to be done in such a Time, as may allow him no Opportunity to be idle. Only after you have by this Way brought him to be attentive and industrious at his Book, you may, upon his dispatching his Study within the Time set him, give him, as a Reward, some Respite from his other Labour; which you may diminish as you find him grow more and more steady in his Application, and, at last, wholly take off, when his *sauntering* at his Book is cured.

Compul-
sion.

§. 128. We formerly observ'd, that Variety and Freedom was That that delighted Children, and recommended their Plays to them; and that therefore their Book, or any Thing we would have them learn, should not be enjoined them as *Business*. This their Parents, Tutors, and Teachers are apt to forget; and their Impatience to have them busied in what is fit for them to do, suffers them not to deceive them into it: But by the repeated Injunctions they meet with, Children quickly distinguish between what is required of them, and what not. When this Mistake has once made his Book uneasy to him, the Cure is to be applied at the other End. And since it will be then too late to endeavour to make it a Play to him, you must take the contrary Course; observe what Play he is most delighted with; enjoin that, and make him play so many Hours every Day, not as a Punishment for playing, but as if it were the Business required of him. This, if I mistake not, will, in a few Days, make him so weary of his most beloved Sport, that he will prefer his Book, or any Thing, to it, especially if it may redeem him from any Part of the Task of Play is set him, and he may be suffer'd to employ some Part of the Time destined to his *Task of Play* in his Book, or such other Exercise as is really useful to him. This I at least think a better Cure than that Forbidding (which usually increases the Desire) or any other Punishment should be made use of to remedy it: For, when you have once glutted his Appetite (which may safely be done in all Things but eating and drinking) and made him surfeit of what you would have him avoid, you have put into him a Principle of Aversion, and you need not so much fear afterwards his longing for the same Thing again.

§. 129. This, I think, is sufficiently evident, That Children generally hate to be idle. All the Care then is, that their busie Humour should be constantly employ'd in something of use to them; which, if you will attain, you must make what you would have them do, a Recreation to them, and not a *Business*. The Way to do this, so that they may not perceive you have any Hand in it, is this proposed here; *viz.* To make them weary of that which you would not have them do, by enjoining and making them, under some Pretence or other, do it till they are surfeited. For Example: Does your Son play at Top and Scourge too much? Enjoin him to play so many Hours every Day, and look that he do it; and you shall see he will quickly be sick of it, and willing to leave it. By this Means making the Recreations you dislike a *Business* to him, he will of himself with Delight betake himself to those things you would have him do, especially if they be proposed as Rewards for having perform'd his *Task* in that Play which is commanded him. For, if he be order'd every Day to whip his Top, so long as to make him sufficiently weary, do you not think he will apply himself with Eagerness to his Book, and wish for it, if you promise it him as a Reward of having whipped his Top lustily, quite out all the time that is set him? Children, in the things they do, if they comport with their Age, find little Difference so they may be doing: The Esteem they have for one Thing above another they borrow from others;

III. 10 V. so

so that what those about them make to be a Reward to them, will really be ^{Compul-}so. By this Art it is in their Governour's Choice, whether *Scotch-hoppers* shall ^{flow.} reward their *Dancing*, or *Dancing* their *Scotch-hoppers*; whether *Peg-top*, or *Reading*; playing at *Trap*, or studying the *Globes*, shall be more acceptable and pleasing to them; all that they desire being to be busy; and busy, as they imagine, in Things of their own Choice, and which they receive as Favours from their Parents, or others for whom they have a respect, and with whom they would be in Credit. A Set of Children thus ordered, and kept from the ill Example of others, would All of them, I suppose, with as much Earnestness and Delight, learn to read, write, and what else one would have them, as others do their ordinary Plays: And the Eldest being thus enter'd, and this made the Fashion of the Place, it would be as impossible to hinder them from learning the one, as it is ordinarily to keep them from the other.

§. 130. Play-things, I think, Children should have, and of divers sorts; *Play-*but still to be in the Custody of their Tutours, or some Body else, whereof *games.* the Child should have in his Power but one at once, and should not be suffered to have another but when he restored that. This teaches them betimes to be careful of not losing or spoiling the Things they have; whereas Plenty and Variety in their own keeping makes them wanton and careless, and teaches them from the Beginning to be Squanderers and Wasters. These, I confess, are little things, and such as will seem beneath the Care of a Governour; but nothing that may form Children's Minds is to be over-look'd and neglected, and whatsoever introduces Habits and settles Customs in them, deserves the Care and Attention of their Governours, and is not a small Thing in its Consequences.

One thing more about Childrens Play-things may be worth their Parent's Care: Though it be agreed they should have of several Sorts, yet, I think, they should have none bought for them. This will hinder that great Variety they are often over-charged with, which serves only to teach the Mind to wander after Change and Superfluity, to be unquiet, and perpetually stretching it self after something more still, though it knows not what, and never to be satisfied with what it hath. The Court that is made to People of Condition in such kind of Presents to their Children, does the little one great harm. By it they are taught Pride, Vanity and Covetousness almost before they can speak: And I have known a young Child so distracted with the Number and Variety of his Play-games, that he tired his Maid every Day to look them over; and was so accustomed to abundance, that he never thought he had enough, but was always asking, What more? What more? What new Thing shall I have? A good Introduction to moderate Desires, and the ready Way to make a contented happy Man!

How then shall they have the Play-Games you allow them, if none must be bought for them? I answer, They should make them themselves, or at least endeavour it, and set themselves about it; till then they should have none, and till then they will want none of any great Artifice. A smooth Pebble, a piece of Paper, the Mother's Bunch of Keys, or any Thing they cannot hurt themselves with, serves as much to divert little Children as those more chargeable and curious Toys from the Shops, which are presently put out of order and broken. Children are never dull or out of Humour for want of such Play-things, unless they have been used to them. When they are little, whatever occurs serves the turn; and as they grow bigger, if they are not stored by the expensive Folly of others, they will make them themselves. Indeed, when they once begin to set themselves to work about any of their Inventions, they should be taught and assisted; but should have nothing whilst they lazily sit still, expecting to be furnish'd from other Hands without employing their own. And if you help them where they are at a Stand, it will more endear you to them than any chargeable Toys you shall buy for them. Play-things which are above their Skill to make, as Tops, Gigs, Battledors, and the like, which are to be used with Labour, should indeed be procured them: These 'tis convenient they should have, not for Variety but Exercise; but these too should be given them as bare as might be. If they had a Top, the Scourge-stick and Leather-strap should be left to their own making

Play-games. making and fitting. If they sit gaping to have such Things drop into their Mouths, they should go without them. This will accustom them to seek for what they want in themselves, and in their own Endeavours; whereby they will be taught Moderation in their Desires, Application, Industry, Thought, Contrivance, and good Husbandry; Qualities that will be useful to them when they are Men, and therefore cannot be learn'd too soon, nor fix'd too deep. All the Plays and Diversions of Children should be directed towards good and useful Habits, or else they will introduce ill ones. Whatever they do, leaves some Impression on that tender Age, and from thence they receive a Tendency to Good or Evil: And whatever hath such an Influence, ought not to be neglected.

Lying. §. 131. *Lying* is so ready and cheap a Cover for any Miscarriage, and so much in fashion amongst all sorts of People, that a Child can hardly avoid observing the Use is made of it on all Occasions, and so can scarce be kept, without great Care, from getting into it. But it is so ill a Quality, and the Mother of so many ill ones that spawn from it, and take shelter under it, that a Child should be brought up in the greatest Abhorrence of it imaginable. It should be always (when occasionally it comes to be mentioned) spoke of before him with the utmost Detestation, as a Quality so wholly inconsistent with the Name and Character of a Gentleman, that no Body of any Credit can bear the Imputation of a Lye; a Mark that is judg'd the utmost Disgrace, which debases a Man to the lowest Degree of a shameful Meanness, and ranks him with the most contemptible Part of Mankind, and the abhorred Rascality; and is not to be endured in any one who would converse with People of Condition, or have any Esteem or Reputation in the World. The first Time he is found in a Lye, it should rather be wonder'd at as a monstrous Thing in him, than reproved as an ordinary Fault. If that keeps him not from relapsing, the next Time he must be sharply rebuked, and fall into the State of great Displeasure of his Father and Mother, and all about him, who take notice of it. And if this Way work not the Cure, you must come to Blows; for after he has been thus warned, a premeditated Lye must always be looked upon as Obstinacy, and never be permitted to escape unpunished.

Excuses. §. 132. Children, afraid to have their Faults seen in their naked Colours, will, like the rest of the Sons of Adam, be apt to make *Excuses*. This is a Fault usually bordering upon, and leading to Untruth, and is not to be indulged in them; but yet it ought to be cured rather with Shame than Roughness. If therefore, when a Child is questioned for any Thing, his first Answer be an *Excuse*, warn him soberly to tell the Truth; and then if he persists to shuffle it off with a *Falshood*, he must be chastised; but if he directly confesses, you must commend his Ingenuity, and pardon the Fault be it what it will, and pardon it so, that you never so much as reproach him with it, or mention it to him again: For if you would have him in love with Ingenuity, and by a constant Practice make it habitual to him, you must take care that it never procure him the least Inconvenience; but on the contrary, his own Confession bringing always with it perfect Impunity, should be besides encouraged by some Marks of Approbation. If his *Excuse* be such at any time, that you cannot prove it to have any Falshood in it, let it pass for true, and be sure not to shew any Suspicion of it. Let him keep up his Reputation with you as high as is possible; for when once he finds he has lost that, you have lost a great and your best hold upon him. Therefore let him not think he has the Character of a Liar with you, as long as you can avoid it without flattering him in it. Thus some Slips in Truth may be over-look'd. But after he has once been corrected for a Lye, you must be sure never after to pardon it in him, whenever you find, and take notice to him, that he is guilty of it: For it being a Fault which he has been forbid, and may, unless he be wilful, avoid, the repeating of it is perfect Perverseness, and must have the Chastisement due to that Offence.

§. 133. This is what I have thought concerning the general Method of Educating a young Gentleman; which, though I am apt to suppose may have some Influence on the whole Course of his Education, yet I am far from imagining

ginning it contains all those Particulars which his growing Years or peculiar *Excuses*. Temper may require. But this being premised in general, we shall, in the next place, descend to a more particular Consideration of the several Parts of his Education.

§. 134. That which every Gentleman (that takes any Care of his Education) desires for his Son, besides the Estate he leaves him, is contain'd (I suppose) in these Four Things, *Vertue, Wisdom, Breeding, and Learning*. I will not trouble my self whether these Names do not some of them sometimes stand for the same thing, or really include one another. It serves my Turn here to follow the popular Use of these Words; which, I presume, is clear enough to make me be understood, and I hope there will be no Difficulty to comprehend my Meaning.

§. 135. I place *Vertue* as the first and most necessary of those Endowments, that belong to a Man or a Gentleman; as absolutely requisite to make him valued and beloved by others, acceptable or tolerable to himself. Without that, I think, he will be happy neither in this, nor the other World.

§. 136. As the Foundation of this, there ought very early to be imprinted *God*. on his Mind a true Notion of *God*, as of the independent Supreme Being, Author and Maker of all Things, from whom we receive all our Good, who loves us, and gives us all Things. And consequent to this, instill into him a Love and Reverence of this Supreme Being. This is enough to begin with, without going to explain this matter any farther; for fear, lest by talking too early to him of Spirits, and being unseasonably forward to make him understand the incomprehensible Nature of that Infinite Being, his Head be either filled with false, or perplexed with unintelligible Notions of him. Let him only be told upon occasion, that *God* made and governs all things, hears and sees every thing, and does all manner of Good to those that love and obey him. You will find that being told of such a *God*, other Thoughts will be apt to rise up fast enough in his Mind about him; which, as you observe them to have any Mistakes, you must set right. And I think it would be better, if Men generally rested in such an Idea of *God*, without being too Curious in their Nations about a Being, which all must acknowledge Incomprehensible: whereby many, who have not Strength and Clearness of Thought, to distinguish between what they can and what they cannot know, run themselves into Superstition or Atheism, making *God* like themselves, or (because they cannot comprehend any thing else) none at all. And I am apt to think, the keeping Children constantly Morning and Evening to Acts of Devotion to *God*, as to their Maker, Preserver and Benefactor, in some plain and short Form of Prayer, suitable to their Age and Capacity, will be of much more use to them in Religion, Knowledge and Vertue, than to distract their Thoughts with curious Enquiries into his inscrutable Essence and Being.

§. 137. Having by gentle Degrees, as you find him capable of it, settled *Spirits*. such an Idea of *God* in his Mind, and taught him to *pray* to him, and *praise* him as the Author of his Being, and of all the Good he does or can enjoy; forbear any Discourse of other *Spirits*, till the mention of them coming in his way, upon occasion hereafter to be set down, and his Reading the Scripture-History, put him upon that Enquiry.

§. 138. But even then, and always whilst he is young, be sure to preserve *Goblins*. his tender Mind from all Impressions and Notions of *Spirits* and *Goblins*, or any fearful Apprehensions in the dark. This he will be in danger of from the Indiscretion of Servants, whose usual Method is to awe Children, and keep them in Subjection, by telling them of *Raw-Head* and *Bloody Bones*, and such other Names, as carry with them the Idea's of some thing terrible and hurtful, which they have reason to be afraid of, when alone, especially in the Dark. This must be carefully prevented: For though by this foolish way, they may keep them from little Faults, yet the Remedy is much worse than the Disease; and there are stamped upon their Imaginations, Ideas that follow them with Terrour and Affrightment. Such *Bug-bear* Thoughts, once got into the tender Minds of Children, and being set on with a strong Impression, from the Dread that accompanies such Apprehensions, sink deep,

Goblins. and fasten themselves so as not easily, if ever, to be got out again ; and whilst they are there, frequently haunt them with strange Visions, making Children Dastards when alone, and afraid of their Shadows and Darkneſs all their Lives after. I have had thoſe complain to me, when Men, who had been thus uſed when young ; that though their Reaſon corrected the wrong Idea's they had taken in, and they were ſatisfied, that there was no cauſe to fear inviſible Beings more in the Dark than in the Light, yet that theſe Notions were apt ſtill upon any occaſion to ſtart up firſt in their prepoſſeſſ'd Fancies, and not to be removed without ſome Pains. And to let you ſee, how laſting frightful Images are, that take place in the Mind early, I ſhall here tell you a pretty remarkable, but true Story. There was in a Town in the Weſt, a Man of a diſturb'd Brain, whom the Boys uſed to tieze, when he came in their way: This Fellow one Day ſeeing in the Street one of thoſe Lads that uſed to vex him, ſtep'd into a Cutler's Shop he was near ; and there ſeizing on a naked Sword, made after the Boy ; who ſeeing him coming ſo armed, betook himſelf to his Feet, and ran for his Life ; and by good luck, had Strength and Heels enough to reach his Father's Houſe, before the Mad-man could get up to him. The Door was only latch'd ; and when he had the Latch in his Hand, he turn'd about his Head to ſee how near his Purſuer was, who was at the entrance of the Porch with his Sword up, ready to ſtrike, and he had juſt time to get in and clap-to the Door to avoid the Blow, which though his Body eſcaped, his Mind did not. This frightening Idea made ſo deep an Impreſſion there, that it laſted many Years, if not all his Life after. For, telling this Story when he was a Man, 'he ſaid, That after that time till then, he never went in at that Door (that he could remember) at any time, without looking back, whatever Buſineſs he had in his Head, or how little ſoever, before he came thither, he thought of this Madman.

If Children were let alone, they would be no more afraid in the Dark, than in broad Sun-ſhine : They would in their turns as much welcome the one for Sleep, as the other to Play in. There ſhould be no diſtinction made to them, by any Diſcourſe, of more danger, or terrible Things in the one than the other : But if the folly of any one about them ſhould do them this Harm, and make them think, there is any difference between being in the dark and winking, you muſt get it out of their Minds as ſoon as you can ; and let them know, That God, who made all things good for them, made the Night that they might ſleep the better and the quieter ; and that they being under his Protection, there is nothing in the dark to hurt them. What is to be known more of God and good Spirits, is to be deferr'd till the time we ſhall hereafter mention ; and of Evil Spirits, 'twill be well if you can keep him from wrong Fancies about them, till he is ripe for that ſort of Knowledge.

Truth. §. 139. Having laid the Foundations of Vertue in a true Notion of a God, ſuch as the Creed wiſely teaches, as far as his Age is capable, and by accuſtoming him to pray to him ; The next thing to be taken care of, is to keep him exactly to ſpeaking of *Truth*, and by all the ways imaginable inclining him to be *good natur'd*. Let him know that Twenty Faults are ſooner to be forgiven, than the *ſtraining of Truth*, to cover any one by an *Excuse*. And to teach him betimes to love, and be *good natur'd* to others, is to lay early the true Foundation of an honeſt Man : All Injuſtice generally ſpringing from too great Love of our ſelves, and too little of others.

Good nature.

This is all I ſhall ſay of this Matter in general, and is enough for laying the firſt Foundations of Vertue in a Child ; as he grows up, the Tendency of his natural Inclination muſt be obſerved ; which, as it inclines him, more than is convenient, on one or t'other ſide, from the right Path of Vertue, ought to have proper Remedies applied. For few of *Adam's* Children are ſo happy, as not to be born with ſome Byaſs in their natural Temper, which it is the Buſineſs of Education either to take off, or counterbalance : But to enter into Particulars of this, would be beyond the Deſign of this ſhort Treatiſe of Education. I intend not a Diſcourſe of all the Vertues and Vices, and

and how each Vertue is to be attained, and every particular Vice by its peculiar Remedies cured. Though I have mention'd some of the most ordinary Faults, and the ways to be used in correcting them.

§. 140. *Wisdom* I take, in the popular acceptation, for a Man's managing his Business ably, and with fore-sight, in this World. This is the product of a good natural Temper, Application of Mind and Experience together, and so above the reach of Children. The greatest Thing that in them can be done towards it, is to hinder them, as much as may be, from being *Cunning*; which, being the Ape of *Wisdom*, is the most distant from it that can be: And, as an Ape, for the likeness it has to a Man, wanting what really should make him so, is by so much the uglier; *Cunning* is only the want of Understanding; which, because it cannot compass its ends by direct ways, would do it by a Trick, and Circumvention; and the Mischief of it is, a *cunning* Trick helps but once, but hinders ever after. No cover was ever made either so big, or so fine as to hide its self. No Body was ever so *cunning* as to conceal their being so: And when they are once discovered, every Body is shie, every Body distrustful of crafty Men; and all the World forwardly joyn to oppose and defeat them: Whilst the open, fair, wise Man has every Body to make way for him, and goes directly to his Business. To accustom a Child to have true Notions of things, and not to be satisfied till he has them; To raise his Mind to great and worthy Thoughts; and to keep him at a distance from Falshood; and *Cunning* which has always a broad mixture of Falshood in it; is the fittest preparation of a Child for *Wisdom*. The rest, which is to be learn'd from Time, Experience, and Observation, and an Acquaintance with Men, their Tempers, and Designs, is not to be expected in the ignorance and inadvertency of Childhood, or the inconsiderate heat and unwariness of Youth: All that can be done towards it, during this unripe Age, is as I have said, to accustom them to Truth and Sincerity; to a submission to Reason; and as much as may be, to Reflection on their own Actions.

§. 141. The next good Quality belonging to a Gentleman, is good *Breeding*. There are Two Sorts of *ill Breeding*: The one a *sheepish Bashfulness*: And the other a *misbecoming Negligence and Disrespect* in our Carriage; both which are avoided by duly observing this one Rule, *Not to think meanly of our selves, and not to think meanly of others.*

§. 142. The first part of this Rule must not be understood in opposition to Humility, but to Assurance. We ought not to think so well of our selves, as to stand upon our own Value; and assume to our selves a Preference before others, because of any Advantage we may imagine we have over them; but modestly to take what is offered, when it is our due. But yet we ought to think so well of our selves, as to perform those Actions which are incumbent on, and expected of us, without discomposure, or disorder; in whose presence soever we are; keeping that respect and distance, which is due to every one's Rank and Quality. There is often in People, especially Children, a clownish Shamefacedness, before Strangers, or those above them: They are confounded in their Thoughts, Words, and Looks; and so lose themselves, in that confusion, as not to be able to do any thing, or at least not do with that freedom and gracefulness, which pleases, and makes them acceptable. The only cure for this, as for any other Miscarriage, is by use to introduce the contrary Habit. But since we cannot accustom our selves to converse with Strangers, and Persons of Quality, without being in their Company; nothing can cure this part of *Ill-Breeding*, but Change and Variety of Company, and that of Persons above us.

§. 143. As the before-mention'd consists in too great a concern how to behave our selves towards others; so the other part of *Ill-Breeding*, lies in the appearance of too little care of pleasing, or shewing respect to those we have to do with. To avoid this, these two things are requisite: First, a disposition of the Mind not to offend others; and, Secondly, the most acceptable and agreeable way of expressing that Disposition. From the one, Men are called *Civil*; from the other, *Well-fashion'd*. The latter of these is that decency and gracefulness of Looks, Voice, Words, Motions, Gestures, and of all the whole

Breeding. whole outward Demeanour, which takes in Company, and makes those with whom we may converse, easie and well pleased. This is, as it were, the Language whereby that internal Civility of the Mind is expressed; which, as other Languages are, being very much governed by the Fashion and Custom of every Country, must, in the Rules and Practice of it, be learn'd chiefly from Observation, and the Carriage of those who are allow'd to be exactly *well-bred*. The other part, which lies deeper than the Out-side, is that general Good-will and Regard for all People, which makes any one have a care not to shew, in his Carriage, any contempt, disrespect, or neglect of them; but to express, according to the Fashion and way of that Country, a respect and value for them, according to their Rank and Condition. It is a disposition of the Mind that shews it self in the carriage, whereby a Man avoids making any one uneasy in Conversation.

I shall take notice of four qualities that are most directly opposite to this first, and most taking of all the Social Vertues. And from some one of these four it is that Incivility commonly has its Rise. I shall set them down, that Children may be preserv'd or recover'd from their ill influence.

Roughness. 1. The First is, a Natural *Roughness*, which makes a Man uncomplaisant to others, so that he has no deference for their inclinations, tempers, or conditions. 'Tis the sure badge of a Clown not to mind what pleases or displeases those he is with; and yet one may often find a Man in fashionable Cloaths, give an unbounded swing to his own humour, and suffer it to jostle or over-run any one that stands in its way, with a perfect indifferency how they take it. This is a Brutality that every one sees and abhors, and no body can be easie with. And therefore this finds no place in any one who would be thought to have the least tincture of *Good-breeding*. For the very end and business of *Good-breeding*, is to supple the natural stiffness, and so soften Mens Tempers that they may bend to a compliance, and accommodate themselves to those they have to do with.

Contempt. 2. Contempt or want of due Respect, discovered either in looks, words, or gesture: This from whomsoever it comes, brings always uneasiness with it. For no body can contentedly bear being slighted.

Censoriousness. 3. *Censoriousness*, and finding fault with others, has a direct opposition to *Civility*. Men, whatever they are, or are not guilty of, would not have their faults display'd, and set in open view and broad day-light, before their own or other Peoples Eyes. Blemishes affixed to any one always carry Shame with them: And the discovery, or even bare imputation of any defect,

Rallery. is not borne without some uneasiness. *Rallery* is the most refined way of exposing the faults of others. But because it is usually done with wit and good Language, and gives entertainment to the Company, People are led into a mistake, that where it keeps within fair bounds, there is no incivility in it. And so the pleasantry of this sort of Conversation often introduces it amongst People of the better Rank; and such Talkers are favourably heard, and generally applauded by the laughter of the By-standers on their side. But they ought to consider, that the entertainment of the rest of the Company is at the Cost of that one, who is set out in their burlesque colours, who therefore is not without uneasiness, unless the subject for which he is rallied, be really in it self matter of Commendation. For then the pleasant images and representations which make the *Rallery*, carrying praise as well as sport with them, the rallied Person also finds his account, and takes part in the diversion. But because the right management of so nice and tickle a business, wherein a little slip may spoil all, is not every Body's talent, I think those who would secure themselves from provoking others, especially all young People, should carefully abstain from *Rallery*, which by a small mistake, or any wrong turn, may leave upon the Mind of those who are made uneasy by it, the lasting memory of having been piquantly, though wittily taunted for some thing censurable in them.

Contradiction. Besides *Rallery*, *Contradiction* is a sort of *Censoriousness* wherein ill breeding often shews it self. Complaisance does not require that we should always admit all the reasonings or relations that the company is entertain'd with, no, nor silently to let pass all that is vented in our hearing. The opposing the

the Opinions, and rectifying the Mistakes of others, is what Truth and Charity sometimes require of us; and Civility does not oppose, if it be done with due Caution and Care of Circumstances. But there are some People that one may observe, possessed, as it were, with the Spirit of Contradiction, that steadily, and without regard to Right or Wrong, oppose some one, or perhaps, every one of the Company whatever they say. This is so visible and outrageous a way of *Censuring*, that no body can avoid thinking himself injur'd by it. All Opposition to what another Man has said is so apt to be suspected of *Censoriousness*, and is so seldom receiv'd without some sort of Humiliation, that it ought to be made in the gentlest manner, and softest Words can be found; and such as with the whole Deportment may express no forwardness to contradict. All Marks of Respect and Good-will ought to accompany it, that whilst we gain the Argument, we may not lose the Esteem of those that hear us.

4. *Captiousness* is another fault opposite to *Civility*, not only because it often produces misbecoming and provoking Expressions, and Carriage; but because it is a tacit Accusation and Reproach of some Incivility taken notice of in those whom we are angry with. Such a Suspicion or Intimation cannot be born by any one without uneasiness. Besides, one angry Body discomposes the whole Company, and the Harmony ceases upon any such jarring.

The Happiness that all Men so steadily pursue, consisting in Pleasure, it is easie to see why the *Civil* are more acceptable than the useful. The Ability, Sincerity, and good Intention, of a Man of weight and worth, or a real Friend, seldom atones for the Uneasiness that is produced by his grave and solid Representations. Power and Riches, nay, Vertue it self, are valued only as conducing to our Happiness. And therefore he recommends himself ill to another as aiming at his Happiness, who, in the services he does him, makes him uneasy in the manner of doing them. He that knows how to make those he converses with easie, without debasing himself to low and servile flattery, has found the true Art of living in the World, and being both welcome and valued every where. *Civility* therefore is what, in the first place, should with great care, be made habitual to Children and Young People.

§. 144. There is another Fault in good Manners, and that is, *Excess of Breeding*. Ceremony, and an obstinate persisting to force upon another what is not his due, and what he cannot take without Folly or Shame. This seems rather a Design to expose than oblige: Or, at least, looks like a Contest for Mastery, and, at best, is but troublesome, and so can be no part of *Good-Breeding*, which has no other use or end, but to make People easie and satisfied in their Conversation with us. This is a Fault few young People are apt to fall into; but yet, if they are ever guilty of it, or are suspected to encline that way, they should be told of it, and warned of this *Mistaken Civility*. The thing they should endeavour and aim at in Conversation, should be to shew Respect, Esteem, and Good-will, by paying to every one that common Ceremony and Regard which is in civility due to them. To do this, without a suspicion of Flattery, Dissimulation, or Meanness, is a great Skill, which good Sense, Reason, and good Company can only teach; but is of so much use in Civil Life, that it is well worth the studying.

§. 145. Though the managing our selves well in this part of our Behaviour, has the Name of *Good-Breeding*, as if peculiarly the effect of Education; yet, as I have said, young Children should not be much perplexed about it; I mean about putting off their Hats and making Legs modishly. Teach them Humility, and to be good-natur'd, if you can, and this sort of Manners will not be wanting: *Civility* being, in truth, nothing but a Care not to shew any Slighting, or Contempt, of any one in Conversation. What are the most allow'd and esteem'd ways of expressing this, we have above observed. It is as peculiar and different, in several Countries of the World, as their Languages; and therefore, if it be rightly considered, Rules and Discourses, made to Children about it, are as useless and impertinent, as it would be now and then to give a Rule or Two of the *Spanish* Tongue, to one that converses only with *English* men. Be as busie as you please with Discourses of *Civility* to your Son, such as is his Company, such will be his Manners.

Breeding. A Ploughman of your Neighbourhood, that has never been out of his Parish, read what Lectures you please to him, will be as soon in his Language as his Carriage, a Courtier; that is, in neither will be more polite than those he uses to converse with: And therefore of this no other Care can be taken, till he be of an Age to have a Tutour put to him, who must not fail to be a well-bred Man. And, in good earnest, if I were to speak my Mind freely, so Children do nothing out of Obstinacy, Pride, and Ill-nature, 'tis no great matter how they put off their Hats, or make Legs. If you can teach them to love and respect other People, they will, as their Age requires it, find ways to express it acceptably to every one, according to the Fashions they have been used to: And as to their Motions and Carriage of their Bodies, a Dancing Master, as has been said, when it is fit, will teach them what is most becoming. In the mean time, when they are young, People expect not that Children should be over mindful of these Ceremonies; Carelessness is allow'd to that Age, and becomes them as well as Complements do grown People: Or, at least, if some very nice People will think it a Fault, I am sure it is a Fault that should be over-look'd, and left to Time, a Tutour, and Conversation to cure. And therefore, I think it not worth your while to have your Son (as I often see Children are) molested or chid about it: But where there is *Pride* or *Ill-nature* appearing in his Carriage, there he must be persuaded or shamed out of it.

Interruption. Though Children, when little, should not be much perplex'd with Rules and Ceremonious Parts of *Breeding*; yet there is a sort of Unmannerliness very apt to grow up with young People, if not early restrain'd, and that is a Forwardness to *interrupt* others that are speaking, and to stop them with some *Contradiction*. Whether the Custom of Disputing, and the Reputation of Parts and Learning usually given to it, as if it were the only Standard and Evidence of Knowledge, make Young Men so forward to watch Occasions to correct others in their Discourse; and not to slip any Opportunity of shewing their Talents; So it is, That I have found Scholars most blam'd in this Point. There cannot be a greater Rudeness, than to *interrupt* another in the Current of his Discourse; for if there be not impertinent Folly in answering a Man before we know what he will say, yet it is a plain Declaration, that we are weary to hear him talk any longer: And, have a Disesteem of what he says, which we judging not fit to entertain the Company, desire them to give audience to us, who have something to produce worth their Attention. This shews a very great Disrespect, and cannot but be offensive: And yet, this is what almost all *Interruption* constantly carries with it. To which, if there be added, as is usual, a *correcting* of any Mistake, or a *Contradiction* of what has been said, 'tis a Mark of yet greater Pride and Self-conceitedness, when we thus intrude our selves for Teachers, and take upon us, either to set another right in his Story, or shew the Mistakes of his Judgment.

I do not say this, That I think there should be no Difference of Opinions in Conversation, nor Opposition in Men's Discourses: This would be to take away the greatest Advantage of Society, and the Improvements are to be made by ingenious Company; where the Light is to be got from the Opposite Arguings of Men of Parts, shewing the different Sides of Things, and their various Aspects, and Probabilities, would be quite lost, if every one were obliged to assent to, and say after the first Speaker. 'Tis not the owning one's Dissent from another, that I speak against, but the manner of doing it. Young Men should be taught not to be forward to *interpose* their Opinions, unless asked, or when others have done and are silent; and then only by way of Enquiry, not Instruction. The positive asserting, and the Magisterial Air should be avoided; and when a general Pause of the whole Company affords an Opportunity, they may modestly put in their Question as Learners.

This becoming Decency will not cloud their Parts, nor weaken the Strength of their Reason; but bespeak the more favourable Attention, and give what they say the greater Advantage. An ill Argument, or ordinary Observation thus introduced, with some civil Preface of Deference and Respect

spect to the Opinions of others, will procure them more Credit, and Esteem, *Interrup-*
than the sharpest Wit, or profoundest Science, with a rough, insolent, or *tion.*
noisy Management, which always shocks the Hearers, leaves an ill Opinion of
the Man, though he get the better of it in the Argument.

This therefore should be carefully watched in young People, stop'd in the
Beginning, and the contrary Habit introduced in all their Conversation.
And the rather, because forwardness to talk, frequent *Interruptions* in arguing,
and loud *wrangling*, are too often observable amongst grown People, even
of Rank amongst us. The *Indians*, whom we call Barbarous, observe much
more Decency and Civility in their Discourses and Conversation, giving one
another a fair silent Hearing, till they have quite done; and then answering
them calmly, and without Noise or Passion. And if it be not so in this
civilized Part of the World, we must impute it to a Neglect in Education,
which has not yet reform'd this ancient Piece of Barbarity amongst us. Was
it not, think you, an entertaining Spectacle, to see two Ladies of Quality
accidentally seated on the opposite sides of a Room, set round with Com-
pany, fall into a Dispute, and grow so eager in it, that in the Heat of *Dispute.*
their Controversie, edging by degrees their Chairs forwards, they were in
a little time got up close to one another in the middle of the Room; where
they for a good while managed the Dispute as fiercely as two Game-Cocks
in the Pit, without minding or taking any Notice of the Circle, which could
not all the while forbear smiling? This I was told by a Person of Quality,
who was present at the Combat, and did not omit to reflect upon the Inde-
cencies, that warmth in *Dispute* often runs People into; which since Custom
makes too frequent, Education should take the more Care of. There is no
Body but condemns this in others, though they overlook it in themselves:
And many, who are sensible of it in themselves, and resolve against it, can-
not yet get rid of an ill Custom, which Neglect in their Education has suf-
fered to settle into an Habit.

§. 146: What has been above-said concerning *Company*, would perhaps, if *Company.*
it were well reflected on, give us a larger Prospect, and let us see how much
farther its Influence reaches. 'Tis not the Modes of Civility alone, that are
imprinted by *Conversation*: The Tincture of Company sinks deeper than the
out-side; and possibly, if a true Estimate were made of the Morality, and
Religions of the World, we should find, that the far greater part of Man-
kind received even those Opinions and Ceremonies, they would die for,
rather from the Fashions of their Countries, and the constant Practice of
those about them, than from any Conviction of their Reasons. I mention
this only to let you see of what Moment, I think, *Company* is to your Son, in
all the parts of his Life, and therefore how much that one part is to be weigh-
ed, and provided for; it being of greater force to work upon him, than all
you can do besides.

§. 147. You will wonder, perhaps, that I put *Learning* last, especially if I tell *Learning.*
you I think it the least part. This may seem strange in the Mouth of a Bookish
Man; and this making usually the chief, if not only bustle and stir about Chil-
dren; this being almost that alone, which is thought on, when People talk of
Education, makes it the greater Paradox. When I consider, what a-do is made
about a little *Latin* and *Greek*, how many Years are spent in it, and what a noise
and business it makes to no purpose, I can hardly forbear thinking, that the Pa-
rents of Children still live in fear of the School-master's Rod, which they look
on as the only Instrument of Education; as a Language or two to be its whole
Business. How else is it possible that a Child should be chain'd to the Oar, Se-
ven, Eight, or Ten of the best Years of his Life, to get a Language or two,
which I think, might be had at a great deal cheaper rate of Pains and Time,
and be learn'd almost in playing?

Forgive me therefore, If I say, I cannot with Patience think, that a young
Gentleman should be put into the Herd, and be driven with a Whip and
Scourge, as if he were to run the Gantlet through the several Classes, *ad ca-*
piendum ingenii cultum. What then, say you, would you not have him Write
and Read? Shall he be more Ignorant than the Clerk of our Parish, who
takes *Hopkins* and *Sternhold* for the best Poets in the World, whom yet he
makes worse, than they are, by his ill Reading? Not so, not so fast, I be-

Learning. seech you. Reading, and Writing, and *Learning*, I allow to be necessary, but yet not the chief Business. I imagine you would think him a very foolish Fellow, that should not value a Vertuous, or a Wise Man, infinitely before a great Scholar. Not but that I think *Learning* a great help to both in well dispos'd Minds; but yet it must be confes'd also, that in others not so dispos'd, it helps them only to be the more foolish, or worse Men. I say this, that when you consider of the Breeding of your Son, and are looking out for a School-Master, or a Tutor, you would not have (as is usual) *Latin* and *Logick* only in your Thoughts. *Learning* must be had, but in the second place, as subservient only to greater Qualities. Seek out some-body, that may know how discreetly to frame his Manners: Place him in Hands, where you may, as much as possible secure his Innocence, cherish and nurse up the Good, and gently correct and weed out any Bad Inclinations, and settle in him good Habits. This is the main Point, and this being provided for, *Learning* may be had in to the Bargain, and that, as I think, at a very easie rate, by Methods that may be thought on.

Reading. §. 148. When he can talk, 'tis time he should begin to *learn to read*. But as to this, give me leave here to inculcate again what is very apt to be forgotten, *viz.* That a great Care is to be taken, that it be never made as a Business to him, nor he look on it as a Task. We naturally, as I said, even from our Cradles, love Liberty, and have therefore an Aversion to many Things, for no other Reason but because they are injoy'd us. I have always had a Fancy, that *Learning* might be made a Play and Recreation to Children; and that they might be brought to desire to be taught, if it were propos'd to them as a thing of Honour, Credit, Delight and Recreation, or as a Reward for doing something else; and if they were never chid or corrected for the neglect of it. That which confirms me in this Opinion, is, that amongst the *Portugueses*, 'tis so much a Fashion, and Emulation, amongst their Children, to *learn to Read*, and Write, that they cannot hinder them from it: They will learn it one from another, and are as intent on it, as if it were forbidden them. I remember that being at a Friend's House, whose younger Son, a Child in Coats, was not easily brought to his Book (being taught to read at home by his Mother) I advised to try another way, than requiring it of him as his Duty; we therefore, in a Discourse on purpose amongst our selves, in his hearing, but without taking any notice of him, declared, That it was the Privilege and Advantage of Heirs and Elder Brothers, to be Scholars; that this made them fine Gentlemen, and beloved by every body: And that for younger Brothers, 'twas a Favour to admit them to Breeding; to be taught to *Read* and Write, was more than came to their share; they might be ignorant Bumpkins and Clowns, if they pleased. This so wrought upon the Child, that afterwards he desired to be taught; would come himself to his Mother to *learn*, and would not let his Maid be quiet till she heard him his Lesson. I doubt not but some way like this might be taken with other Children; and, when their Tempers are found, some thoughts be instilled into them, that might set them upon desiring of *Learning* themselves, and make them seek it, as another sort of Play or Recreation. But then, as I said before, it must never be imposed as a Task, nor made a trouble to them. There may be Dice and Play-things, with the Letters on them, to teach Children the *Alphabet* by playing; and twenty other ways may be found, suitable to their particular Tempers, to make this kind of *Learning* a Sport to them.

§. 149. Thus Children may be cozen'd into a Knowledge of the Letters; be taught to read, without perceiving it to be any thing but a Sport, and play themselves into that which others are whip'd for. Children should not have any thing like Work, or serious, laid on them; neither their Minds, nor Bodies will bear it. It injures their Healths; and their being forced and tied down to their Books in an Age at enmity with all such restraint, has, I doubt not, been the reason, why a great many have hated Books and *Learning* all their Lives after: 'Tis like a Surfeit, that leaves an Aversion behind not to be removed.

§. 150. I have therefore thought, that if *Play-things* were fitted to this purpose, *Reading*. as they are usually to none, Contrivances might be made to *teach Children to read*, whilst they thought they were only Playing. For Example, What if an *Ivory-Ball* were made like that of the Royal-Oak Lottery, with Thirty two sides, or one rather of Twenty four, or Twenty five sides; and upon several of those sides pasted on an A, upon several others B, on others C, and on others D? I would have you begin with but these four Letters, or perhaps only two at first; and when he is perfect in them, then add another; and so on, till each side having one Letter, there be on it the whole Alphabet. This I would have others play with before him, it being as good a sort of Play to lay a Stake who shall first throw an A or B, as who upon Dice shall throw Six or Seven. This being a Play amongst you, tempt him not to it, lest you make it Business; for I would not have him understand 'tis any thing but a Play of Older People, and I doubt not but he will take to it of himself. And that he may have the more Reason to think it is a Play, that he is sometimes in favour admitted to; when the Play is done, the Ball should be laid up safe out of his Reach, that so it may not, by his having it in his keeping at any time, grow stale to him.

§. 151. To keep up his Eagerness to it, let him think it a Game belonging to those above him: And when, by this means, he knows the Letters, by changing them into Syllables, he may *learn to read*, without knowing how he did so, and never have any Chiding or Trouble about it, nor fall out with Books, because of the hard Usage and Vexation they have caus'd him. Children, if you observe them, take abundance of Pains to learn several Games, which, if they should be enjoin'd them, they would abhor as a Task, and Business. I know a Person of great Quality (more yet to be honoured for his Learning and Vertue, than for his Rank and high Place) who by pasting on the Six Vowels (for in our Language Y is one) on the Six Sides of a Die, and the remaining Eighteen Consonants on the Sides of Three other Dice; has made this a Play for his Children, that he shall win, who, at one Cast, throws most Words on these Four Dice; whereby his eldest Son, yet in Coats, has *play'd himself into spelling*, with great Eagerness, and without once having been chid for it, or forced to it.

§. 152. I have seen little Girls exercise whole Hours together, and take abundance of Pains to be expert at *Dibstones*, as they call it: Whilst I have been looking on, I have thought it wanted only some good Contrivance to make them employ all that Industry about something that might be more useful to them; and methinks 'tis only the Fault and Negligence of elder People, that it is not so. Children are much less apt to be idle than Men; and Men are to be blamed if some Part of that busie Humour be not turn'd to useful Things; which might be made usually as delightful to them as those they are employ'd in, if Men would be but half so forward to lead the Way, as these little Apes would be to follow. I imagine some wise *Portuguese* heretofore began this Fashion amongst the Children of his Country, where I have been told, as I said, it is impossible to hinder the Children from *learning to read* and write: And in some Parts of *France* they teach one another to Sing and Dance from the Cradle.

§. 153. The Letters pasted upon the Sides of the Dice, or Polygon, were best to be of the Size of those of the Folio Bible to begin with, and none of them Capital Letters; when once he can read what is printed in such Letters, he will not long be ignorant of the great ones: And in the Beginning he should not be perplex'd with Variety. With this Die also, you might have a Play just like the Royal-Oak, which would be another Variety; and play for Cherries, or Apples, &c.

§. 154. Besides these, Twenty other Plays might be invented, depending on Letters, which those, who like this way, may easily contrive, and get made to this use, if they will. But the Four Dice above-mention'd I think so easie and useful, that it will be hard to find any better, and there will be scarce need of any other.

§. 155. Thus much for *learning to read*, which let him never be driven to, nor chid for; cheat him into it if you can, but make it not a Business for

Reading. for him. 'Tis better it be a Year later *before he can read*, than that he should this Way get an Aversion to Learning. If you have any Contests with him, let it be in Matters of Moment, of Truth, and good Nature; but lay no Task on him about ABC. Use your Skill to make his Will supple and pliant to Reason: Teach him to love Credit and Commendation; to abhor being thought ill or meanly of, especially by You and his Mother, and then the rest will come all easily. But, I think, if you will do that, you must not shackle and tie him up with Rules about indifferent Matters, nor rebuke him for every little Fault, or perhaps some, that to others would seem great ones: But of this I have said enough already.

§. 156. When by these gentle Ways he begins to be able to *read*, some easie pleasant Book suited to his Capacity, should be put into his Hands, wherein the Entertainment that he finds might draw him on, and reward his Pains in reading, and yet not such as should fill his Head with perfectly useless Trumpery, or lay the Principles of Vice and Folly. To this Purpose, I think, *Æsop's Fables* the best, which being Stories apt to delight and entertain a Child, may yet afford useful Reflections to a grown Man; and if his Memory retain them all his Life after, he will not repent to find them there, amongst his manly Thoughts and serious Business. If his *Æsop* has *Pictures* in it, it will entertain him much the better, and encourage him to read, when it carries the Increase of Knowledge with it: For such visible Objects Children hear talked of in vain, and without any Satisfaction, whilst they have no Idea's of them; those Idea's being not to be had from Sounds, but from the Things themselves, or their Pictures. And therefore, I think, as soon as he begins to spell, as many Pictures of Animals should be got him as can be found, with the Printed Names to them, which at the same Time will invite him to read, and afford him Matter of Enquiry and Knowledge. *Reynard the Fox* is another Book, I think, may be made use of to the same Purpose. And if those about him will talk to him often about the Stories he has read, and hear him tell them, it will, besides other Advantages, add Incouragement and Delight to his *Reading*, when he finds there is some Use and Pleasure in it. These Baits seem wholly neglected in the ordinary Method; and 'tis usually long before Learners find any Use or Pleasure in Reading which may tempt them to it, and so take Books only for fashionable Amusements, or impertinent Troubles, good for nothing.

§. 157. The Lord's Prayer, the Creeds, and Ten Commandments 'tis necessary he should learn perfectly by heart; but, I think, not by reading them himself in his Primmer, but by Some-body's repeating them to him, even before he can read. But learning by heart, and *learning to read*, should not, I think, be mixed, and so one made to clog the other. But his *learning to read*, should be made as little Trouble or Business to him as might be.

What other Books there are in *English* of the Kind of those above-mentioned, fit to engage the Liking of Children, and tempt them *to read*, I do not know: But am apt to think, that Children, being generally delivered over to the Method of Schools, where the Fear of the Rod is to inforce, and not any Pleasure of the Employment to invite, them to learn, this sort of useful Books, amongst the Number of silly ones that are of all Sorts, have yet had the Fate to be neglected; and nothing that I know has been considered of this Kind out of the ordinary Road of the Horn-book, Primmer, Psalter, Testament, and Bible.

§. 158. As for the *Bible*, which Children are usually employ'd in to exercise and improve their Talent *in reading*, I think, the promiscuous reading of it, though by Chapters as they lie in Order, is so far from being of any Advantage to Children, either for the perfecting their *Reading*, or principling their Religion, that perhaps a worse could not be found. For what Pleasure or Incouragement can it be to a Child to exercise himself in reading those Parts of a Book where he understands nothing? And how little are the Law of *Moses*, the Song of *Solomon*, the Prophecies in the Old, and the Epistles and *Apocalypse* in the New Testament, suited to a Child's Capacity? And though the History of the Evangelists, and the Acts, have something easier; yet, taken all together, it is very disproportionall to the Understanding of Chil-

Childhood. I grant, that the Principles of Religion are to be drawn from *Reading* thence, and in the Words of the Scripture; yet none should be propos'd to a Child, but such as are suited to a Child's Capacity and Notions. But 'tis far from this to read through *the whole Bible*, and that for reading's sake. And what an odd jumble of Thoughts must a Child have in his Head, if he have any at all, such as he should have concerning Religion, who in his tender Age reads all the Parts of the *Bible* indifferently as the Word of God, without any other Distinction. I am apt to think, that this, in some Men, has been the very Reason why they never had clear and distinct Thoughts of it all their Life-time.

§. 159. And now I am by chance fallen on this Subject, give me leave to say, that there are some Parts of the *Scripture* which may be proper to be put into the Hands of a Child to engage him to read; such as are the Story of *Joseph* and his Brethren, of *David* and *Goliath*, of *David* and *Jonathan*, &c. and others, that he should be made to read for his Instruction, as that, *What you would have others do unto you, do you the same unto them*; and such other easie and plain moral Rules, which being fitly chosen, might often be made use of, both for Reading and Instruction together; and so often read till they are thoroughly fixed in the Memory; and then afterwards, as he grows ripe for them, may in their Turns, on fit Occasions, be inculcated as the standing and sacred Rules of his Life and Actions. But the reading of the whole *Scripture* indifferently, is what, I think, very inconvenient for Children, till, after having been made acquainted with the plainest fundamental Parts of it, they have got some kind of general View of what they ought principally to believe and practise, which yet, I think, they ought to receive in the very Words of the *Scripture*, and not in such, as Men prepossess'd by Systems and Analogies, are apt in this Case to make use of and force upon them. Dr. *Worthington*, to avoid this, has made a Catechism, which has all its Answers in the precise Words of the *Scripture*, a Thing of good Example, and such a sound Form of Words as no Christian can except against, as not fit for his Child to learn. Of this, as soon as he can say the Lord's Prayer, Creed, and Ten Commandments by Heart, it may be fit for him to learn a Question every Day, or every Week, as his Understanding is able to receive, and his Memory to retain them. And when he has this Catechism perfectly by Heart, so as readily and roundly to answer to any Question in the whole Book, it may be convenient to lodge in his Mind the remaining Moral Rules scatter'd up and down in the *Bible*, as the best *Exercise of his Memory*, and that which may be always a Rule to him, ready at hand, in the whole Conduct of his Life.

§. 160. When he can read *English* well, it will be seasonable to enter him in *Writing*: And here the first Thing should be taught him, is to hold his Pen right; and this he should be perfect in, before he should be suffer'd to put it to Paper: For not only Children, but any body else, that would do any thing well, should never be put upon too much of it at once, or be set to perfect themselves in two Parts of an Action at the same time, if they can possibly be separated. I think the *Italian* way of holding the Pen between the Thumb and the Fore-finger alone, may be best; but in this you should consult some good Writing-Master, or any other Person who writes well, and quick. When he has learn'd to hold his Pen right, in the next Place he should learn how to lay his Paper, and place his Arm and Body to it. These Practices being got over, the way to teach him to write without much Trouble, is to get a Plate graved with the Characters of such a Hand as you like best: But you must remember to have them a pretty deal bigger than he should ordinarily write; for every one naturally comes by degrees to write a less Hand than he at first was taught, but never a bigger. Such a Plate being graved, let several Sheets of good writing-Paper be printed off with red Ink, which he has nothing to do but to go over with a good Pen fill'd with black Ink, which will quickly bring his Hand to the Formation of those Characters, being at first shew'd where to begin, and how to form every Letter. And when he can do that well, he must then exercise on fair Paper; and so may easily be brought to write the Hand you desire.

Drawing. §. 161. When he can write well and quick, I think it may be convenient, not only to continue the Exercise of his Hand in Writing ; but also to improve the use of it farther in *Drawing*, a Thing very useful to a Gentleman in several Occasions ; but especially if he travel, as that which helps a Man often to express, in a few Lines well put together, what a whole Sheet of Paper in Writing would not be able to represent and make intelligible. How many Buildings may a Man see, how many Machines and Habits meet with, the Idea's whereof would be easily retain'd and communicated by a little Skill in *Drawing* ; which being committed to Words are in Danger to be lost, or, at best, but ill retained in the most exact Descriptions ? I do not mean that I would have your Son a *perfect Painter* ; to be that to any tolerable Degree, will require more Time than a young Gentleman can spare from his other Improvements of greater Moment : But so much Insight into *Perspective* and Skill in *Drawing*, as will enable him to represent tolerably on Paper any thing he sees, except Faces, may, I think, be got in a little time, especially if he have a Genius to it ; but where that is wanting, unless it be in the things absolutely necessary, it is better to let him pass them by quietly, than to vex him about them to no purpose : And therefore in this, as in all other things not absolutely necessary, the Rule holds, *Nil inuit Minervâ*.

Short-hand. § 1. *Short-hand*, an Art, as I have been told, known only in *England*, may perhaps be thought worth the Learning, both for Dispatch in what Men write for their own Memory, and Concealment of what they would not have lie open to every Eye. For he that has once learn'd any Sort of Character, may easily vary it to his own private Use or Fancy, and with more Contraction suited to the Business he would employ it in. Mr. *Rich's*, the best contriv'd of any I have seen, may, as I think, by one who knows and considers Grammar well, be made much easier and shorter. But for the learning this compendious way of Writing, there will be no need hastily to look out a Master ; it will be early enough when any convenient Opportunity offers it self, at any time after his Hand is well settled in fair and quick Writing. For Boys have but little use of *Short-hand*, and should by no means practise it till they write perfectly well, and have thoroughly fix'd the Habit of doing so.

French. §. 162. As soon as he can speak *English*, 'tis time for him to learn some other Language : This no Body doubts of, when *French* is propos'd. And the Reason is, because People are accusom'd to the right Way of teaching that Language, which is by talking it into Children in constant Conversation, and not by Grammatical Rules. The *Latin* Tongue would easily be taught the same Way, if his Tutour, being constantly with him, would talk nothing else to him, and make him answer still in the same Language. But because *French* is a living Language, and to be used more in speaking, that should be first learn'd, that the yet pliant Organs of Speech might be accustomed to a due Formation of those Sounds, and he get the Habit of pronouncing *French* well, which is the harder to be done the longer it is delay'd.

Latin. §. 163. When he can speak and read *French* well, which in this Method is usually in a Year or Two, he should proceed to *Latin*, which 'tis a wonder Parents, when they have had the Experiment in *French*, should not think ought to be learn'd the same Way, by Talking and Reading. Only Care is to be taken, whilst he is learning these foreign Languages, by speaking and reading nothing else with his Tutour, that he do not forget to read *English*, which may be preserved by his Mother, or some Body else, hearing him read some chosen Parts of the Scripture, or other *English* Book, every Day.

§. 164. *Latin* I look upon as absolutely necessary to a Gentleman ; and indeed Custom, which prevails over every thing, has made it so much a Part of Education, that even those Children are whip'd to it, and made spend many Hours of their precious time uneasily in *Latin*, who, after they are once gone from School, are never to have more to do with it as long as they live. Can there be any thing more ridiculous, than that a Father should

should waste his own Money, and his Son's time, in setting him to learn the *Roman Language*, when at the same time he designs him for a Trade, wherein he having no Use of *Latin*, fails not to forget that little which he brought from School, and which 'tis Ten to One he abhors for the ill Usage it procur'd him? Could it be believ'd, unless we had every-where amongst us Examples of it, that a Child should be forced to learn the Rudiments of a Language which he is never to use in the Course of Life that he is designed to, and neglect all the while the writing a good Hand, and casting Account, which are of great Advantage in all Conditions of Life, and to most Trades indispensibly necessary? But though these Qualifications, requisite to Trade and Commerce, and the Business of the World, are seldom or never to be had at Grammar-Schools; yet thither, not only Gentlemen send their younger Sons, intended for Trades, but even Tradesmen and Farmers fail not to send their Children, though they have neither Intention nor Ability to make them Scholars. If you ask them why they do this, they think it as strange a Question, as if you should ask them, why they go to Church. Custom serves for Reason, and has, to those who take it for Reason, so consecrated this Method, that it is almost Religiously observed by them, and they stick to it, as if their Children had scarce an Orthodox Education, unless they learn'd *Lilly's Grammar*.

§. 165. But how necessary soever *Latin* be to some, and is thought to be to others, to whom it is of no manner of Use or Service; yet the ordinary way of Learning it in a Grammar-School is that, which having had thoughts about, I cannot be forward to encourage. The Reasons against it are so evident, and cogent, that they have prevailed with some intelligent Persons, to quit the ordinary Road, not without Success, though the Method made use of was not exactly that which I imagine the easiest, and in short is this: To trouble the Child with no *Grammar* at all, but to have *Latin*, as *English* has been, without the Perplexity of Rules, talked into him; for if you will consider it, *Latin* is no more unknown to a Child, when he comes into the World, than *English*: And yet he learns *English* without Master, Rule, or Grammar; and so might he *Latin* too, as *Tully* did, if he had some Body always to talk to him in this Language. And when we so often see a *French* Woman teach an *English* Girl to speak and read *French* perfectly in a Year or Two, without any Rule of Grammar, or any thing else but prating to her; I cannot but wonder, how Gentlemen have been over-seen this way for their Sons, and thought them more dull or incapable than their Daughters.

§. 166. If therefore a Man could be got, who, himself speaking good *Latin*, would always be about your Son, talk constantly to him, and suffer him to speak or read nothing else, this would be the true and genuine way, and that which I would propose, not only as the easiest and best, wherein a Child might without Pains or Chiding get a Language, which others are wont to be whip'd for at School six or seven Years together; but also as that, wherein at the same time he might have his Mind and Manners formed, and he be instructed to boot in several Sciences, such as are a good Part of *Geography*, *Astronomy*, *Chronology*, *Anatomy*, besides some Parts of *History*, and all other Parts of Knowledge of Things, that fall under the Senses, and require little more than Memory. For there, if we would take the true way, our Knowledge should begin, and in those Things be laid the Foundation; and not in the abstract Notions of *Logick* and *Metaphysics*, which are fitter to amuse, than inform the Understanding, in its first setting out towards Knowledge. When Young Men have had their Heads employ'd a while in those abstract Speculations without finding the Success and Improvement, or that Use of them which they expected, they are apt to have mean Thoughts, either of Learning, or themselves; they are tempted to quit their Studies, and throw away their Books, as containing nothing but hard Words, and empty Sounds; or else to conclude, that if there be any real Knowledge in them, they themselves have not Understandings capable of it. That this is so, perhaps I could assure you upon my own Experience. Amongst other Things to be learn'd by a young Gentleman in this Method, whilst others of his Age are wholly taken up with *Latin* and Languages, I may also set down *Geometry* for

Latin. one, having known a young Gentleman, bred something after this way, able to demonstrate several Propositions in *Euclid*, before he was Thirteen.

§. 167. But if such a Man cannot be got, who speaks good *Latin*, and being able to instruct your Son in all these Parts of Knowledge, will undertake it by this Method; the next best is to have him taught as near this way as may be, which is by taking some easie and pleasant Book, such as *Æsop's Fables*, and writing the *English* Translation (made as literal as it can be) in one Line, and the *Latin* Words which answer each of them, just over it in another. These let him read every Day over and over again, till he perfectly understands the *Latin*; and then go on to another Fable, till he be also perfect in that, not omitting what he is already perfect in, but sometimes reviewing that, to keep it in his Memory. And when he comes to Write, let these be set him for Copies, which with the Exercise of his Hand, will also advance him in *Latin*. This being a more imperfect way than by *talking Latin* unto him; the Formation of the Verbs first, and afterwards the Declensions of the Nouns and Pronouns perfectly learn'd by Heart, may facilitate his Acquaintance with the Genius and Manner of the *Latin Tongue*, which varies the Signification of Verbs, and Nouns, not as the Modern Languages do by Particles prefix'd, but by changing the last Syllables. More than this of Grammar I think he need not have, till he can read himself *Sancti Minerva* with *Scioppius* and *Perizonius's* Notes.

In teaching of Children this too, I think, is to be observ'd, that in most Cases, where they stick, they are not to be farther puzzled, by putting them upon finding it out themselves; as by asking such Questions as these, (*viz.*) Which is the Nominative Case, in the Sentence they are to construe; or demanding, what *aufero* signifies, to lead them to the Knowledge, what *abstulere* signifies, &c. when they cannot readily tell. This wastes time only in disturbing them: For whilst they are learning, and apply themselves with Attention, they are to be kept in good Humour, and every thing made easie to them, and as pleasant as possible. Therefore, where ever they are at a stand, and are willing to go forwards, help them presently over the Difficulty, without any Rebuke or Chiding, remembering that where harsher ways are taken, they are the Effect only of Pride and Peevishness in the Teacher, who expects Children should instantly be Masters of as much as he knows: Whereas he should rather consider, that his Business is to settle in them Habits, not angrily to inculcate Rules, which serve for little in the Conduct of our Lives; at least are of no Use to Children, who forget them as soon as given. In Sciences where their Reason is to be Exercised, I will not deny, but this Method may sometimes be varied, and Difficulties propos'd on purpose to excite Industry, and accustom the Mind to imploy its own Strength and Sagacity in Reasoning. But yet, I guess, this is not to be done to Children whilst very young; nor at their Entrance upon any sort of Knowledge: Then every thing of it self is difficult, and the great Use and Skill of a Teacher is to make all as easy as he can. But particularly in learning of Languages there is least Occasion for posing of Children. For Languages, being to be learn'd by Roat, Custom, and Memory, are then spoken in greatest Perfection, when all Rules of Grammar are utterly forgotten. I grant the Grammar of a Language is sometimes very carefully to be studied; but it is only to be studied by a grown Man, when he applies himself to the Understanding of any Language critically, which is seldom the Business of any but profess'd Scholars. This I think will be agreed to, that if a Gentleman be to study any Language, it ought to be that of his own Country, that he may understand the Language, which he has constant use of, with the utmost Accuracy.

There is yet a farther Reason, why Masters and Teachers should raise no Difficulties to their Scholars; but on the contrary should smooth their way, and readily help them forwards, where they find them stop. Childrens Minds are narrow and weak, and usually susceptible but of one Thought at once. Whatever is in a Child's Head fills it for the time, especially if set on with any Passion. It should therefore be the Skill and Art of the Teacher, to clear their Heads of all other Thoughts, whilst they are learning of any thing, the

the better to make room for what he would insil into them, that it may be *Latin*, receiv'd with Attention and Application, without which it leaves no Impression. The Natural Temper of Children disposes their Minds to wander. Novelty alone takes them; whatever that presents, they are presently eager to have a taste of, and are as soon satiated with it. They quickly grow weary of the same thing, and so have almost their whole Delight in Change and Variety. It is a Contradiction to the Natural State of Childhood for them to fix their fleeting Thoughts. Whether this be owing to the Temper of their Brains, or the Quickness or Instability of their Animal Spirits, over which the Mind has not yet got a full Command; this is visible, that it is a Pain to Children to keep their Thoughts steady to any thing. A lasting continued Attention is one of the hardest Tasks can be imposed on Them: And therefore, he that requires their Application, should endeavour to make what he proposes as grateful and agreeable as possible: At least, he ought to take care not to joyn any displeasing or frightful Idea with it. If they come not to their Books with some kind of liking and relish, 'tis no wonder their Thoughts should be perpetually shifting from what disgusts them; and seek better Entertainment in more pleasing Objects, after which they will unavoidably be gadding.

'Tis, I know, the usual Method of Tutours, to endeavour to procure Attention in their Scholars, and to fix their Minds to the Business in Hand, by Rebukes and Corrections, if they find them ever so little wandering. But such Treatment is sure to produce the quite contrary effect. Passionate Words or Blows from the Tutor fill the Child's Mind with Terrour and Affrightment, which immediately takes it wholly up, and leaves no room for other Impressions. I believe there is no body, that reads this, but may recollect, what Disorder Hasty or Imperious Words from his Parents or Teachers have caus'd in his Thoughts; how for the time it has turn'd his Brains, so that he scarce knew what was said by or to him: He presently lost the sight of what he was upon, his Mind was fill'd with Disorder and Confusion, and in that state was no longer capable of Attention to any thing else.

'Tis true, Parents and Governours ought to settle and establish their Authority, by an Awe over the Minds of those under their Tuition; and to rule them by that: But when they have got an Ascendant over them, they should use it with great Moderation, and not make themselves such Scarecrows, that their Scholars should always tremble in their sight. Such an Austerity may make their Government easie to themselves, but of very little use to their Pupils. 'Tis impossible Children should learn any thing whilst their thoughts are possessed and disturb'd with any Passion, especially Fear, which makes the strongest Impression on their yet tender and weak Spirits. Keep the Mind in an easie calm Temper, when you would have it receive your Instructions, or any increase of Knowledge. 'Tis as impossible to draw fair and regular Characters on a trembling Mind as on a shaking Paper.

The great Skill of a Teacher is to get and keep the Attention of his Scholar; whilst he has that, he is sure to advance as fast as the Learner's Abilities will carry him: And without that, all his bustle and pother will be to little or no purpose. To attain this, he should make the Child comprehend (as much as may be) the Usefulness of what he teaches him, and let him see, by what he has learnt, that he can do something which he could not do before; something, which gives him some Power and real Advantage above others, who are ignorant of it. To this he should add Sweetness in all his Instructions; and by a certain Tenderness in his whole Carriage, make the Child sensible that he loves him and designs nothing but his good, the only way to beget Love in the Child, which will make him hearken to his Lessons, and relish what he teaches him.

Nothing but Obstinacy should meet with any imperiousness or rough usage. All other Faults should be corrected with a gentle Hand, and kind encouraging words will work better and more effectually upon a willing Mind, and even prevent a good deal of that Perverseness, which rough and imperious usage often produces in well disposed and generous Minds. 'Tis true,

Latin. Obstinacy and wilful Neglects must be master'd, even though it cost blows to do it: But I am apt to think Perverseness in the Pupils is often the effect of Frowardness in the *Tutour*; and that most Children would seldom have deserv'd Blows, if needless and misapplied Roughness had not taught them Ill-Nature, and given them an Aversion for their Teacher, and all that comes from him.

Inadvertency, Forgetfulness, Unsteadiness, and Wandering of Thought, are the natural Faults of Childhood: And therefore, where they are not observ'd to be wilful, are to be mention'd softly, and gain'd upon by time. If every slip of this kind produces Anger and Rating, the occasions of Rebuke and Corrections will return so often, that the *Tutour* will be a constant terrour and uneasiness to his Pupils. Which one thing is enough to hinder their profiting by his Lessons, and to defeat all his Methods of Instructions.

Let the Awe he has got upon their Minds be so tempered with the constant Marks of Tenderness and good Will, that Affection may spur them to their Duty, and make them find a Pleasure in complying with his Dictates. This will bring them with Satisfaction to their *Tutour*; make them hearken to him, as to one who is their Friend, that cherishes them, and takes pains for their Good: This will keep their Thoughts easie and free whilst they are with him, the only temper wherein the Mind is capable of receiving new Informations, and of admitting into it self those Impressions, which, if not taken and retain'd, all that they and their Teacher do together is lost labour; there is much Uneasiness and little Learning.

§. 168. When, by this way of interlining *Latin* and *English* one with another, he has got a moderate Knowledge of the *Latin Tongue*, he may then be advanc'd a little farther to the reading of some other easie *Latin Book*, such as *Justin* or *Eutropius*, and to make the reading and understanding of it the less tedious and difficult to him, let him help himself, if he please, with the *English Translation*. Nor let the Objection, that he will then know it only by roat, fright any one. This when well considered, is not of any moment against, but plainly for this way of learning a Language. For Languages are only to be learn'd by roat; and a Man who does not speak *English* or *Latin* perfectly by roat, so that having thought of the thing he would speak of, his Tongue of course without thought of Rule or Grammar, falls into the proper Expression and Idiom of that Language, does not speak it well, nor is Master of it. And I would fain have any one name to me that Tongue, that any one can learn, or speak as he should do, by the Rules of Grammar. Languages were made not by Rules or Art, but by Accident, and the common use of the People. And he that will speak them well, has no other Rule but that; nor any thing to trust to but his Memory, and the habit of speaking after the Fashion learn'd from those that are allow'd to speak properly, which in other Words is only to speak by roat.

Grammar. It will possibly be asked here, Is *Grammar* then of no use? And have those who have taken so much pains in reducing several Languages to Rules and Observations; who have writ so much about *Declensions* and *Conjugations*, about *Concords* and *Syntaxis*, lost their labour, and been learn'd to no purpose? I say not so, *Grammar* has its place too. But this I think I may say, There is more Stir a great deal made with it than there needs, and those are tormented about it to whom it does not at all belong: I mean Children, at the Age wherein they are usually perplex'd with it in Grammar-Schools.

There is nothing more evident, than that Languages learn'd by roat serve well enough for the common Affairs of Life and ordinary Commerce. Nay, Persons of Quality of the Softer Sex, and such of them, as have spent their Time in Well-bred Company, shew us, that this plain Natural way, without the least Study or Knowledge of *Grammar*, can carry them to a great Degree of Elegancy and Politeness in their Language: And there are Ladies, who, without Knowing what *Tenses* and *Participles*, *Adverbs* and *Prepositions* are, speak as properly and as correctly (they might take it for an ill Complement, if I said as any Country School-Master) as most Gentlemen who have been Bred up in the ordinary Methods of Grammar-Schools. Grammar therefore

fore we see may be spared in some Cases. The question then will be, To *Grammar*, whom should it be Taught, and when? To this I Answer:

1. Men learn Languages for the ordinary intercourse of Society and Communication of thoughts in common Life, without any farther design in their use of them. And for this purpose, the Original way of Learning a Language by Conversation, not only serves well enough, but is to be prefer'd as the most Expedite, Proper, and Natural. Therefore, to this use of Language one may Answer, That Grammar is not necessary. This so many of my Readers must be forced to allow, as understand what I here say, and who, conversing with others, understand them without having ever been taught the Grammar of the *English* Tongue. Which I suppose is the Case of incomparably the greatest part of *English* Men; of whom I have never yet known any one who learn'd his Mother-Tongue by Rules.

2. Others there are, the greatest part of whose Business in this World, is to be done with their Tongues, and with their Pens; and to those it is convenient, if not necessary, that they should speak properly and correctly, whereby they may let their Thoughts into other Mens Minds the more easily, and with the greater Impression. Upon this Account it is, that any sort of speaking, so as will make him be understood, is not thought enough for a Gentleman. He ought to study Grammar amongst the other Helps of speaking well, but it must be the Grammar of his own Tongue, of the Language he uses, that he may understand his own Country Speech nicely, and speak it properly without shocking the Ears of those it is address'd to with Solecisms and offensive Irregularities. And to this purpose Grammar is necessary. But it is the Grammar only of their own proper Tongues, and to those only who would take Pains in cultivating their Language, and in perfecting their Stiles. Whether all Gentlemen should not do this, I leave to be considered, since the Want of Propriety and Grammatical Exactness, is thought very misbecoming one of that Rank, and usually draws on one guilty of such Faults, the Censure of having had a lower Breeding and worse Company than suits with his Quality. If this be so (as I suppose it is) it will be Matter of Wonder why young Gentlemen are forced to learn the Grammars of foreign and dead Languages, and are never once told of the Grammar of their own Tongues: They do not so much as know there is any such Thing, much less is it made their Business to be instructed in it. Nor is their own Language ever propos'd to them as worthy their Care and Cultivating, though they have daily Use of it, and are not seldom in the future Course of their Lives judg'd of by their handsome or awkward way of expressing themselves in it. Whereas the Languages, whose Grammars they have been so much employ'd in, are such as probably they shall scarce ever speak or write; or if upon Occasion this should happen, they shall be excus'd for the Mistakes and Faults they make in it. Would not a *Chinese*, who took notice of this way of Breeding, be apt to imagine that all our young Gentlemen were design'd to be Teachers and Professors of the dead Languages of foreign Countries, and not to be Men of Business in their own?

3. There is a third sort of Men, who apply themselves to two or three foreign, dead, (and which amongst us are called the) learned Languages; make them their Study, and pique themselves upon their Skill in them. No doubt those who propose to themselves the learning of any Language with this View, and would be critically exact in it, ought carefully to study the Grammar of it. I would not be mistaken here, as if this were to undervalue Greek and Latin: I grant these are Languages of great Use and Excellency, and a Man can have no Place amongst the Learned in this Part of the World, who is a Stranger to them. But the Knowledge a Gentleman would ordinarily draw for his Use out of the *Roman* and *Greek* Writers, I think he may attain without studying the Grammars of those Tongues, and, by bare reading, may come to understand them sufficiently for all his Purposes. How much farther he shall at any time be concerned to look into the Grammar and critical Niceties of either of these Tongues, he himself will be able to determine, when he comes to propose to himself the Study

Grammar. Study of any Thing that shall require it. Which brings me to the other Part of the Enquiry, viz.

When Grammar should be Taught?

To which, upon the premised Grounds, the Answer is obvious, viz.

That if Grammar ought to be taught at any time, it must be to one that can speak the Language already, how else can he be taught the Grammar of it? This at least is evident from the Practice of the Wise and Learned Nations amongst the Antients. They made it a Part of Education to cultivate their own, not foreign Tongues. The *Greeks* counted all other Nations Barbarous, and had a Contempt for their Languages. And though the Greek-Learning grew in Credit amongst the *Romans* towards the End of their Commonwealth, yet it was the *Roman* Tongue that was made the Study of their Youth: Their own Language they were to make use of, and therefore it was their own Language they were instructed and exercised in.

But more particularly to determine the proper Season for Grammar: I do not see how it can reasonably be made any one's Study, but as an Introduction to Rhetorick; when it is thought Time to put any one upon the Care of polishing his Tongue, and of speaking better than the Illiterate, then is the Time for him to be instructed in the Rules of Grammar, and not before. For Grammar being to teach Men not to speak, but to speak correctly, and according to the exact Rules of the Tongue, which is one Part of Elegancy, there is little use of the one to him that has no need of the other; where Rhetorick is not necessary, Grammar may be spared. I know not why any one should waste his Time, and beat his Head about the Latin Grammar, who does not intend to be a Critick, or make Speeches, and write Dispatches in it. When any one finds in himself a Necessity or Disposition to study any foreign Language to the Bottom, and to be nicely exact in the Knowledge of it, it will be time enough to take a Grammatical Survey of it. If his Use of it be only to understand some Books writ in it, without a critical Knowledge of the Tongue it self, Reading alone, as I have said, will attain this End, without charging the Mind with the multiplied Rules and Intricacies of Grammar.

§. 169. For the Exercise of his Writing, let him sometimes translate *Latin* into *English*: But the learning of *Latin* being nothing but the learning of Words, a very unpleasant Business both to Young and Old, join as much other real Knowledge with it as you can, beginning still with that which lies most obvious to the Senses; such as is the Knowledge of *Minerals, Plants, and Animals*; and particularly Timber and Fruit-Trees, their Parts, and Ways of Propagation, wherein a great deal may be taught a Child, which will not be useless to the Man. But more especially *Geography, Astronomy, and Anatomy*. But whatever you are teaching him, have a Care still that you do not clog him with too much at once; or make any Thing his Business, but downright Vertue, or reprove him for any Thing but Vice, or some apparent Tendency to it.

§. 170. But if, after all, his Fate be to go to School to get the *Latin Tongue*, 'twill be in vain to talk to you concerning the Method I think best to be observed in Schools; you must submit to that you find there, not expect to have it changed for your Son; but yet by all Means obtain, if you can, that he be not employ'd in making *Latin Themes* and *Declamations*, and least of all *Verses* of any kind. You may insist on it, if it will do any Good, that you have no Design to make him either a *Latin Oratour*, or Poet, but barely would have him understand perfectly a *Latin Authour*; and that you observe, those who teach any of the modern Languages, and that with Success, never amuse their Scholars to make Speeches or Verses either in *French* or *Italian*, their Business being *Language barely*, and not Invention.

Themes. §. 171. But to tell you a little more fully why I would not have him exercis'd in making of *Themes* and *Verses*. 1. As to *Themes*, they have, I confess, the Pretence of something useful, which is to teach People to speak handsomely and well on any Subject; which, if it could be attained this Way, I own, would be a great Advantage, there being nothing more becoming a Gentleman,

Gentleman, nor more useful in all the Occurrences of Life, than to be able, *Themes*. on any Occasion, to speak well, and to the Purpose. But this I say, that the making of *Themes*, as is usual in Schools, helps not one Jot toward it: For do but consider what 'tis, in making a *Theme*, that a young Lad is employ'd about; 'tis to make a Speech on some *Latin* Saying; as, *Omnia vincit amor*, or *Non licet in Bello his peccare*, &c. And here the poor Lad, who wants Knowledge of those Things he is to speak of, which is to be had only from Time and Observation, must set his Invention on the Rack to say something where he knows nothing; which is a sort of *Egyptian* Tyranny, to bid them make Bricks, who have not yet any of the Materials. And therefore it is usual, in such Cases, for the poor Children to go to those of higher Forms with this Petition, *Pray give me a little Sense*; which, whether it be more reasonable or more ridiculous, is not easie to determine. Before a Man can be in any Capacity to speak on any Subject, 'tis necessary he be acquainted with it; or else 'tis as foolish to set him to discourse of it, as to set a blind Man to talk of Colours, or a deaf Man of Musick. And would you not think him a little crack'd, who would require another to make an Argument on a Moot-Point, who understands nothing of our Laws? And what, I pray, do School-Boys understand concerning those Matters, which are used to be proposed to them in their *Themes*, as Subjects to discourse on, to whet and exercise their Fancies?

§. 172. In the next Place consider the Language that their *Themes* are made in: 'Tis *Latin*, a Language foreign in their Country, and long since dead every-where: A Language which your Son, 'tis a thousand to one, shall never have an Occasion once to make a Speech in as long as he lives, after he comes to be a Man; and a Language wherein the Manner of expressing one's self is so far different from our's, that to be perfect in that, would very little improve the Purity and Facility of his *English* Style. Besides that, there is now so little Room, or Use, for set Speeches in our own Language, in any Part of our *English* Business, that I can see no Pretence for this sort of Exercise in our Schools, unless it can be supposed, that the making of set *Latin* Speeches should be the Way to teach Men to speak well in *English* extempore. The Way to that I should think rather to be this: That there should be propos'd to young Gentlemen rational and useful Questions, suited to their Age and Capacities, and on Subjects not wholly unknown to them, nor out of their Way: Such as these, when they are ripe for Exercises of this Nature, they should extempore, or after a little Meditation upon the Spot, speak to, without penning of any thing: For I ask, if we will examine the Effects of this Way of Learning to speak well, who speak best in any Business, when Occasion calls them to it upon any Debate, either those who have accustomed themselves to compose and write down before-hand what they would say; or those, who, thinking only of the Matter, to understand that as well as they can, use themselves only to speak extempore? And he that shall judge by this will be little apt to think, That the accustoming him to studied Speeches, and set Compositions, is the Way to fit a young Gentleman for Business.

§. 173. But perhaps we shall be told, 'Tis to improve and perfect them in the *Latin* Tongue. 'Tis true, that is their proper Business at School; but the making of *Themes* is not the Way to it: That perplexes their Brains about Invention of Things to be said, not about the Signification of Words to be learn'd; and when they are making a *Theme*, 'tis Thoughts they search and sweat for, and not Language. But the Learning and Mastery of a Tongue being uneasy and unpleasant enough in it self, should not be cumber'd with any other Difficulties, as is done in this way of proceeding. In fine, If Boys Invention be to be quicken'd by such Exercise, let them make *Themes* in *English*, where they have Facility, and a Command of Words, and will better see what kind of Thoughts they have, when put into their own Language: And if the *Latin* Tongue be to be learned, let it be done the easiest Way, without toiling and disgusting the Mind by so uneasy an Employment as that of making Speeches join'd to it.

§. 174. If these may be any Reasons against Children's making *Latin* Verses. *Themes* at School, I have much more to say, and of more Weight, against their

Verfes. their making *Verfes*; *Verfes* of any fort: For if he has no *Genius* to *Poetry*, 'tis the most unreasonable Thing in the World to torment a Child, and waste his Time about that which can never succeed; and if he have a *Poetick* Vein, 'tis to me the strangest thing in the World that the Father should desire or suffer it to be cherished or improved. Methinks the Parents should labour to have it stifled and suppressed as much as may be; and I know not what Reason a Father can have to wish his Son a Poet, who does not desire to have him bid Defiance to all other Callings and Business: Which is not yet the worst of the Case; for if he proves a successful Rhymers, and gets once the Reputation of a Wit, I desire it may be considered, what Company and Places he is like to spend his Time in, nay, and Estate too: For it is very seldom seen, that any one discovers Mines of Gold or Silver in *Parnassus*. 'Tis a pleasant Air, but a barren Soil; and there are very few Instances of those who have added to their Patrimony by any thing they have reaped from thence. Poetry and Gaming, which usually go together, are alike in this too, That they seldom bring any Advantage but to those who have nothing else to live on. Men of Estates almost constantly go away Losers; and 'tis well if they escape at a cheaper Rate than their whole Estates, or the greatest Part of them. If therefore you would not have your Son the Fiddle to every jovial Company, without whom the Sparks could not relish their Wine, nor know how to pass an Afternoon idly; if you would not have him waste his Time and Estate to divert others, and condemn the dirty Acres left him by his Ancestors; I do not think you will much care he should be a *Poet*, or that his School-master should enter him in versifying. But yet, if any one will think Poetry a desirable Quality in his Son, and that the Study of it would raise his Fancy and Parts, he must needs yet confess, that, to that end, reading the excellent *Greek* and *Roman* Poets is of more Use than making bad *Verfes* of his own, in a Language that is not his own. And he whose Design it is to excel in *English* Poetry, would not, I guess, think the Way to it were to make his first Essays in *Latin* *Verfes*.

Memoriser.

§. 175. Another Thing very ordinary in the vulgar Method of Grammar-Schools there is, of which I see no use at all, unless it be to baulk young Lads in the Way to learning Languages, which, in my Opinion, should be made as easie and pleasant as may be; and that which was painful in it, as much as possible quite removed. That which I mean, and here complain of, is, their being forced to learn by heart great Parcels of the Authors which are taught them; wherein I can discover no Advantage at all, especially to the Business they are upon. Languages are to be learn'd only by Reading and Talking, and not by Scraps of Authors got by heart; which, when a Man's Head is stuffed with, he has got the just Furniture of a Pedant, and 'tis the ready way to make him one; than which there is nothing less becoming a Gentleman. For what can be more ridiculous, than to mix the rich and handsome Thoughts and Sayings of others with a deal of poor Stuff of his own; which is thereby the more exposed, and has no other Grace in it, nor will otherwise recommend the Speaker, than a thread-bare Ruffet Coat would, that was set off with large Patches of Scarlet and glittering Brocade? Indeed, where a Passage comes in the Way whose Matter is worth Remembrance, and the Expression of it very close and excellent (as there are Many such in the ancient Authors) it may not be amiss to lodge it in the Minds of young Scholars, and with such admirable Strokes of those Great Masters sometimes exercise the Memories of School-Boys: But their Learning of their Lessons by heart, as they happen to fall out in their Books without Choice or Distinction, I know not what it serves for, but to mispend their Time and Pains, and give them a Disgust and Aversion to their Books, wherein they find nothing but useless Trouble.

§. 176. I hear 'tis said, That Children should be employ'd in getting Things by heart to exercise and improve their Memories. I could wish this were said with as much Authority of Reason as it is with Forwardness of Assurance, and that this Practice were established upon good Observation, more than old Custom: For it is evident that Strength of Memory is owing to an happy Constitution, and not to any habitual Improvement got by Exercise,

ercise. 'Tis true, what the Mind is intent upon, and, for fear of letting it *Memori-*
 slip, often imprints afresh on it self by frequent Reflection, that it is apt to re-^{ter.}
 tain, but still according to its own natural Strength of Retention. An Im-
 pression made on Bees-wax or Lead, will not last so long as on Brass or Steel.
 Indeed, if it be renew'd often, it may last the longer; but every new reflect-
 ing on it is a new Impression, and 'tis from thence one is to reckon, if one
 would know how long the Mind retains it. But the learning Pages of
Latin by heart, no more fits the Memory for Retention of any thing else,
 than the graving of one Sentence in Lead, makes it the more capable of re-
 taining firmly any other Characters. If such a sort of Exercise of the Memory
 were able to give it Strength, and improve our Parts, Players of all other
 People must needs have the best Memories, and be the best Company. But
 whether the Scraps they have got into their Heads this way, make them re-
 member other things the better; and whether their Parts be improved pro-
 portionably to the Pains they have taken in getting by heart others Sayings,
 Experience will shew. Memory is so necessary to all Parts and Conditions
 of Life, and so little is to be done without it, that we are not to fear it should
 grow dull, and useless for want of Exercise, if Exercise would make it grow
 stronger. But I fear this Faculty of the Mind is not capable of much Help
 and Amendment in general by any Exercise or Endeavour of our's, at least
 not by that used upon this Pretence in Grammar-Schools. And if *Xerxes* was
 able to call every common Soldier by his Name, in his Army that consisted of
 no less than an Hundred thousand Men, I think it may be guessed, he got not
 this wonderful Ability by Learning his Lessons by heart when he was a Boy.
 This Method of exercising and improving the Memory by toilsom Repe-
 titions without Book of what they read, is, I think, little used in the Educa-
 tion of Princes, which, if it had that Advantage is talked of, should be as little
 neglected in them as in the meanest School-boys: Princes having as much
 need of good Memories as any Men living, and have generally an equal
 Share in this Faculty with other Men; though it has never been taken care of
 this way. What the Mind is intent upon, and careful of, that it remembers
 best, and for the Reason above-mentioned: To which, if Method and Order
 be joyn'd, all is done, I think, that can be, for the Help of a weak Memory;
 and he that will take any other way to do it, especially that of charging it with
 a Train of other People's Words, which he that learns cares not for, will, I
 guess, scarce find the Profit answer half the Time and Pains employ'd in it.

I do not mean hereby, that there should be no Exercise given to Chil-
 dren's Memories. I think their Memories should be employ'd, but not in
 learning by Roat whole Pages out of Books, which, the Lesson being once
 said, and that Task over, are deliver'd up again to Oblivion, and neglected for
 ever. This mends neither the Memory nor the Mind. What they should learn
 by heart out of Authors, I have above-mentioned: And such Wise and Useful
 Sentences being once given in charge to their Memories, they should never
 be suffer'd to forget again, but be often call'd to account for them: where-
 by, besides the Use those Sayings may be to them in their future Life, as so
 many good Rules and Observations, they will be taught to reflect often, and
 bethink themselves what they have to remember, which is the only way to
 make the Memory quick and useful. The Custom of frequent Reflection will
 keep their Minds from running a-drift, and call their Thoughts home from
 useless unattentive Roving: And therefore, I think, it may do well, to give
 them something every Day to remember; but something still, that is in it
 self worth the remembering, and what you would never have out of Mind,
 whenever you call, or they themselves search for it. This will oblige them
 often to turn their Thoughts inwards, than which you cannot wish them a
 better intellectual Habit.

§. 177. But under whose Care soever a Child is put to be taught, du-
 ring the tender and flexible Years of his Life, this is certain, it should be *Latin.*
 one who thinks *Latin* and *Language* the least part of Education; one, who
 knowing how much Virtue and a well-temper'd Soul is to be preferr'd to
 any sort of *Learning* or *Language*, makes this chief Business to form the Mind
 of his Scholars, and give that a right disposition: which, if once got, though

Latin. all the rest should be neglected, would, in due time, produce all the rest; and which if it be not got, and settled, so as to keep out ill and vicious Habits, Languages and Sciences, and all the other Accomplishments of Education, will be to no purpose, but to make the worse or more dangerous Man. And indeed whatever stir there is made about getting of *Latin*, as the great and difficult Business, his Mother may teach it him her self, if she will but spend two or three Hours in a Day with him, and make him read the Evangelists in *Latin* to her: For she need but buy a *Latin* Testament, and having got somebody to mark the last Syllable but one where it is long, in words above two Syllables (which is enough to regulate her Pronunciation and Accenting the Words) read daily in the *Gospels*, and then let her avoid Understanding them in *Latin* if she can. And when she understands the Evangelists in *Latin*, let her, in the same manner, read *Æsop's Fables*, and so proceed on to *Eutropius*, *Justin*, and other such Books. I do not mention this, as an Imagination of what I fancy may do, but as of a thing I have known done, and the *Latin* Tongue with ease got this way.

But to return to what I was saying: He that takes on him the charge of bringing up young Men, especially young Gentlemen, should have something more in him than *Latin*, more than even a Knowledge in the Liberal Sciences: He should be a Person of eminent Vertue and Prudence, and with good Sense, have good Humour, and the Skill to carry himself with gravity, ease, and kindness, in a constant Conversation with his Pupils. But of this I have spoken at large in another place.

§. 178. At the same time that he is learning *French* and *Latin*, a Child, as has been said, may also be enter'd in *Arithmetick*, *Geography*, *Chronology*, *History*, and *Geometry* too. For if these be taught him in *French* or *Latin*, when he begins once to understand either of these Tongues, he will get a Knowledge in these Sciences, and the Language to boot.

Geography. *Geography*, I think, should be begun with: For the learning of the Figure of the *Globe*, the Situation and Boundaries of the Four Parts of the World, and that of particular Kingdoms and Countries, being only an exercise of the Eyes and Memory, a Child with pleasure will learn and retain them: And this is so certain, that I now live in the House with a Child, whom his Mother has so well instructed this way in *Geography*, that he knew the Limits of the Four Parts of the World, could readily point, being asked, to any Country upon the *Globe*, or any County in the Map of *England*; knew all the great Rivers, Promontories, Straits, and Bays in the World, and could find the Longitude and Latitude of any Place, before he was six Years old. These things, that he will thus learn by sight, and have by roat in his Memory, are not all, I confess, that he is to learn upon the *Globes*. But yet it is a good step and preparation to it, and will make the remainder much easier, when his Judgment is grown ripe enough for it: Besides that, it gets so much time now; and by the pleasure of knowing things, leads him on insensibly to the gaining of Languages.

§. 179. When he has the natural Parts of the *Globe* well fix'd in his Memory, it may then be time to begin *Arithmetick*. By the natural Parts of the *Globe*, I mean several Positions of the Parts of the Earth, and Sea, under different Names and Distinctions of Countries, not coming yet to those Artificial and imaginary Lines, which have been invented, and are only suppos'd for the better improvement of that Science.

Arithmetick. §. 180. *Arithmetick* is the easiest, and consequently the first sort of abstract Reasoning, which the Mind commonly bears, or accustoms it self to: And is of so general use in all parts of Life and Business, that scarce any thing is to be done without it. This is certain, a Man cannot have too much of it, nor too perfectly: He should therefore begin to be exercis'd in counting, as soon, and as far, as he is capable of it; and do something in it every Day, till he is Master of the Art of Numbers. When he understands Addition and Substraction, he may then be advanced farther in *Geography*, and after he is acquainted with the Poles, Zones, Parallel Circles, and Meridians, be taught Longitude and Latitude, and by them be made to understand the use of Maps, and by the Numbers placed on their Sides, to know the respective Situation of Countries, and how to find them out on the Terrestrial

stial Globe. Which when he can readily do, he may then be enter'd in *Astronomy* the Celestial; and there going over all the Circles again, with a more particular Observation of the Ecliptick, or Zodiack, to fix them all very clearly and distinctly in his Mind, he may be taught the Figure and Position of the several Constellations, which may be shew'd him first upon the Globe, and then in the Heavens.

When that is done, and he knows pretty well the Constellations of this our Hemisphere, it may be time to give him some Notions of this our Planetary World, and to that purpose it may not be amiss to make him a Draught of the *Copernican* System, and therein explain to him the Situation of the Planets, their respective Distances from the Sun, the Centre of their Revolutions. This will prepare him to understand the Motion and Theory of the Planets, the most easie and natural Way. For since Astronomers no longer doubt of the Motion of the Planets about the Sun, it is fit he should proceed upon that Hypothesis which is not only the simplest and least perplexed for a Learner, but also the likeliest to be true in it self. But in this as in all other parts of Instruction, great Care must be taken with Children, to begin with that which is plain and simple, and to teach them as little as can be at once, and settle that well in their Heads, before you proceed to the next, or any thing new in that Science. Give them first one simple Idea, and see that they take it right, and perfectly comprehend it before you go any farther, and then add some other simple Idea, which lies next in your way to what you aim at, and so proceeding by gentle and insensible Steps, Children without Confusion and Amazement will have their Understandings opened, and their Thoughts extended farther than could have been expected. And when any one has learn'd any thing himself, there is no such way to fix it in his Memory, and to encourage him to go on, as to set him to teach it others.

§. 181. When he has once got such an Acquaintance with the Globes, as *Geometry* is above-mentioned, he may be fit to be tried a little in *Geometry*; wherein I think the Six first Books of *Euclid* enough for him to be taught. For I am in some doubt, whether more to a Man of Business be necessary or useful. At least if he have a Genius and Inclination to it, being enter'd so far by his Tutor, he will be able to go on of himself without a Teacher.

The Globes therefore must be studied, that diligently, and I think may be begun betimes, if the Tutor will but be careful to distinguish, what the Child is capable of knowing, and what not; for which this may be a Rule, that perhaps will go a pretty way (*viz.*) That Children may be taught any thing that falls under their Senses, especially their Sight, as far as their Memories only are exercised: And thus a Child very young may learn, which is the *Æquator*, which the *Meridian*, &c. which *Europe*, and which *England* upon the Globes, as soon almost as he knows the Rooms of the House he lives in, if Care be taken not to teach him too much at once, nor to set him upon a new Part, till that, which he is upon, be perfectly learn'd and fix'd in his Memory.

§. 182. With Geography *Chronology* ought to go hand in hand. I mean *Chronology* the general part of it, so that he may have in his Mind a view of the whole *gy* current of time, and the several considerable *Epochs* that are made use of in History. Without these two, History, which is the great Mistress of Prudence and Civil Knowledge; and ought to be the proper Study of a Gentleman, or Man of Business in the World; without Geography and *Chronology*, I say, History will be very ill retained, and very little useful; but be only a Jumble of Matters of Fact, confusedly heaped together without Order or Instruction. 'Tis by these two, that the Actions of Mankind are ranked into their proper Places of Times and Countries, under which Circumstances, they are not only much easier kept in the Memory; but in that natural Order, are only capable to afford those Observations, which make a Man the better and the abler for reading them.

§. 183. When I speak of *Chronology* as a Science he should be perfect in, I do not mean the little Controversies that are in it. These are endless, and

Chronology.

most of them of so little Importance to a Gentleman, as not to deserve to be inquir'd into, were they capable of an easy Decision. And therefore all that learned Noise and Dust of the Chronologist is wholly to be avoided. The most useful Book I have seen in that part of Learning, is a small Treatise of *Strauchius*, which is printed in Twelves, under the Title of *Breviarium Chronologicum*, out of which may be selected all that is necessary to be taught a young Gentleman concerning *Chronology*; for all that is in that Treatise a Learner need not be cumber'd with. He has in him the most remarkable or usual *Epochs* reduced all to that of the *Julian Period*, which is the easiest and plainest, and surest Method that can be made use of in *Chronology*. To this Treatise of *Strauchius*, *Helvicus's* Tables may be added, as a Book to be turned to on all Occasions.

History.

§. 184. As nothing teaches, so nothing delights more than History. The first of these recommends it to the Study of Grown Men, the latter makes me think it the fittest for a young Lad, who, as soon as he is instructed in Chronology, and acquainted with the several *Epochs* in use in this part of the World, and can reduce them to the *Julian Period*, should then have some *Latin History* put into his Hand. The choice should be directed by the easiness of the Style; for where ever he begins, Chronology will keep it from Confusion; and the Pleasantness of the Subject inviting him to read, the Language will insensibly be got, without that terrible vexation and uneasiness, which Children suffer, where they are put into Books beyond their Capacity, such as are the *Roman Oratours* and Poets, only to learn the *Roman Language*. When he has by reading master'd the easier, such perhaps as *Justin*, *Eutropius*, *Quintus Curtius*, &c. the next Degree to these, will give him no great Trouble: And thus by a gradual Progress from the plainest and easiest *Historians*, he may at last come to read the most difficult and sublime of the *Latin Authors*, such as are *Tully*, *Virgil*, and *Horace*.

Ethicks.

§. 185. The Knowledge of *Vertue*, all along from the beginning, in all the Instances he is capable of, being taught him, more by Practice than Rules; and the Love of Reputation instead of satisfying his Appetite, being made habitual in him; I know not whether he should read any other Discourses of Morality, but what he finds in the Bible; or have any System of *Ethicks* put into his Hand, till he can read *Tully's Offices*, not as a School-Boy to learn *Latin*, but as one that would be informed in the Principles and Precepts of *Vertue*, for the Conduct of his Life.

Civil-Law.

§. 186. When he has pretty well digested *Tully's Offices*, and added to it *Puffendorf de Officio Hominis & Civis*, it may be seasonable to set him upon *Grotius de Jure Belli & Pacis*, or which perhaps is the better of the two, *Puffendorf de Jure naturali & Gentium*; wherein he will be instructed in the natural Rights of Men, and the Original and Foundations of Society, and the Duties resulting from thence. This general Part of *Civil Law* and History, are Studies which a Gentleman should not barely touch at, but constantly dwell upon, and never have done with. A Vertuous and well behaved young Man, that is well versed in the general Part of the *Civil Law* (which concerns not the Chicane of private Cases, but the Affairs and Inter-course of civilized Nations in general, grounded upon Principles of Reason) understands *Latin* well, and can write a good Hand, one may turn loose into the World, with great assurance that he will find Employment and Esteem every where.

Law.

§. 187. It would be strange to suppose an *English* Gentleman should be ignorant of the *Law* of his Country. This, whatever Station he is in, is so requisite, that from a Justice of the Peace, to a Minister of State, I know no Place he can well fill without it. I do not mean the Chicane or wrangling and captious part of the *Law*: a Gentleman, whose Business is to seek the true Measures of Right and Wrong, and not the Arts how to avoid doing the one, and secure himself in doing the other, ought to be as far from such a Study of the *Law*, as he is concerned diligently to apply himself to that wherein he may be serviceable to his Country. And to that purpose, I think the right way for a Gentleman to study *Our Law*, which he does not design for his Calling, is to take a View of our *English* Constitution and Government,

vernment, in the ancient Books of the *Common Law*; and some more modern *Law* Writers, who out of them have given an account of this Government. And having got a true Idea of that, then to read our History, and with it joyn in every King's Reign the *Laws* then made. This will give an insight into the reason of our *Statutes*, and shew the true ground upon which they came to be made, and what weight they ought to have.

§. 188. *Rhetorick* and *Logick* being the Arts, that in the ordinary method usually follow immediately after Grammar, it may perhaps be wonder'd that I have said so little of them. The Reason is, because of the little Advantage young People receive by them: For I have seldom or never observed any one to get the Skill of reasoning well or speaking handsomly, by studying those Rules which pretend to teach it: And therefore I would have a young Gentleman take a View of them in the shortest Systems could be found, without dwelling long on the Contemplation and Study of those Formalities. Right Reasoning is founded on something else than the *Predicaments* and *Predicables*, and does not consist in talking in *Mode* and *Figure* it self. But 'tis besides my present Business to enlarge upon this Speculation. To come therefore to what we have in hand; If you would have your Son *reason well*, let him read *Chillingworth*; and if you would have him speak well, let him be conversant in *Tully*, to give him the true *Idea* of *Eloquence*; and let him read those Things that are well writ in *English*, to perfect his Style in the Purity of our Language.

§. 189. It the Use and End of right Reasoning, be to have right Notions and a right Judgment of Things; to distinguish betwixt Truth and Falshood, Right and Wrong, and to act accordingly; be sure not to let your Son be bred up in the Art and Formality of disputing, either practising it himself, or admiring it in others; unless instead of an able Man, you desire to have him an insignificant Wrangler, Opiniater in Discourse, and priding himself in contradicting others; or, which is worse, questioning every Thing, and thinking there is no such Thing as Truth to be sought, but only Victory in disputing. There cannot be any Thing so disingenuous, so misbecoming a Gentleman, or any one who pretends to be a rational Creature, as not to yield to plain Reason, and the Conviction of clear Arguments. Is there any Thing more inconsistent with civil Conversation and the end of all Debate, than not to take an Answer, though never so full and satisfactory; but still to go on with the Dispute as long as equivocal Sounds can furnish [a *Medius terminus*] a Term to wrangle with on the one Side, or a Distinction on the other? Whether pertinent or impertinent, Sense or Nonsense, agreeing with, or contrary to what he had said before, it matters not. For this in short is the Way and Perfection of Logical Disputes, That the Opponent never takes any Answer, nor the Respondent ever yields to any Argument. This neither of them must do, whatever becomes of Truth or Knowledge, unless he will pass for a poor baffl'd Wretch, and lie under the Disgrace of not being able to maintain whatever he has once affirm'd, which is the great Aim and Glory in disputing. Truth is to be found and supported by a mature and due Consideration of Things themselves, and not by artificial Terms and Ways of arguing: These lead not Men so much into the Discovery of Truth, as into a captious and fallacious Use of doubtful Words, which is the most useless and most offensive Way of talking, and such as least suits a Gentleman or a Lover of Truth of any Thing in the World.

There can scarce be a greater Defect in a Gentleman, than not to express himself well either in Writing or Speaking. But yet, I think, I may ask my Reader, Whether he doth not know a great many who live upon their Estates, and so, with the Name, should have the Qualities, of Gentlemen, who cannot so much as tell a Story as they should, much less speak clearly and perswasively in any Business? This, I think, not to be so much their Fault, as the Fault of their Education; for I must, without Partiality, do my Country-men this Right, That where they apply themselves, I see none of their Neighbours out-go them. They have been taught *Rhetorick*, but yet never taught how to express themselves handsomly with their Tongues or Pens in the Language they are always to use; as if the Names of the Figures, that embellish'd

Rhetorick. embellish'd the Discourses of those who understood the Art of Speaking, were the very Art and Skill of speaking well. This, as all other Things of Practice, is to be learn'd not by a few or a great many Rules given, but by Exercise and Application according to good Rules, or rather Patterns, till Habits are got, and a Facility of doing it well.

Style. Agreeable hereunto, perhaps it might not be amiss, to make Children, as soon as they are capable of it, often to tell a Story of any Thing they know; and to correct at first the most remarkable Fault they are guilty of in their Way of putting it together. When that Fault is cured, then to shew them the next, and so on, till one after another, all, at least the gross ones, are mended. When they can tell Tales pretty well, then it may be time to make them write them. The Fables of *Æsop*, the only Book almost that I know fit for Children, may afford them Matter for this Exercise of writing *English*, as well as for reading and translating to enter them in the *Latin* Tongue. When they are got past the Faults of Grammar, and can join in a continued coherent Discourse the several Parts of a Story, without bald and unhandfom Forms of Transition (as is usual) often repeated, he that desires to perfect them yet farther in this, which is the first Step to speaking well, and needs no Invention, may have recourse to *Tully*, and by putting in Practice those Rules which that master of Eloquence gives in his First Book *De Inventione*, §. 20. make them know wherein the Skill and Graces of an handsome Narrative, according to the several Subjects and Designs of it, lie. Of each of which Rules fit Examples may be found out, and therein they may be shewn how others have practis'd them. The ancient Classick Authors afford Plenty of such Examples, which they should be made not only to translate, but have set before them as Patterns for their daily Imitation.

When they understand how to write *English* with due Connection, Propriety and Order, and are pretty well Masters of a tolerable narrative Stile, they may be advanced to writing of Letters; wherein they should not be put upon any Strains of Wit or Compliment, but taught to express their own plain easy Sense, without any Incoherence, Confusion or Roughness. And when they are perfect in this, they may, to raise their Thoughts, have set before them the Example of *Voitures* for the Entertainment of their Friends at a distance, with Letters of Complement, Mirth, Rallery or Diversion; and *Tully's Epistles*, as the best Pattern, whether for Business or Conversation. The writing of Letters has so much to do in all the Occurrences of Humane Life, that no Gentleman can avoid shewing himself in this kind of writing. Occasions will daily force him to make this use of his Pen, which, besides the Consequences, that, in his Affairs, his well or ill managing of it often draws after it, always lays him open to a severer Examination of his Breeding, Sense, and Abilities, than oral Discourses; whose transient Faults dying for the most Part with the Sound that gives them Life, and so not subject to a strict Review, more easily escape Observation and Censure.

Letters. Had the Methods of Education been directed to their right End, one would have thought this so necessary a Part could not have been neglected, whilst Themes and Verses in *Latin*, of no use at all, were so constantly every where pressed, to the racking of Childrens Inventions beyond their Strength, and hindering their chearful Progress in learning the Tongues by unnatural Difficulties. But Custom has so ordain'd it, and who dares disobey? And would it not be very unreasonable to require of a learn'd Country School-Master (who has all the Tropes and Figures in *Farnaby's Rhetorick* at his Fingers ends) to teach his Scholar to express himself handsomly in *English*, when it appears to be so little his Business or Thought, that the Boy's Mother (despised, 'tis like, as illiterate for not having read a System of *Logick* and *Rhetorick*) out-does him in it?

English. To write and speak correctly, gives a Grace, and gains a favourable Attention to what one has to say: And since 'tis *English* that an *English* Gentleman will have constant use of, that is the Language he should chiefly cultivate, and wherein most Care should be taken to polish and perfect his Style. To speak or write better *Latin* than *English* may make a Man be talk'd of, but he would find it more to his Purpose to express himself well in his own Tongue,

Tongue that he uses every Moment, than to have the vain Commendation of *English*, others for a very insignificant Quality. This I find universally neglected, and no Care taken any where to improve young Men in their own Language, that they may thoroughly understand and be Masters of it. If any one among us have a Facility or Purity more than ordinary in his Mother-Tongue, it is owing to Chance, or his Genius, or any thing, rather than to his Education or any Care of his Teacher. To mind what *English* his Pupil speaks or writes, is below the Dignity of one bred up amongst *Greek* and *Latin*, though he have but little of them himself. These are the learned Languages fit only for learned Men to meddle with and teach; *English* is the Language of illiterate Vulgar: Though yet we see the Polity of some of our Neighbours hath not thought it beneath the publick Care, to promote and reward the Improvement of their own Language. Polishing and enriching their Tongue, is no small Business amongst them; it hath Colleges and Stipends appointed it, and there is raised amongst them a great Ambition and Emulation of writing correctly: And we see what they are come to by it, and how far they have spread one of the worst Languages possibly in this Part of the World, if we look upon it as it was in some few Reigns backwards, whatever it be now. The Great Men amongst the *Romans* were daily exercising themselves in their own Language; and we find yet upon Record, the Names of Orators, who taught some of their Emperours *Latin*, though it were their Mother-Tongue.

'Tis plain the *Greeks* were yet more nice in their's: All other Speech was barbarous to them but their own, and no foreign Language appears to have been studied or valued amongst that learned and acute People; tho' it be past doubt that they borrowed their Learning and Philosophy from abroad.

I am not here speaking against *Greek* and *Latin*; I think they ought to be studied, and the *Latin* at least understood well by every Gentleman. But whatever foreign Languages a young Man meddles with (and the more he knows the better) that which he should critically study, and labour to get a Facility, Clearness and Elegancy to express himself in, should be his own, and to this Purpose he should daily be exercis'd in it.

§. 190. *Natural Philosophy*, as a speculative Science, I imagine we have *Natural* none, and perhaps I may think I have Reason to say we never shall be able to *Philosophy* make a Science of it. The Works of Nature are contriv'd by a Wisdom, and operate by Ways too far surpassing our Faculties to discover, or Capacities to conceive, for us ever to be able to reduce them into a Science. *Natural Philosophy* being the Knowledge of the Principles, Properties and Operations of Things as they are in themselves, I imagine there are Two Parts of it, one comprehending Spirits, with their Nature and Qualities; and the other *Bodies*. The first of these is usually referr'd to *Metaphysics*: But under what Title soever the Consideration of *Spirits* comes, I think it ought to go before the Study of Matter and Body, not as a Science that can be methodiz'd into a System, and treated of upon Principles of Knowledge; but as an Enlargement of our Minds towards a truer and fuller Comprehension of the intellectual World, to which we are led both by Reason and Revelation. And since the clearest and largest Discoveries we have of other *Spirits*, besides God and our own Souls, is imparted to us from Heaven by Revelation, I think the Information, that at least young People should have of them, should be taken from that Revelation. To this Purpose, I conclude, it would be well, if there were made a good History of the Bible for young People to read; wherein if every Thing that is fit to be put into it were laid down in its due Order of Time, and several Things omitted which are suited only to riper Age, that Confusion which is usually produced by promiscuous reading of the Scripture, as it lies now bound up in our Bibles, would be avoided. And also this other Good obtained, that by reading of it constantly there would be instilled into the Minds of Children a Notion and Belief of *Spirits*, they having so much to do in all the Transactions of that History, which will be a good Preparation to the Study of *Bodies*. For without the Notion and Allowance of *Spirit*, our Philosophy will be lame and defective in one main Part of it, when

Natural Philosophy. when it leaves out the Contemplation of the most excellent and powerful Part of the Creation.

§. 191. Of this *History of the Bible* I think too it would be well, if there were a short and plain Epitome made, containing the chief and most material Heads for Children to be conversant in as soon as they can read. This, though it will lead them early into some Notion of *Spirits*, yet is not contrary to what I said above, That I would not have Children troubled, whilst young, with Notions of *Spirits*, whereby my Meaning was, That I think it inconvenient that their yet tender Minds should receive early Impressions of *Goblins*, *Spectres*, and *Apparitions*, wherewith their Maids, and those about them, are apt to fright them into a Compliance with their Orders, which often proves a great Inconvenience to them all their Lives after, by subjecting their Minds to Frights, fearful Apprehensions, Weakness, and Superstition; which, when coming abroad into the World and Conversation, they grow weary and ashamed of, it not seldom happens, that to make, as they think, a through Cure, and ease themselves of a Load which has sat so heavy on them, they throw away the Thoughts of all *Spirits* together, and so run into the other but worse Extream.

§. 192. The Reason why I would have this premised to the *Study of Bodies*, and the Doctrine of the Scriptures well imbibed, before young Men be enter'd in *Natural Philosophy*, is, because Matter, being a Thing that all our Senses are constantly conversant with, it is so apt to possess the Mind, and exclude all other Beings, but Matter, that Prejudice, grounded on such Principles, often leaves no Room for the Admittance of *Spirits*, or the allowing any such Things as *immaterial Beings in rerum natura*; when yet it is evident, that by mere Matter and Motion, none of the great Phenomenons of Nature can be resolved, to instance but in that common one of Gravity, which I think impossible to be explained by any natural Operation of Matter, or any other Law of Motion, but the positive Will of a superior Being so ordering it. And therefore since the Deluge cannot be well explained, without admitting something out of the ordinary Course of Nature, I propose it to be considered, whether God's altering the Centre of Gravity in the Earth for a Time (a Thing as intelligible as Gravity it self, which perhaps a little Variation of Causes unknown to us would produce) will not more easily account for *Noah's Flood*, than any *Hypothesis* yet made use of to solve it. I hear the great Objection to this is, that it would produce but a partial Deluge. But the Alteration of the Centre of Gravity once allow'd, 'tis no hard Matter to conceive, that the Divine Power might make the Centre of Gravity, plac'd at a due Distance from the Centre of the Earth, move round it in a convenient Space of Time, whereby the Flood would become universal, and, as I think, answer all the Phenomenons of the Deluge as deliver'd by *Moses*, at an easier Rate than those many hard Suppositions that are made use of to explain it. But this is not a Place for that Argument, which is here only mentioned by the by, to shew the Necessity of having recourse to something beyond bare Matter and its Motion in the Explication of Nature; to which the Notions of *Spirits* and their Power, as deliver'd in the Bible, where so much is attributed to their Operation, may be a fit Preparative, reserving to a fitter Opportunity a fuller Explication of this *Hypothesis*, and the Application of it to all the Parts of the Deluge, and any Difficulties can be supposed in the History of the Flood, as recorded in the Scripture.

§. 193. But to return to the Study of *Natural Philosophy*; Though the World be full of Systems of it, yet I cannot say, I know any one which can be taught a young Man as a Science, wherein he may be sure to find Truth and Certainty, which is what all Sciences give an Expectation of. I do not hence conclude, that none of them are to be read; it is necessary for a Gentleman, in this learned Age, to look into some of them to fit himself for Conversation: But whether that of *Des Cartes* be put into his Hands, as that which is most in fashion, or it be thought fit to give him a short View of that and several other also; I think the Systems of *Natural Philosophy*, that have obtained in this Part of the World, are to be read more to know the *Hypotheses*, and to understand the Terms and Ways of talking of the several Sects, than

than with hopes to gain thereby a comprehensive, scientific and satisfactory Knowledge of the Works of Nature: Only this may be said, that the modern *Corpuscularians* talk, in most Things, more intelligibly than the *Peripateticks*, who possessed the Schools immediately before them. He that would look farther back, and acquaint himself with the several Opinions of the Ancients, may consult Dr. *Cudworth's Intellectual System*, wherein that very learned Author hath with such Accurateness and Judgment collected and explained the Opinions of the Greek Philosophers, that what Principles they built on, and what were the chief *Hypotheses* that divided them, is better to be seen in him, than any where else that I know. But I would not deter any one from the study of Nature, because all the Knowledge we have, or possibly can have of it, cannot be brought into a Science. There are very many things in it, that are convenient and necessary to be known to a Gentleman: And a great many other, that will abundantly reward the Pains of the Curious with Delight and Advantage. But these, I think, are rather to be found amongst such Writers, as have imploy'd themselves in making rational Experiments and Observations, than in starting barely speculative Systems. Such Writings therefore, as many of Mr. *Boyle's* are, with others that have writ of *Husbandry, Planting, Gardening*, and the like, may be fit for a Gentleman, when he has a little acquainted himself with some of the Systems of the *Natural Philosophy* in fashion.

§. 194. Though the Systems of *Physicks*, that I have met with, afford little encouragement to look for Certainty or Science in any Treatise, which shall pretend to give us a Body of *Natural Philosophy* from the first Principles of Bodies in general; yet the incomparable Mr. *Newton* has shewn, how far Mathematicks, applied to some Parts of Nature, may, upon Principles that Matter of Fact justifies, carry us in the knowledge of some, as I may so call them, particular Provinces of the Incomprehensible Universe. And if others could give so good and clear an account of other parts of Nature, as he has of this our Planetary World, and the most considerable *Phænomena* observable in it, in his admirable Book *Philosophiæ naturalis Principia Mathematica*, we might in time hope to be furnished with more true and certain Knowledge in several Parts of this stupendous Machine, than hitherto we could have expected. And though there are very few that have Mathematicks enough to understand his Demonstrations; yet the most accurate Mathematicians, who have examin'd them, allowing them to be such, his Book will deserve to be read, and give no small light and pleasure to those, who willing to understand the Motions, Properties, and Operations of the great Masses of Matter in this our Solar System, will but carefully mind his Conclusions, which may be depended on as Propositions well proved.

§. 195. This is, in short, what I have thought concerning a young Gentleman's Studies; wherein it will possibly be wondered, that I should omit *Greek*, since amongst the *Grecians* is to be found the Original as it were, and Foundation of all that Learning which we have in this part of the World. I grant it so; and will add, That no Man can pass for a Scholar, that is ignorant of the *Greek* Tongue. But I am not here considering of the Education of a profess'd Scholar, but of a Gentleman, to whom *Latin* and *French*, as the World now goes, is by every one acknowledged to be necessary. When he comes to be a Man, if he has a mind to carry his Studies farther, and look into the *Greek* Learning, he will then easily get that Tongue himself: And if he has not that Inclination, his learning of it under a Tutor will be but lost Labour, and much of his Time and Pains spent in that, which will be neglected and thrown away, as soon as he is at Liberty. For how many are there of an hundred, even amongst Scholars themselves, who retain the *Greek* they carried from School: or ever improve it to a familiar reading, and perfect understanding of *Greek* Authors?

To conclude this Part, which concerns a Young Gentleman's Studies; his Tutor should remember, that his business is not so much to teach him all that is knowable, as to raise in him a Love and Esteem of Knowledge; and to put him in the right way of knowing and improving himself, when he has a mind to it.

Greek. The Thoughts of a Judicious Author on the subject of Languages, I shall here give the Reader, as near as I can, in his own way of expressing them. *† La Bruyer Moeurs de ce siècle, p. 577, 662.* He says, † 'One can scarce burden Children too much with the Knowledge of Languages. They are useful to Men of all Conditions, and they equally open them the Enterance, either to the most profound, or the more easy and entertaining parts of Learning. If this irksome Study be put off to a little more advanced Age, Young men either have not resolution enough to apply to it out of Choice; or steadiness to carry it on. And if any one has the Gift of Perseverance, it is not without the inconvenience of spending that time upon Languages, which is destin'd to other Uses: And he confines to the study of Words that Age of his Life that is above it, and requires Things; at least, it is the losing the best and beautifullest season of one's Life. This large foundation of Languages cannot be well laid, but when every thing makes an easie and deep Impression on the Mind; when the Memory is fresh, ready, and tenacious; when the Head and Heart are as yet free from Cares, Passions, and Designs; and those on whom the Child depends have Authority enough to keep him close to a long continued Application. I am persuaded that the small number of truly learned, and the multitude of superficial Pretenders, is owing to the neglect of this.

I think every body will agree with this observing Gentleman, that Languages are the proper study of our first Years. But 'tis to be considered by the Parents and Tutours, what Tongues 'tis fit the Child should learn. For it must be confessed, that it is fruitless Pains, and loss of time to learn a Language which, in the course of Life that he is designed to, he is never like to make use of, or which one may guess by his Temper he will wholly neglect and lose again, as soon as an approach to Manhood, setting him free from a Governour, shall put him into the Hands of his own Inclination, which is not likely to allot any of his time to the cultivating the learned Tongues; or dispose him to mind any other Language, but what daily use or some particular necessity shall force upon him.

But yet for the sake of those who are designed to be Scholars, I will add, what the same Author subjoyns to make good his foregoing Remark. It will deserve to be considered by all who desire to be truly learned, and therefore may be a fit Rule for Tutours to inculcate, and leave with their Pupils to guide their future Studies.

'The Study, *says he*, of the Original Text can never be sufficiently recommended. 'Tis the shortest, surest, and most agreeable way to all sorts of Learning. Draw from the Spring-Head, and take not things at second-hand. Let the Writings of the great Masters be never laid aside; dwell upon them, settle them in your Mind, and cite them upon occasion; make it your Business thoroughly to understand them in their full Extent, and all their Circumstances: Acquaint your self fully with the Principles of Original Authors; bring them to a Consistency, and then do you your self make your Deductions. In this state were the first Commentators, and do not you rest till you bring your self to the same. Content not your self with those borrowed Lights, nor guide your self by their Views, but where your own fails you, and leaves you in the Dark. Their Explications are not your's, and will give you the slip. On the contrary, your own Observations are the Product of your own Mind, where they will abide, and be ready at hand upon all Occasions in Converse, Consultation, and Dispute. Lose not the Pleasure it is to see that you were not stop'd in your reading, but by Difficulties that are invincible; where the Commentators and Scholiasts themselves are at a stand, and have nothing to say. Those copious Expositors of other Places, who, with a vain and pompous Overflow of Learning, pour'd out on Passages plain and easy in themselves, are very free of their Words and Pains where there is no need. Convince your self fully by this ordering your Studies, that 'tis nothing but Men's laziness which hath encouraged Pedantry to cram, rather than enrich Libraries, and to bury good Authors under heaps of Notes and Commentaries, and you will perceive that Sloth herein hath acted against it self

and its own Interest, by multiplying Reading, and Enquiries, and encrea- *Greek.*
sing the Pains it endeavour'd to avoid.

This, tho' it may seem to concern none but direct Scholars, is of so great Moment for the right ordering of their Education and Studies, that I hope I shall not be blamed for inserting of it here, especially if it be considered, that it may be of use to Gentlemen too, when at any time they have a mind to go deeper than the Surface, and get to themselves a solid, satisfactory, and masterly insight in any part of Learning.

Order and Constancy are said to make the great difference between one *Method.* Man and another: This I am sure, nothing so much clears a Learner's Way, helps him so much on in it, and makes him go so easie and so far in any Enquiry, as a good *Method.* His Governour should take Pains to make him sensible of this, accustom him to Order, and teach him *Method* in all the Applications of his Thoughts; shew him wherein it lies, and the Advantages of it; acquaint him with the several sorts of it, either from General to Particulars, or from Particulars to what is more General; exercise him in both of them; and make him see, in what Cases each different *Method* is most proper, and to what Ends it best serves.

In History the Order of Time should govern; in Philosophical Enquiries, that of Nature, which in all Progression is to go from the place one is then in, to that which joins and lies next to it; and so it is in the Mind, from the Knowledge it stands possessed of already, to that which lies next, and is coherent to it, and so on to what it aims at, by the simplest and most uncompounded parts it can divide the Matter into. To this purpose, it will be of great use to his Pupil to accustom him to distinguish well, that is, to have distinct Notions, where-ever the Mind can find any real difference, but as carefully to avoid Distinctions in Terms, where he has not distinct and different clear Ideas.

§. 196. Besides what is to be had from Study and Books, there are other *Accomplishments* necessary for a Gentleman, to be got by exercise, and to which time is to be allowed, and for which Masters must be had.

Dancing being that which gives graceful *Motions* all the Life, and above *Dancing.* all things Manliness, and a becoming Confidence to young Children, I think it cannot be learn'd too early, after they are once of an Age and Strength capable of it. But you must be sure to have a good Master, that knows, and can teach, what is graceful and becoming, and what gives a Freedom and Easiness to all the Motions of the Body. One that teaches not this, is worse than none at all, Natural Unfashionableness being much better than apish, affected Postures; and I think it much more passable to put off the Hat, and make a Leg, like an honest Country Gentleman, than like an ill-fashion'd Dancing-Master. For, as for the jiggling part, and the Figures of Dances, I count that little or nothing, farther than as it tends to perfect graceful *Carriage.*

§. 197. *Musick* is thought to have some affinity with Dancing, and a good *Musick.* Hand, upon some Instruments, is by many People mightily valued. But it wastes so much of a young Man's time, to gain but a moderate Skill in it; and engages often in such odd Company, that many think it much better spared: And I have, amongst Men of Parts and Business, so seldom heard any one commended, or esteemed for having an Excellency in *Musick*, that amongst all those things, that ever came into the List of Accomplishments, I think I may give it the last place. Our short Lives will not serve us for the Attainment of all things; nor can our Minds be always intent on something to be learn'd. The weakness of our Constitutions, both of Mind and Body, requires that we should be often unbent: And he that will make a good use of any part of his Life, must allow a large Portion of it to Recreation. At least this must not be denied to young People, unless, whilst you with too much haste make them old, you have the displeasure to set them in their Graves, or a second Childhood, sooner than you could wish. And therefore, I think, that the Time and Pains allotted to serious Improvements, should be employ'd about things of most Use and Consequence, and that too in the *Methods* the most easie and short that could be at any rate obtained: And per-

Musick. haps, as I have above said, it would be none of the least Secrets of Education, to make the Exercises in the Body and the Mind, the *Recreation* one to another. I doubt not but that something might be done in it, by a prudent Man that would well consider the Temper and Inclination of his Pupil. For he that is wearied either with Study or Dancing, does not desire presently to go to sleep; but to do something else which may divert and delight him. But this must be always remember'd, that nothing can come into the account of *Recreation*, that is not done with Delight.

§. 198. *Fencing*, and *Riding the Great-Horse*, are look'd upon as so necessary Parts of Breeding, that it would be thought a great *Omission* to neglect them. The latter of the two being for the most part to be learn'd only in great Towns, is one of the best Exercises for Health which is to be had in those Places of Ease and Luxury: And, upon that account, makes a fit part of a young Gentleman's Employment during his abode there. And as far as it conduces to give a Man a firm and graceful Seat on Horse-back, and to make him able to teach his Horse to stop and turn quick, and to rest on his Hanches, is of use to a Gentleman both in Peace and War. But whether it be of moment enough to be made a Business of, and deserve to take up more of his time than should barely for his Health be employed at due intervals in some such vigorous Exercise, I shall leave to the Discretion of Parents and Tutors, who will do well to remember, in all the Parts of Education, that most Time and Application is to be bestowed on that which is like to be of greatest Consequence, and frequentest Use, in the ordinary course and occurrences of that Life the young Man is designed for.

Fencing. §. 199. As for *Fencing*, it seems to me a good Exercise for Health, but dangerous to the Life. The Confidence of their Skill being apt to engage in Quarrels those that think they have learned to use their Swords. This Presumption makes them often more touchy than needs, on Point of Honour, and slight or no Provocations. Young Men in their warm Blood are forward to think, they have in vain learned to Fence, if they never shew their Skill and Courage in a Duel: And they seem to have Reason. But how many sad Tragedies that Reason has been the Occasion of, the Tears of many a Mother can witness. A Man that cannot Fence will be more careful to keep out of Bullies and Gamesters Company, and will not be half so apt to stand upon Punctilio's, nor to give Affronts, or fiercely justify them when given, which is that which usually makes the Quarrel. And when a Man is in the Field, a moderate Skill in Fencing rather exposes him to the Sword of his Enemy, than secures him from it. And certainly a Man of Courage who cannot Fence at all, and therefore will put all upon one Thrust, and not stand parrying, has the odds against a moderate Fencer, especially if he has Skill in *Wrestling*. And therefore, if any Provision be to be made against such Accidents, and a Man be to prepare his Son for Duels, I had much rather mine should be a good *Wrestler*, than an ordinary *Fencer*, which is the most a Gentleman can attain to in it, unless he will be constantly in the Fencing-School, and every day exercising. But since Fencing and Riding the Great-Horse, are so generally looked upon as necessary Qualifications in the breeding of a Gentleman, it will be hard wholly to deny any one of that Rank these Marks of Distinction. I shall leave it therefore to the Father, to consider, how far the Temper of his Son, and the Station he is like to be in, will allow or encourage him to comply with Fashions, which, having very little to do with civil Life, were yet formerly unknown to the most Warlike Nations; and seem to have added little of Force or Courage to those, who have received them, unless we will think Martial Skill or Prowess, have been improved by *Duelling*, with which Fencing came into, and with which, I presume, it will go out of the World.

§. 200. These are my present Thoughts concerning Learning and Accomplishments. The great Business of all is *Vertue* and *Wisdom*.

Nullum numen abest si sit Prudentia.

Teach him to get a Mastery over his Inclinations, and submit his Appetite to Reason. This being obtained, and by constant practice settled into Habit, the

the hardest part of the Task is over. To bring a young Man to this, I know *Fencing*. nothing which so much contributes, as the love of Praise and Commendation, which should therefore be instilled into him by all Arts imaginable. Make his Mind as sensible of Credit and Shame as may be: And when you have done that, you have put a Principle into him, which will influence his Actions, when you are not by, to which the fear of a little smart of a Rod is not comparable, and which will be the proper Stock, whereon afterwards to graft the true Principles of Morality and Religion.

§. 201. I have one thing more to add, which as soon as I mention, I shall *Trade*. run the Danger of being suspected to have forgot what I am about, and what I have above written concerning Education, all tending towards a Gentleman's Calling, with which a *Trade* seems wholly to be inconsistent. And yet, I cannot forbear to say, I would have him *learn a Trade, a Manual Trade*; nay two or three, but one more particularly.

§. 202. The busie Inclination of Children, being always to be directed to some thing that may be useful to them, the Advantages propos'd from what they are set about, may be consider'd of two Kinds; 1. Where the Skill it self, that is got by exercise, is worth the having. Thus Skill not only in Languages, and learned Sciences, but in Painting, Turning, Gardening, Tempering, and Working in Iron, and all other useful Arts, is worth the having. 2. Where the Exercise it self, without any Consideration, is necessary or useful for Health. Knowledge in some things is so necessary to be got by Children whilst they are young, that some part of their time is to be allotted to their improvement in them, though those Employments contribute nothing at all to their health: Such are Reading, and Writing, and all other sedentary Studies, for the cultivating of the Mind, which unavoidably take up a great part of Gentlemens time, quite from their Cradles. Other *Manual Arts*, which are both got and exercised by Labour, do many of them, by that Exercise, not only increase our Dexterity and Skill, but contribute to our Health too, especially, such as employ us in the open Air. In these, then, Health and Improvement may be joyn'd together, and of these should some fit ones be chosen, to be made the Recreations of one, whose chief Business is with Books and Study. In this Choice, the Age and Inclination of the Person is to be consider'd, and Constraint always to be avoided in bringing him to it. For Command and Force may often create, but can never cure an Aversion: And whatever any one is brought to by Compulsion, he will leave as soon as he can, and be little profited, and less recreated by, whilst he is at it.

§. 203. That which of all others would please me best, would be a *Painter, Painting*. were there not an Argument or two against it, not easie to be answered. First, ill Painting is one of the worst things in the World; and to attain a tolerable degree of Skill in it, requires too much of a Man's Time. If he has a natural Inclination to it, it will endanger the neglect of all other more useful Studies, to give way to that; and if he have no Inclination to it, all the Time, Pains, and Money shall be employ'd in it, will be thrown away to no purpose. Another Reason why I am not for *Painting* in a Gentleman, is, Because it is a sedentary Recreation, which more employs the Mind than the Body. A Gentleman's more serious Employment I look on to be Study; and when that demands Relaxation and Refreshment, it should be in some Exercise of the Body, which unbends the Thought, and confirms the Health and Strength. For these two Reasons I am not for *Painting*.

§. 204. In the next place, for a Country Gentleman, I should propose *Garden*. one, or rather both these; viz. *Gardening* or *Husbandry* in general, and working in Wood, as a *Carpenter, Joyner, or Turner*, these being fit and healthy *Joyner*. Recreations for a Man of Study, or Business. For since the Mind endures not to be constantly employ'd in the same Thing, or Way: and sedentary or studious Men, should have some Exercise, that at the same time might divert their Minds, and employ their Bodies; I know none that could do it better for a Country Gentleman than these two, the one of them affording him Exercise, when the Weather or Season keep him from the other. Besides, that by being skill'd in the one of them, he will be able to govern and teach his

Joyner. his Gardener; by the other, contrive and make a great many Things both of delight and use: Though these I propose not as the chief end of his Labour, but as Temptations to it; Diversion from his other more serious Thoughts and Employments, by useful and healthy manual Exercise, being what I chiefly aim at in it.

§. 205. The Great Men among the Ancients, understood very well how to reconcile manual Labour with Affairs of State, and thought it no lessening to their Dignity, to make the one the Recreation to the other. That indeed which seems most generally to have imploy'd and diverted their spare Hours, was Agriculture. *Gideon* amongst the *Jews* was taken from Thrashing, as well as *Cincinnatus* amongst the *Romans* from the Plough, to Command the Armies of their Countries against their Enemies; and 'tis plain their dexterous handling of the Flayl or the Plough, and being good Workmen with these Tools, did not hinder their Skill in Arms, nor make them less able in the Arts of War or Government. They were great Captains and Statesmen as well as Husbandmen. *Cato Major*, who had with great Reputation born all the high Offices of the Commonwealth, has left us an Evidence under his own Hand, how much he was versed in Country Affairs; and as I remember, *Cyrus* thought Gardening so little beneath the Dignity and Grandeur of a Throne, that he shew'd *Xenophon* a large Field of Fruit-Trees all of his own Planting. The Records of Antiquity, both amongst *Jews* and *Gentiles*, are full of Instances of this kind, if it were necessary to recommend useful Recreations by Examples.

Recreation. §. 206. Nor let it be thought that I mistake, when I call these or the like Exercises of Manual Arts, *Diversions* or *Recreations*: For *Recreation* is not being Idle (as every one may observe) but easing the wearied part by change of Business: And he that thinks *Diversion* may not lie in hard and painful Labour, forgets the early rising, hard riding, heat, cold and hunger of Huntsmen, which is yet known to be the constant Recreation of Men of the greatest Condition. *Delving*, *Planting*, *Inoculating*, or any the like profitable Employments, would be no less a *Diversion*, than any of the idle Sports in fashion, if Men could but be brought to delight in them, which Custom and Skill in a Trade will quickly bring any one to do. And I doubt not, but there are to be found those, who being frequently call'd to Cards, or any other Play, by those they could not refuse, have been more tired with these *Recreations*, than with any the most serious Employment of Life, though the Play has been such as they have naturally had no aversion to, and with which they could willingly sometimes divert themselves.

§. 207. Play, where a Persons of Condition, especially Ladies, waste so much of their time, is a plain instance to me, that Men cannot be perfectly idle; they must be doing something. For how else could they sit so many Hours toiling at that, which generally gives more Vexation than Delight to People, whilst they are actually engag'd in it? 'Tis certain, Gaming leaves no Satisfaction behind it to those who reflect when it is over, and it no way profits either Body or Mind: As to their Estates, if it strike so deep as to concern them, it is a Trade then, and not a Recreation, wherein few, that have any thing else to live on, thrive; and at best, a thriving Gamester has but a poor Trade on't, who fills his Pockets at the price of his Reputation.

Recreation belongs not to People who are Strangers to Business, and are not waded and wearied with the Employment of their Calling. The Skill should be, so to order their time of Recreation, that it may relax and refresh the part that has been exercised, and is tired, and yet do something, which, besides the present Delight and Ease, may produce what will afterwards be profitable. It has been nothing but the Vanity and Pride of Greatness and Riches, that has brought unprofitable and dangerous *Pastimes* (as they are call'd) into fashion, and persuaded People into a belief, that the learning or putting their Hands to any thing that was useful, could not be a *Diversion* fit for a Gentleman. This has been that, which has given *Cards*, *Dice* and *Drinking*, so much Credit in the World: And a great many throw away their spare Hours in them, through the prevalency of Custom, and want of some better Employment to fill up the Vacancy of Leisure, more than from any real delight

light is to be found in them. They cannot bear the dead weight of unim-^{Recreati-}ploy'd time lying upon their hands, nor the uneasiness it is to do nothing at^{tion.} all; and having never learn'd any laudable manual Art wherewith to divert themselves, they have recourse to those foolish, or ill ways in use, to help off their Time, which a rational Man, till corrupted by Custom, could find very little pleasure in.

§. 208. I say not this, that I would never have a young Gentleman accommodate himself to the innocent *Diversions* in fashion, amongst those of his Age and Condition. I am so far from having him austere and morose to that degree, that I would persuade him to more than ordinary Complaisance for all the *Gaieties* and *Diversions* of those he converses with, and be averse or testy in nothing they should desire of him, that might become a Gentleman, and an honest Man. Though as to *Cards* and *Dice*, I think the safest and best way, is never to learn any Play upon them, and so to be incapacitated for those dangerous Temptations and incroaching Wasters of useful Time. But allowance being made for *idle and jovial Conversation*, and all fashionable becoming Recreations; I say, a young Man will have time enough, from his serious and main Business, to learn almost any *Trade*. 'Tis want of appli-^{Trade.}cation, and not of leisure, that Men are not skilful in more *Arts* than one; and an Hour in a Day, constantly employ'd in such a way of *Diversion*, will carry a Man in a short time a great deal farther than he can imagine: Which, if it were of no other use, but to drive the common, vicious, useless, and dangerous Pastimes out of fashion; and to shew there was no need of them, would deserve to be encouraged. If Men from their Youth were weaned from that sauntering Humour, wherein some out of Custom let a good part of their Lives run uselessly away, without either Business or Recreation, they would find time enough to acquire *Dexterity and Skill in hundreds of Things*; which though remote from their proper Callings, would not at all interfere with them. And therefore, I think, for this, as well as other Reasons before-mentioned; a lazy, listless Humour, that idly dreams away the Days, is of all others the least to be indulged, or permitted in young People: It is the proper state of one Sick, and out of order in his Health, and is tolerable in no Body else, of what Age or Condition soever.

§. 209. To the Arts above-mention'd, may be added *Perfuming*, *Varnishing*, *Graving*, and several sorts of working in *Iron*, *Brass*, and *Silver*: And if, as it happens to most young Gentlemen, that a considerable part of his Time be spent in a great Town, he may learn to cut, polish, and set *precious Stones*, or employ himself in grinding and polishing *Optical Glasses*. Amongst the great variety there is of ingenious *Manual Arts*, 'twill be impossible that no one should be found to please and delight him, unless he be either idle or debauch'd, which is not to be supposed in a right way of Education. And since he cannot be always employ'd in Study, Reading, and Conversation, there will be many an Hour, besides what his Exercises will take up, which, if not spent this way, will be spent worse. For, I conclude, a young Man will seldom desire to sit perfectly still and idle; or if he does, 'tis a fault that ought to be mended.

§. 210. But if his mistaken Parents, frightened with the disgraceful Names of *Mechanick* and *Trade*, shall have an aversion to any thing of this kind in their Children; yet there is one thing relating to *Trade*, which when they consider, they will think absolutely necessary for their Sons to learn.

Merchants Accompts, though a Science not likely to help a Gentleman to get ^{*Merchants*} an Estate, yet possibly there is not any thing of more use and efficacy to ^{*Accompts.*} make him preserve the Estate he has. 'Tis seldom observ'd, that he who keeps an Account of his Income and Expences, and thereby has constantly under view the course of his domestick Affairs, lets them run to ruin: And I doubt not but many a Man gets behind-hand before he is aware, or runs further on, when he is once in, for want of this Care, or the Skill to do it. I would therefore advise all Gentlemen to learn perfectly *Merchants Accompts*, and not to think it is a Skill that belongs not to them, because it has receiv'd its Name from, and has been chiefly practis'd by Men of Traffick.

*Merchants
Accompts.*

§. 211. When my young Master has once got the Skill of *keeping Accounts* (which is a Business of Reason more than Arithmetick) perhaps it will not be amiss, that his Father from thenceforth require him to do it in all his Concernments. Not that I would have him set down every Pint of Wine, or Play, that costs him Money; the general Name of Expences will serve for such things well enough: Nor would I have his Father look so narrowly into these Accounts, as to take occasion from thence to criticize on his Expences. He must remember that he himself was once a young Man, and not forget the Thoughts he had then, nor the Right his Son has to have the same, and to have allowance made for them. If therefore I would have the young Gentleman oblig'd to keep an Account, it is not at all to have that way a check upon his Expences (for what the Father allows him, he ought to let him be fully Master of) but only, that he might be brought early into the Custom of doing it, and that it might be made familiar and habitual to him betimes, which will be so useful and necessary to be constantly practis'd thro' the whole Course of his Life. A Noble *Venetian*, whose Son wallowed in the Plenty of his Father's Riches, finding his Son's Expences grow very high and extravagant, ordered his Casheer to let him have for the future no more Money than what he should count when he received it. This one would think no great restraint to a young Gentleman's Expences, who could freely have as much Money as he would tell. But yet this, to one who was us'd to nothing but the pursuit of his Pleasures, proved a very great trouble, which at last ended in this sober and advantageous Reflection. If it be so much Pains to me barely to count the Money I would spend: What Labour and Pains did it cost my Ancestors, not only to count, but get it? This rational Thought, suggested by this little Pains impos'd upon him, wrought so effectually upon his Mind, that it made him take up, and from that time forwards prove a good Husband. This at least every body must allow, that nothing is likelier to keep a Man within compass, than the having constantly before his Eyes the state of his Affairs in a regular course of *Account*.

Travel.

§. 212. The last part usually in Education, is *Travel*, which is commonly thought to finish the Work, and compleat the Gentleman. I confess *Travel* into Foreign Countries has great Advantages, but the time usually chosen to send young Men abroad, is, I think, of all other, that which renders them least capable of reaping those Advantages. Those which are propos'd, as to the main of them, may be reduced to these Two; first, Language; secondly, an Improvement in Wisdom and Prudence, by seeing Men, and conversing with People of Tempers, Customs, and Ways of living, different from one another, and especially from those of his Parish and Neighbourhood. But from Sixteen to One and twenty, which is the ordinary time of *Travel*, Men are of all their Lives the least suited to these Improvements. The first Season to get Foreign Languages, and form the Tongue to their true Accents, I should think, should be from Seven to Fourteen, or Sixteen; and then too a Tutor with them is useful and necessary, who may, with those Languages, teach them other things. But to put them out of their Parents view at a great distance, under a Governour, when they think themselves too much Men to be govern'd by others, and yet have not Prudence and Experience enough to govern themselves: What is it, but to expose them to all the greatest Dangers of their whole Life, when they have the least Fence and Guard against them? Till that boyling boisterous part of Life comes in, it may be hoped, the Tutor may have some Authority: Neither the stubbornness of Age, nor the Temptation or Examples of others can take him from his Tutor's Conduct till Fifteen or Sixteen: But then, when he begins to comfort himself with Men, and thinks himself one; when he comes to relish, and pride himself in manly Vices, and thinks it a shame to be any longer under the Controul and Conduct of another: What can be hoped from even the most careful and discreet Governour, when neither he has Power to compel, nor his Pupil a Disposition to be persuaded; but on the contrary, has the advice of warm Blood, and prevailing Fashion, to hearken to the Temptations of his Companions, just as Wise as himself, rather than to the Persuasions of his Tutor, who is now looked on as the Enemy to his Freedom?

dom? And when is a Man so like to miscarry, as when at the same time he is both raw and unruly? This is the Season of all his Life, that most requires the Eye and Authority of his Parents, and Friends to govern it. The flexibility of the former part of a Man's Age, not yet grown up to be headstrong, makes it more governable and safe; and in the after-part, Reason and Fore-sight begin a little to take place, and mind a Man of his Safety and Improvement. The time therefore I should think the fittest for a young Gentleman to be *sent abroad*, would be, either when he is younger, under a Tutor, whom he might be the better for; or when he is some Years older, without a Governour; when he is of Age to govern himself, and make Observations of what he finds in other Countries worthy his Notice, and that might be of use to him after his Return: And when too, being thoroughly acquainted with the Laws and Fashions, the natural and moral Advantages and Defects of his own Country, he has something to exchange with those abroad, from whose Conversation he hoped to reap any Knowledge.

§. 214. The ordering of *Travel* otherwise, is that, I imagine, which makes so many young Gentlemen come back so little improved by it. And if they do bring Home with them any Knowledge of the Places and People they have seen, it is often an admiration of the worst and vainest Practices they met with abroad; retaining a Relish and Memory of those Things wherein their Liberty took its first swing, rather than of what should make them better and wiser after their Return. And indeed, how can it be otherwise, going abroad at the Age they do, under the Care of another, who is to provide their Necessaries, and make their Observations for them? Thus, under the Shelter and Pretence of a Governour, thinking themselves excused from standing upon their own Legs, or being accountable for their own Conduct, they very seldom trouble themselves with Enquiries, or making useful Observations of their own. Their Thoughts run after Play and Pleasure, wherein they take it as a lessening to be controul'd: But seldom trouble themselves to examine the Designs, observe the Address, and consider the Arts, Tempers, and Inclinations of Men they meet with; that so they may know how to comport themselves towards them. Here, he that Travels with them, is to skreen them; get them out when they have run themselves into the Briars; and in all their Miscarriages be answerable for them.

§. 215. I confess, the Knowledge of Men is so great a Skill, that it is not to be expected a young Man should presently be perfect in it. But yet his *going abroad* is to little purpose, if *Travel* does not sometimes open his Eyes, make him cautious and wary, and accustom him to look beyond the Outside, and, under the inoffensive Guard of a civil and obliging Carriage, keep himself free and safe in his Conversation with Strangers, and all sorts of People, without forfeiting their good Opinion. He that is sent out to *travel* at the Age, and with the Thoughts of a Man designing to improve himself, may get into the Conversation and Acquaintance of Persons of Condition where he comes; which though a thing of most advantage to a Gentleman that Travels; yet I ask amongst our young Men that go abroad under Tutors, what one is there of an Hundred, that ever visits any Person of Quality? Much less makes an Acquaintance with such, from whose Conversation he may learn what is good Breeding in that Country, and what is worth Observation in it, though from such Persons it is, one may learn more in one Day, than in a Years rambling from one Inn to another. Nor indeed is it to be wonder'd: For Men of Worth and Parts will not easily admit the Familiarity of Boys, who yet need the Care of a Tutor: Though a young Gentleman and Stranger, appearing like a Man, and shewing a Desire to inform himself in the Customs, Manners, Laws, and Government of the Country he is in, will find welcome assistance and entertainment amongst the best and most knowing Persons every where, who will be ready to receive, encourage, and countenance any ingenious and inquisitive Foreigner.

§. 216. This, how true soever it be, will not, I fear, alter the Custom, which has cast the time of *Travel* upon the worst Part of a Man's Life; but for Reasons not taken from their Improvement. The young Lad must not be ventur'd abroad at Eight or Ten, for fear of what may happen to the tender Child,

Travel. though he then runs ten times less risque than at Sixteen or Eighteen. Nor must he stay at Home till that dangerous heady Age be over, because he must be back again by One and twenty, to marry, and propagate. The Father cannot stay any longer for the Portion, nor the Mother for a new Set of Babies to play with: And so my young Master, whatever comes on't, must have a Wife look'd out for him by that time he is of Age; though it would be no prejudice to his Strength, his Parts, or his Issue, if it were respired for some time, and he had leave to get, in Years and Knowledge, the start a little of his Children, who are often found to tread too near upon the Heels of their Fathers, to the no great Satisfaction either of Son or Father. But the young Gentleman being got within view of Matrimony, 'tis time to leave him to his Mistress.

Conclusion. §. 217. Though I am now come to a Conclusion of what obvious Remarks have suggested to me concerning Education, I would not have it thought, that I look on it as a just Treatise on this Subject. There are a thousand other things that may need consideration; especially if one should take in the various Tempers, different Inclinations, and particular Defaults, that are to be found in Children; and prescribe proper Remedies. The variety is so great, that it would require a Volume; nor would that reach it. Each Man's Mind has some peculiarity, as well as his Face, that distinguishes him from all others; and there are possibly scarce two Children, who can be conducted by exactly the same Method. Besides that, I think a Prince, a Nobleman, and an ordinary Gentleman's Son, should have different ways of Breeding. But having had here only some general Views, in reference to the main End and Aims in Education, and those design'd for a Gentleman's Son, whom, being then very little, I consider'd only as white Paper, or Wax, to be moulded and fashioned as one pleases; I have touch'd little more than those Heads, which I judg'd necessary for the Breeding of a young Gentleman of his Condition in general; and have now published these my occasional Thoughts with this Hope, That though this be far from being a compleat Treatise on this Subject, or such, as that every one may find what will just fit his Child in it; yet it may give some small light to those, whose Concern for their dear little Ones makes them so irregularly bold, that they dare venture to consult their own Reason in the Education of their Children, rather than wholly to rely upon Old Custom.



A
PARAPHRASE
AND
NOTES

ON THE
Epistles of St. Paul
TO THE

Galatians, } *Romans,*
I & II } *Corinthians,* } *Ephesians.*

To which is prefix'd, An

ESSAY

FOR THE

Understanding of St. *Paul's* EPISTLES, by
Consulting St. *Paul* himself.

PARAPHRASE

AND

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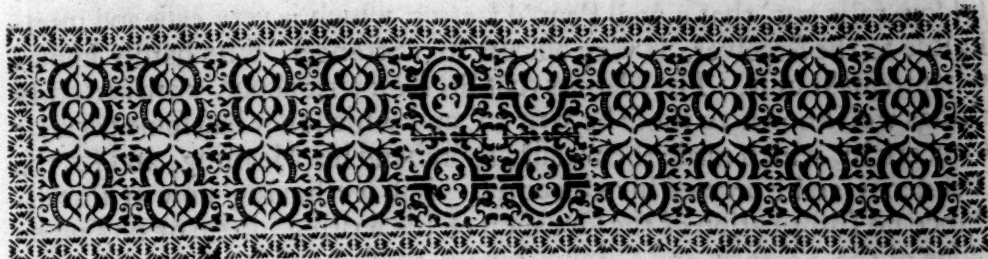
ESSAY

FOR THE

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Consulting St. Paul himself.

Y

Vol. III.



A N
ESSAY

For the understanding of
St. PAUL'S Epistles,
By consulting St. *PAUL* himself.

THE
P R E F A C E.

TO go about to explain any of St. *Paul's* Epistles, after so great a Train of Expositors and Commentators, might seem an Attempt of Vanity, censurable for its Needlessness, did not the daily and approv'd Examples of Pious and Learned Men justify it. This may be some Excuse for me to the Publick, if ever these following Papers should chance to come abroad: But to my self, for whose Use this Work was undertaken, I need make no Apology. Though I had been conversant in these Epistles, as well as in other Parts of Sacred Scripture, yet I found that I understood them not; I mean the doctrinal and discursive parts of them: Though the practical Directions, which are usually drop'd in the latter Part of each Epistle, appear'd to me very plain, intelligible, and instructive.

I did not, when I reflected on it, very much wonder that this part of Sacred Scripture had Difficulties in it, many Causes of Obscurity did readily occur to me. The Nature of Epistolary Writings in general, disposes the Writer to pass by the mentioning of many Things, as well known

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to him to whom his Letter is address'd, which are necessary to be laid open to a Stranger, to make him comprehend what is said : And it not seldom falls out, that a well Penn'd Letter, which is very easie and intelligible to the Receiver, is very obscure to a Stranger, who hardly knows what to make of it. The Matters that *St. Paul* writ about, were certainly things well known to those he writ to, and which they had some peculiar Concern in, which made them easily apprehend his Meaning, and see the Tendency and Force of his Discourse. But we having now at this distance no Information of the Occasion of his writing, little or no Knowledge of the Temper and Circumstances those he writ to were in, but what is to be gather'd out of the Epistles themselves; it is not strange that many things in them lie conceal'd to us, which no doubt they who were concern'd in the Letter, understood at first sight. Add to this, that in many Places 'tis manifest he answers Letters sent, and Questions propos'd to him, which if we had, would much better clear those Passages that relate to them, than all the learned Notes of Criticks and Commentators, who in after-times fill us with their Conjectures, for very often, as to the Matter in hand, they are nothing else.

The Language wherein these Epistles are writ, are another ; and that no small Occasion of their Obscurity to us now : The Words are *Greek* ; a Language dead many Ages since : A Language of a very witty volatile People, Seekers after Novelty, and abounding with Variety of Notions and Sects, to which they applied the Terms of their common Tongue with great Liberty and Variety : And yet this makes but one small part of the Difficulty in the Language of these Epistles ; there is a Peculiarity in it, that much more obscures and perplexes the Meaning of these Writings, than what can be occasion'd by the Looseness and Variety of the *Greek* Tongue. The Terms are *Greek*, but the Idiom or Turn of the Phrases may be truly said to be *Hebrew* or *Syriack*. The Custom and Familiarity of which Tongues do sometimes so far influence the Expressions in these Epistles, that one may observe the Force of the *Hebrew* Conjugations, particularly that of *Hiphil* given to *Greek* Verbs, in a way unknown to the *Grecians* themselves. Nor is this all ; the Subject treated of in these Epistles is so wholly new, and the Doctrines contained in them so perfectly remote from the Notions that Mankind were acquainted with, that most of the important Terms in it have quite another Signification from what they have in other Discourses : So that putting all together, we may truly say, that the New Testament is a Book written in a Language peculiar to it self.

To these Causes of Obscurity, common to *St. Paul* with most of the other Penmen of the several Books of the New Testament, we may add those that are peculiarly his, and owing to his Stile and Temper. He was, as 'tis visible, a Man of quick Thought, and warm Temper, mighty well vers'd in the Writings of the Old Testament, and full of the Doctrine of the New : All this put together, suggested Matter to him in abundance on those Subjects which came in his way : So that one may consider him when he was writing, as beset with a Crowd of Thoughts, all striving for Utterance. In this Posture of Mind it was almost impossible for him to keep that slow Pace, and observe minutely that Order and Method of ranging all he said, from which results an easie and obvious Perspicuity. To this Plenty and Vehemence of his may be imputed those many large Parentheses, which a careful Reader may observe in his Epistles. Upon this account also it is, that he often breaks off in the Middle of an Argument, to let in some new Thought suggested by his
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own Words ; which having pursued and explained as far as conduced to his present Purpose, he reassumes again the Thread of his Discourse, and goes on with it, without taking any notice that he returns again to what he had been before saying, though sometimes it be so far off, that it may well have slipt out of his Mind, and requires a very attentive Reader to observe, and so bring the disjointed Members together, as to make up the Connection, and see how the scatter'd Parts of the Discourse hang together in a coherent well-agreeing Sense, that makes it all of a Piece.

Besides the disturbance in perusing St. Paul's Epistles, from the Plenty and Vivacity of his Thoughts, which may obscure his Method, and often hide his Sense from an unwary, or over-hasty Reader ; the frequent changing of the Personage he speaks in, renders the Sense very uncertain, and is apt to mislead one that has not some Clue to guide him ; sometimes by the Pronoun *I*, he means himself ; sometimes any Christian ; sometimes a Jew, and sometimes any Man, &c. If speaking of himself in the first Person Singular has so various meanings ; his use of the first Person Plural is with a far greater Latitude, sometimes designing himself alone, sometimes those with himself whom he makes Partners to the Epistle ; sometimes with himself comprehending the other Apostles, or Preachers of the Gospel, or Christians : Nay, sometimes he in that way speaks of the Converted *Jews*, other times of the Converted *Gentiles*, and sometimes of others, in a more or less extended Sense, every one of which varies the meaning of the Place, and makes it to be differently understood. I have forbore to trouble the Reader with Examples of them here. If his own Observation hath not already furnish'd him with them, the following Paraphrase and Notes I suppose will satisfy him in the Point.

In the current also of his Discourse, he sometimes drops in the Objections of others, and his Answers to them, without any Change in the Scheme of his Language, that might give Notice of any other speaking besides himself. This requires great Attention to observe, and yet if it be neglected or overlook'd, will make the Reader very much mistake, and misunderstand his Meaning, and render the Sense very perplex'd.

These are intrinsick difficulties arising from the Text it self, whereof there might be a great many other named, as the uncertainty, sometimes, who are the Persons he speaks to, or the Opinions or Practices which he has in his Eye, sometimes in alluding to them, sometimes in his Exhortations and Reproofs. But those above-mention'd being the chief, it may suffice to have open'd our Eyes a little upon them, which, well examin'd, may contribute towards our Discovery of the rest.

To these we may subjoyn two external Causes that have made no small increase of the Native and Original Difficulties that keep us from an easie and assur'd Discovery of St. Paul's Sense, in many parts of his Epistles ; and those are :

First, The dividing of them into Chapters and Verses, as we have done, whereby they are so chop'd and minc'd, and, as they are now Printed, stand so broken and divided, that not only the Common People take the Verses usually for distinct Aphorisms ; but even Men of more advanc'd Knowledge in reading them, lose very much of the strength and force of the Coherence, and the Light that depends on it. Our Minds are so weak and narrow, that they have need of all the Helps and Assistances can be procur'd, to lay before them undisturbedly, the Thread and Coherence of any Discourse ; by which alone they are truly improv'd and led into the Genuine Sense of the Author. When the Eye is constantly disturb'd with
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loose Sentences, that by their standing and separation, appear as so many distinct Fragments; the Mind will have much ado to take in, and carry on in its Memory an uniform Discourse of dependent Reasonings; especially having from the Cradle been used to wrong Impressions concerning them, and constantly accusom'd to hear them quoted as distinct Sentences, without any limitation or explication of their precise Meaning from the Place they stand in, and the Relation they bear to what goes before, or follows. These Divisions also have given occasion to the reading these Epistles by parcels and in scraps, which has farther confirm'd the Evil arising from such partitions. And I doubt not but every one will confess it to be a very unlikely way to come to the Understanding of any other Letters, to read them Piece-meal, a Bit to day, and another Scrap to morrow, and so on by broken Intervals; Especially if the Pause and Cessation should be made as the Chapters the Apostle's Epistles are divided into, do end sometimes in the middle of a Discourse, and sometimes in the middle of a Sentence. It cannot therefore but be wondered, that that should be permitted to be done to Holy Writ, which would visibly disturb the Sense, and hinder the Understanding of any other Book whatsoever. If *Tully's* Epistles were so printed, and so used, I ask whether they would not be much harder to be understood, less easie and less pleasant to be read by much, than now they are?

How plain soever this Abuse is, and what Prejudice soever it does to the Understanding of the Sacred Scripture, yet if a Bible was printed as it should be, and as the several Parts of it were writ, in continued Discourses where the Argument is continued, I doubt not but the several Parties would complain of it, as an Innovation, and a dangerous Change in the publishing those holy Books. And indeed those who are for maintaining their Opinions, and the Systems of Parties by Sound of Words, with a Neglect of the true Sense of Scripture, would have reason to make and foment the Outcry. They would most of them be immediately disarm'd of their great Magazine of Artillery wherewith they defend themselves, and fall upon others, if the Holy Scriptures were but laid before the Eyes of Christians in its due Connection and Consistency, it would not then be so easie to snatch out a few Words, as if they were separate from the rest, to serve a Purpose, to which they do not at all belong, and with which they have nothing to do. But as the Matter now stands, he that has a mind to it, may at a cheap rate be a notable Champion for the Truth, that is, for the Doctrines of the Sect that Chance or Interest has cast him into. He need but be furnished with Verses of Sacred Scripture, containing Words and Expressions that are but flexible (as all general obscure and doubtful ones are) and his System, that has appropriated them to the Orthodoxy of his Church, makes them immediately strong and irrefragable Arguments for his Opinion. This is the Benefit of loose Sentences, and Scripture crumbled into Verses, which quickly turn into independent Aphorisms. But if the Quotation in the Verse produc'd, were consider'd as a part of a continued coherent Discourse, and so its Sense were limited by the Tenour of the Context, most of these forward and warm Disputants would be quite strip'd of those which they doubt not now to call Spiritual Weapons, and they would have often nothing to say that would not shew their Weakness, and manifestly fly in their Faces. I crave leave to set down a Saying of the Learned and Judicious Mr. *Selden*, "In interpreting the Scripture, says he, many do as if a Man should see one have Ten Pounds, which he reckon'd by 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10. meaning Four was but four Units, and five five Units, &c. and that he had

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“ in all but Ten Pounds : The other that sees him, takes not the Figures together, as he doth, but picks here and there ; and thereupon reports that he had five Pounds in one Bag, and six Pounds in another Bag, and nine Pounds in another Bag, &c. when as in truth he has but ten Pounds in all. So we pick out a Text here and there, to make it serve our turn ; whereas if we take it altogether, and consider what went before, and what followed after, we should find it meant no such thing. I have heard sober Christians very much admire why ordinary illiterate People, who were Professors, that shew'd a Concern for Religion, seem'd much more conversant in *St. Paul's* Epistles, than in the plainer, and as it seem'd to them much more intelligible Parts of the New Testament ; They confessed that tho' they read *St. Paul's* Epistles with their best Attention, yet they generally found them too hard to be master'd, and they labour'd in vain so far to reach the Apostle's Meaning all along in the Train of what he said, as to read them with that Satisfaction that arises from a feeling that we understand and fully comprehend the Force and Reasoning of an Author ; and therefore they could not imagine what those saw in them, whose Eyes they thought not much better than their own. But the Case was plain, These sober inquisitive Readers had a mind to see nothing in *St. Paul's* Epistles but just what he meant ; whereas those others of a quicker and gayer Sight could see in them what they pleased. Nothing is more acceptable to Fanisie than plyant Terms and Expressions that are not obstinate, in such it can find its account with Delight, and with them be illuminated, Orthodox, infallible at pleasure, and in its own way. But where the Sense of the Author goes visibly in its own Train, and the Words, receiving a determin'd Sense from their Companions and Adjacents, will not consent to give Countenance and Colour to what is agreed to be right, and must be supported at any rate, there Men of establish'd Orthodoxie do not so well find their Satisfaction. And perhaps if it were well examin'd, it would be no very extravagant Paradox to say, that there are fewer that bring their Opinions to the Sacred Scripture to be tried by that infallible Rule, than bring the Sacred Scripture to their Opinions, to bend it to them, to make it as they can a Cover and Guard of them. And to this Purpose its being divided into Verses, and brought as much as may be into loose and general Aphorisms, makes it most useful and serviceable. And in this lies the other great Cause of Obscurity and Perplexedness, which has been cast upon *St. Paul's* Epistles from without.

St. Paul's Epistles, as they stand translated in our English Bibles, are now by long and constant Use become a part of the English Language, and common Phraseology, especially in Matters of Religion : This every one uses familiarly, and thinks he understands ; but it must be observed, that if he has a distinct meaning when he uses those Words and Phrases, and knows himself what he intends by them, it is always according to the Sense of his own System, and the Articles or Interpretations of the Society he is engaged in. So that all this Knowledge and Understanding which he has in the Use of these Passages of Sacred Scripture, reaches no farther than this, that he knows (and that is very well) what he himself says, but thereby knows nothing at all what *St. Paul* said in them. The Apostle writ not by that Man's System, and so his Meaning cannot be known by it. This being the ordinary way of understanding the Epistles, and every Sect being perfectly Orthodox in its own Judgment : What a great and invincible Darkeness must this cast upon *St. Paul's* Meaning to all those of that way, in all those Places where his Thoughts and

Sense run counter to what any Party has espoused for Orthodox; as it must unavoidably to all but one of the different Systems, in all those Passages that any way relate to the Points in Controversie between them?

This is a Mischief which, however frequent and almost natural, reaches so far, that it would justly make all those who depend upon them, wholly diffident of Commentators, and let them see how little Help was to be expected from them, in relying on them for the true Sense of the Sacred Scripture, did they not take care to help to cozen themselves, by choosing to use and pin their Faith on such Expositors as explain the Sacred Scripture in favour of those Opinions that they before-hand have voted Orthodox, and bring to the Sacred Scripture not for Trial, but Confirmation. No Body can think that any Text of *St. Paul's* Epistles has two contrary Meanings, and yet so it must have to two different Men, who taking two Commentators of different Sects for their respective Guides into the Sense of any one of the Epistles, shall build upon their respective Expositions. We need go no further for a Proof of it, than the Notes of the two Celebrated Commentators on the New Testament, *Dr. Hammond*, and *Beza*, both Men of Parts and Learning, and both thought by their Followers Men mighty in the Sacred Scriptures. So that here we see the hopes of great Benefit and Light from Expositors and Commentators, is in a great part abated, and those who have most need of their Help, can receive but little from them, and can have very little Assurance of reaching the Apostle's Sense by what they find in them, whilst Matters remain in the same State they are in at present. For those, who find they need Help, and would borrow Light from Expositors, either consult only those who have the good luck to be thought sound and Orthodox, avoiding those of different Sentiments from themselves in the great and approved Points of their Systems, as dangerous and not fit to be meddled with; or else with Indifferency look into the Notes of all Commentators promiscuously. The first of these take Pains only to confirm themselves in the Opinions and Tenets they have already, which whether it be the way to get the true Meaning of what *St. Paul* deliver'd, is easie to determine. The others with much more Fairness to themselves, tho' with reaping little more Advantage (unless they have something else to guide them into the Apostle's Meaning than the Comments themselves) seek Help on all hands, and refuse not to be taught by any one, who offers to enlighten them in any of the dark Passages. But here tho' they avoid the Mischief which the others fall into, of being confin'd in their Sense, and seeing nothing but that in *St. Paul's* Writings, be it right or wrong; yet they run into as great on the other side, and instead of being confirm'd in the meaning that they thought they saw in the Text, are distracted with an hundred, suggested by those they advised with; and so instead of that one Sense of the Scripture, which they carried with them to their Commentators, return from them with none at all.

This indeed seems to make the Case desperate: For if the Comments and Expositions of pious and learned Men cannot be depended on, whether shall we go for Help? To which I answer, I would not be mistaken, as if I thought the Labours of the Learned in this Case wholly lost, and fruitless. There is great Use and Benefit to be made of them, when we have once got a Rule to know which of their Expositions, in the great Variety there is of them, explains the Words and Phrases according to the Apostle's Meaning. Till then 'tis evident, from what is above said, they

they serve for the most part to no other Use, but either to make us find our own Sense, and not his in *St. Paul's* Words; or else to find in them no settled Sense at all.

Here it will be ask'd, How shall we come by this Rule you mention? Where is that Touchstone to be had, that will shew us whether the Meaning we our selves put, or take as put by others upon *St. Paul's* Words in his Epistles, be truly his Meaning or no? I will not say the way which I propose, and have in the following Paraphrase follow'd, will make us infallible in our Interpretations of the Apostle's Text: But this I will own, that till I took this way, *St. Paul's* Epistles to me, in the ordinary way of reading and studying them, were very obscure Parts of Scripture, that left me almost every where at a loss; and I was at a great Uncertainty in which of the contrary Senses, that were to be found in his Commentators, he was to be taken. Whether what I have done has made it any clearer and more visible now, I must leave others to judge. This I beg leave to say for my self, that if some very sober judicious Christians, no Strangers to the Sacred Scriptures, nay learned Divines of the Church of *England*, had not profess'd, that by the Perusal of these following Papers they understood the Epistles better much than they did before, and had not with repeated Instances pressed me to publish them, I should not have consented they should have gone beyond my own private Use, for which they were at first designed, and where they made me not repent my Pains.

If any one be so far pleas'd with my Endeavours, as to think it worth while to be informed what was the Clue I guided my self by through all the dark Passages of these Epistles, I shall minutely tell him the Steps by which I was brought into this way, that he may judge whether I proceeded rationally, upon right Grounds or no, if so be any thing in so mean an Example as mine may be worth his notice.

After I had found by long Experience, that the reading of the Text and Comments in the ordinary way, proved not so successful as I wish'd to the end propos'd, I began to suspect that in reading a Chapter as was usual, and thereupon sometimes consulting Expositors upon some hard Places of it, which at that time most affected me, as relating to Points then under Consideration in my own Mind, or in Debate amongst others, was not a right Method to get into the true Sense of these Epistles. I saw plainly, after I began once to reflect on it, that if any one now should write me a Letter, as long as *St. Paul's* to the *Romans*, concerning such a Matter as that is, in a Stile as Foreign, and Expressions as dubious as his seem to be, if I should divide it into fifteen or sixteen Chapters, and read of them one to day, and another to morrow, &c. it was ten to one I should never come to a full and clear Comprehension of it. The way to understand the Mind of him that writ it, every one would agree, was to read the whole Letter through from one end to the other, all at once, to see what was the main Subject and Tendency of it: or if it had several Views and Purposes in it, not dependent one of another, nor in a Subordination to one chief Aim and End, to discover what those different Matters were, and where the Author concluded one, and began another; and if there were any Necessity of dividing the Epistle into Parts, to make the Boundaries of them.

In Prosecution of this Thought, I concluded it necessary, for the understanding of any one of *St. Paul's* Epistles, to read it all through at one Sitting, and to observe as well as I could, the Drift and Design of his writing it. If the first reading gave me some Light, the second gave me

me more ; and so I persisted on, reading constantly the whole Epistle over at once, till I came to have a good general View of the Apostle's main Purpose in writing the Epistle, the chief Branches of his Discourse wherein he prosecuted it, the Arguments he used, and the Disposition of the whole.

This, I confess, is not to be obtain'd by one or two hasty Readings ; it must be repeated again and again, with a close Attention to the Tenour of the Discourse, and a perfect Neglect of the Divisions into Chapters and Verses. On the contrary, the safest way is to suppose, that the Epistle has but one Business, and one Aim, till by a frequent Perusal of it, you are forced to see there are distinct independent Matters in it, which will forwardly enough shew themselves.

It requires so much more Pains, Judgment and Application, to find the Coherence of obscure and abstruse Writings, and makes them so much the more unfit to serve Prejudice and Pre-occupation when found ; that it is not to be wonder'd that St. Paul's Epistles have with many pass'd rather for disjointed, loose pious Discourses, full of Warmth and Zeal, and overflows of Light, rather than for calm, strong, coherent Reasonings, that carried a Thread of Argument and Consistency all through them.

But this muttering of lazy or ill disposed Readers, hinder'd me not from persisting in the Course I had began ; I continued to read the same Epistle over and over, and over again, till I came to discover, as appear'd to me, what was the Drift and Aim of it, and by what Steps and Arguments St. Paul prosecuted his Purpose. I remember'd that St. Paul was miraculously call'd to the Ministry of the Gospel, and declar'd to be a chosen Vessel ; that he had the whole Doctrine of the Gospel from God by immediate Revelation, and was appointed to be the Apostle of the *Gentiles*, for the propagating of it in the Heathen World. This was enough to persuade me, that he was not a Man of loose and shatter'd Parts, incapable to argue, and unfit to convince those he had to deal with. God knows how to choose fit Instruments for the Business he employs them in. A large Stock of Jewish Learning he had taken in at the Feet of Gamaliel, and for his Information in Christian Knowledge, and the Mysteries and Depths of the Dispensation of Grace by Jesus Christ, God himself had condescended to be his Instructor and Teacher. The Light of the Gospel he had received from the Fountain and Father of Light himself, who, I concluded, had not furnished him in this extraordinary manner, if all this plentiful Stock of Learning and Illumination had been in danger to have been lost, or proved useless, in a jumbled and confused Head ; nor have laid up such a Store of admirable and useful Knowledge in a Man, who, for want of Method and Order, clearness of Conception, or pertinency in Discourse, could not draw it out into Use with the greatest Advantages of Force and Coherence. That he knew how to prosecute this Purpose with Strength of Argument and close Reasoning, without incoherent Sallies, or the intermixing of things foreign to his Business, was evident to me from several Speeches of his recorded in the *Acts* : And it was hard to think that a Man, that could talk with so much Consistency and Clearness of Conviction, should not be able to write without Confusion, inextricable Obscurity, and perpetual Rambling. The Force, Order and Perspicuity of those Discourses could not be denied to be very visible. How then came it that the like was thought much wanting in his Epistles ? and of this there appear'd to me this

this plain Reason : The Particularities of the History in which these Speeches are inserted, shew St. Paul's end in speaking, which being seen, casts a Light on the whole, and shews the Pertinency of all that he says. But his Epistles not being so circumstantiated ; there being no concurring History that plainly declares the Disposition St. Paul was in, what the Actions, Expectations, or Demands of those to whom he writ, required him to speak to, we are no where told. All this, and a great deal more, necessary to guide us into the true meaning of the Epistles, is to be had only from the Epistles themselves, and to be gather'd from thence with stubborn Attention, and more than common Application.

This being the only safe Guide (under the Spirit of God that dictated these Sacred Writings) that can be rely'd on, I hope I may be excused, if I venture to say, that the utmost ought to be done to observe and trace our St. Paul's Reasonings ; to follow the Thread of his Discourse in each of his Epistles ; to shew how it goes on still directed with the same View, and pertinently drawing the several Incidents towards the same Point. To understand him right, his Inferences should be strictly observed ; and it should be carefully examined from what they are drawn, and what they tend to. He is certainly a coherent, argumentative, pertinent Writer, and Care I think should be taken in expounding of him, to shew that he is so. But though I say he has weighty Aims in his Epistles, which he steadily keeps in his Eye, and drives at it in all that he says ; yet I do not say that he puts his Discourses into an artificial Method, or leads his Reader into a Distinction of his Arguments, or gives them notice of new Matter, by Rhetorical or study'd Transitions. He has no Ornaments borrow'd from the Greek Eloquence ; no Notions of their Philosophy mix'd with his Doctrine to set it off. The *enticing Words of Man's Wisdom*, whereby he means all the studied Rules of the Grecian Schools, which made them such Masters in the Art of Speaking, he, as he says himself, 1 Cor. 2. 4. wholly neglected. The Reason whereof he gives in the next Verse, and in other places. But the Politeness of Language, Delicacy of Stile, Fineness of Expression, laboured Periods, artificial Transitions, and a very methodical ranging of the Parts with such other Imbellishments as make a Discourse enter the Mind smoothly, and strike the Phansie at first hearing, have little or no place in his Stile, yet Coherence of Discourse, and a direct Tendency of all the Parts of it, to the Argument in hand, are most eminently to be found in him. This I take to be his Character, and doubt not but he will be found to be so upon diligent Examination. And in this if it be so, we have a Clue, if we will take the Pains to find it, that will conduct us with Surety through those seemingly dark Places, and imagined Intricacies in which Christians have wander'd so far one from another, as to find quite contrary Senses.

Whether a superficial Reading, accompanied with the common Opinion of his invincible Obscurity, has kept off some from seeking in him the Coherence of a Discourse tending with close, strong reasoning to a Point ; Or a seemingly more honourable Opinion of one that had been wrap'd up into the Third Heaven, as if from a Man so warm'd and illuminated as he had been, nothing could be expected but Flashes of Light, and Raptures of Zeal, hinder'd others to look for a Train of Reasoning, proceeding on regular, and cogent Argumentation from a Man rais'd above the ordinary pitch of Humanity to a higher and brighter way of Illumination ; Or else whether others were loth to beat their Heads about the Tenor and Coherence in St. Paul's Discourses, which if found out, possibly might set him

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at a manifest and irreconcilable Difference with their Systems, 'tis certain that whatever hath been the cause, this way of getting the true Sense of *St. Paul's* Epistles, seems not to have been much made use of, or at least so thoroughly pursued, as I am apt to think it deserves.

For, granting that he was full stor'd with the Knowledge of the things he treated of : For he had Light from Heaven, it was God himself furnish'd him, and he could not want : Allowing also that he had Ability to make use of the Knowledge had been given him, for the end for which it was given him, *viz.* the Information, Conviction, and Conversion of others ; and accordingly that he knew how to direct his Discourse to the Point in hand, we cannot widely mistake the Parts of his Discourse imply'd about it, when we have any where found out the Point he drives at : Where-ever we have got a view of his Design, and the Aim he propos'd to himself in Writing, we may be sure that such or such an Interpretation does not give us his genuine Sense, it being nothing at all to his present purpose. Nay among various Meanings given a Text, it fails not to direct us to the best, and very often to assure us of the true. For it is no Presumption, when one sees a Man arguing for this or that Proposition, if he be a sober Man, Master of Reason or common Sense, and takes any care of what he says, to pronounce with Confidence in several Cases, that he could not talk thus or thus.

I do not yet so magnifie this Method of studying *St. Paul's* Epistles, as well as other Parts of Sacred Scripture, as to think it will perfectly clear every hard Place, and leave no Doubt unresolv'd. I know Expressions now out of use, Opinions of those times not heard of in our days, Allusions to Customs lost to us, and various Circumstances and Particularities of the Parties, which we cannot come at, &c. must needs continue several Passages in the dark now to us at this distance, which shone with full Light to those they were directed to. But for all that, the studying of *St. Paul's* Epistles in the way I have propos'd, will, I humbly conceive, carry us a great length in the right understanding of them, and make us rejoyce in the Light we receive from those most useful Parts of Divine Revelation, by furnishing us with visible Grounds that we are not mistaken, whilst the Consistency of the Discourse, and the Pertinency of it to the Design he is upon, vouches it worthy of our great Apostle. At least I hope it may be my Excuse for having endeavour'd to make *St. Paul* an Interpreter to me of his own Epistles.

To this may be added another Help, which *St. Paul* himself affords us towards the attaining the true meaning contained in his Epistles. He that reads him with the Attention I propose, will easily observe, that as he was full of the Doctrine of the Gospel ; so it lay all clear and in order open to his view. When he gave his Thoughts Utterance upon any Point, the Matter flow'd like a Torrent, but 'tis plain, 'twas a Matter he was perfectly Master of : He fully possess'd the entire Revelation he had receiv'd from God, had thoroughly digested it ; all the Parts were formed together in his Mind into one well contracted harmonious Body. So that he was no way at an uncertainty, nor ever in the least at a loss concerning any Branch of it. One may see his Thoughts were all of a piece in all his Epistles, his Notions were at all times uniform, and constantly the same, tho' his Expressions very various. In them he seems to take great Liberty. This at least is certain, that no one seems less tied up to a Form of Words. If then having by the Method before propos'd, got into the Sense of the several Epistles, we will but compare what he says, in the Places where he treats of the same Subject, we can hardly be mistaken in his

his Sense, nor doubt what it was, that he believed and taught concerning those Points of the Christian Religion. I know it is not unusual to find a Multitude of Texts heaped up for the maintaining of an espoused Proposition, but in a Sense often so remote from their true Meaning, that one can hardly avoid thinking that those who so used them, either fought not or valued not the Sense; and were satisfied with the Sound where they could but get that to favour them. But a verbal Concordance leads not always to Texts of the same meaning; trusting too much thereto, will furnish us but with slight Proofs in many Cases, and any one may observe how apt that is to jumble together Passages of Scripture not relating to the same Matter, and thereby to disturb and unsettle the true meaning of Holy Scripture. I have therefore said that we should compare together Places of Scripture treating of the same Point. Thus indeed one part of the Sacred Text could not fail to give light unto another. And since the Providence of God hath so order'd it, that *St. Paul* has writ a great Number of Epistles, which tho' upon different Occasions, and to several Purposes, yet are all confined within the Business of his Apostleship, and so contain nothing but Points of Christian Instruction, amongst which he seldom fails to drop in, and often to enlarge on the great and distinguishing Doctrines of our holy Religion; which, if quitting our own Infallibility in that Analogy of Faith which we have made to our selves, or have implicitly adopted from some other, we would carefully lay together, and diligently compare and study; I am apt to think would give us *St. Paul's* System in a clear and indisputable Sense, which every one must acknowledge to be a better Standard to interpret his Meaning by, in any obscure and doubtful Parts of his Epistles, if any such should still remain, than the System, Confession, or Articles of any Church or Society of Christians yet known, which however pretended to be founded on Scripture, are visibly the Contrivances of Men (fallible both in their Opinions and Interpretations) and, as is visible in most of them, made with partial Views, and adapted to what the Occasions of that time, and the present Circumstances they were then in, were thought to require for the Support or Justification of themselves. Their Philosophy also has its part in mis-leading Men from the true Sense of the Sacred Scripture. He that shall attentively read the Christian Writers after the Age of the Apostles, will easily find how much the Philosophy they were tainted with, influenced them in their Understanding of the Books of the Old and New Testament. In the Ages wherein Platonism prevailed, the Converts to Christianity of that School, on all occasions, interpreted Holy Writ according to the Notions they had imbib'd from that Philosophy. *Aristotle's* Doctrine had the same effect in its turn, and when it degenerated into the Peripateticism of the Schools, that too brought its Notions and Distinctions into Divinity, and affixed them to the Terms of the Sacred Scripture. And we may see still how at this day every one's Philosophy regulates every one's Interpretation of the Word of God. Those who are possessed with the Doctrine of Aerial and Ætherial Vehicles, have thence borrowed an Interpretation of the four first Verses of *2 Cor. 5.* without having any Ground to think that *St. Paul* had the least notion of any such Vehicles. 'Tis plain that the teaching of Men Philosophy, was no part of the Design of Divine Revelation; but that the Expressions of Scripture are commonly suited in those Matters to the Vulgar Apprehensions and Conceptions of the Place and People where they were delivered. And as to the Doctrine therein directly taught by the Apostles, that tends wholly to the setting up the Kingdom of Jesus Christ in this World, and the Salvation of Mens Souls, and in this 'tis plain their Expressions were conformed to the Ideas and Notions which they had received from Revelation, or

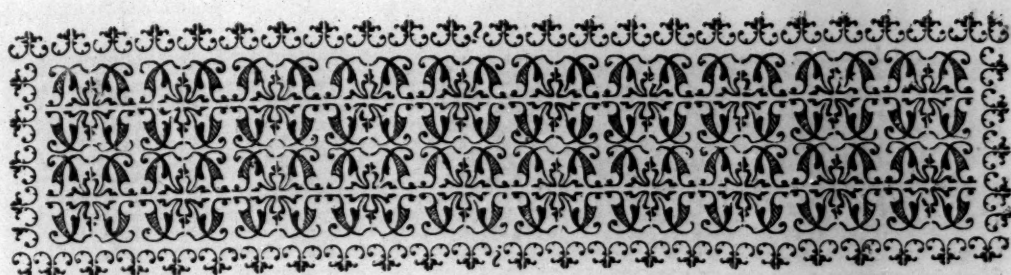
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were consequent from it. We shall therefore in vain go about to interpret their Words by the Notions of our Philosophy, and the Doctrines of Men delivered in our Schools. This is to explain the Apostles meaning by what they never thought of whilst they were writing, which is not the way to find their Sense in what they deliver'd, but our own, and to take up from their Writings not what they left there for us, but what we bring along with us in our selves. He that would understand *St. Paul* right, must understand his Terms in the Sense he uses them, and not as they are appropriated by each Man's particular Philosophy, to Conceptions that never enter'd the Mind of the Apostle. For Example, he that shall bring the Philosophy now taught and receiv'd to the explaining of *Spirit, Soul, and Body*, mentioned *1 Thess. 5. 23.* will, I fear, hardly reach *St. Paul's* Sense, or represent to himself the Notions *St. Paul* then had in his Mind. That is what we should aim at in reading him, or any other Author, and 'till we from his Words paint his very Ideas and Thoughts in our Minds, we do not understand him.

In the Divisions I have made, I have endeavour'd the best I could to govern my self by the Diversity of Matter. But in a Writer like *St. Paul*, it is not so easie always to find precisely where one Subject ends, and another begins. He is full of the Matter he treats and writes with Warmth, which usually neglects Method, and those Partitions and Pauses which Men educated in the Schools of Rhetoricians usually observe. Those Arts of Writing *St. Paul*, as well out of Design as Temper, wholly laid by: The Subject he had in hand, and the Grounds upon which it stood firm, and by which he inforced it, was what alone he minded, and without solemnly winding up one Argument, and intimating any way that he began another, let his Thoughts, which were fully possess'd of the Matter, run in one continued Train, wherein the Parts of his Discourse were wove one into another. So that it is seldom that the Scheme of his Discourse makes any Gap; and therefore without breaking in upon the Connection of his Language, 'tis hardly possible to separate his Discourse, and give a distinct View of his several Arguments in distinct Sections.

I am far from pretending Infallibility in the Sense I have any where given in my Paraphrase or Notes; That would be to erect my self into an Apostle, a Presumption of the highest Nature in any one that cannot confirm what he says by Miracles. I have for my own Information sought the true Meaning as far as my poor Abilities would reach. And I have unbiassedly embraced what upon a fair Enquiry appear'd so to me. This I thought my Duty and Interest in a Matter of so great Concernment to me. If I must believe for my self, it is unavoidable that I must understand for my self. For if I blindly and with an Implicit Faith take the Pope's Interpretation of the Sacred Scripture, without examining whether it be Christ's Meaning; 'tis the Pope I believe in, and not in Christ; 'tis his Authority I rest upon; 'tis what he says I embrace: For what 'tis Christ says, I neither know nor concern my self. 'Tis the same thing when I set up any other Man in Christ's place, and make him the Authentique Interpreter of Sacred Scripture to my self. He may possibly understand the Sacred Scripture as right as any Man, but I shall do well to examine my self, whether that which I do not know, nay (which in the way I take) I can never know, can justifie me in making my self his Disciple, instead of Jesus's Christ's, who of Right is alone and ought to be my only Lord and Master: And it will be no less Sacrilege in me to substitute to my self any other in his room, to be a Prophet, to me, than to be my King or Priest.

The same Reasons that put me upon doing what I have in these Papers done, will exempt me from all Suspicion of imposing my Interpretation on others. The Reasons that led me into the Meaning which prevail'd on my Mind, are set down with it; as far as they carry Light and Conviction to any other Man's Understanding, so far I hope my Labour may be of some Use to him; beyond the Evidence it carries with it, I advise him not to follow mine, nor any Man's Interpretation. We are all Men liable to Errors, and infected with them; but have this sure way to preserve our selves every one from danger by them, if laying aside Sloth, Carelessness, Prejudice, Party, and a Reverence of Men, we betake our selves in earnest to the Study of the way to Salvation, in those holy Writings wherein God has reveal'd it from Heaven, and propos'd it to the World, seeking our Religion where we are sure it is in Truth to be found, comparing spiritual things with spiritual things.



A
PARAPHRASE
 AND
NOTES
 ON THE
EPISTLE of St. PAUL
 TO THE
GALATIANS.

The PUBLISHER to the READER.

*T*HERE is nothing certainly of greater Concernment to the Peace of the Church in general, nor to the Direction and Edification of all Christians in particular, than a right Understanding of the Holy Scripture. This Consideration has set so many learned and pious Men amongst us of late Years upon Expositions, Paraphrases and Notes on the Sacred Writings, that the Author of these hopes the Fashion may excuse him for endeavouring to add his Mite, believing, that after all that has been done by those great Labourers in the Harvest, there may be some Gleanings left, whereof he presumes he has an Instance, Ch. III. ver. 20. and some other Places in this Epistle to the Galatians, which he looks upon not to be the hardest of St. Paul's. If he has given a Light to any obscure Passage, he shall think his Pains well employ'd: If there be nothing else worth notice in him, accept of his good Intention.

Vol. III.

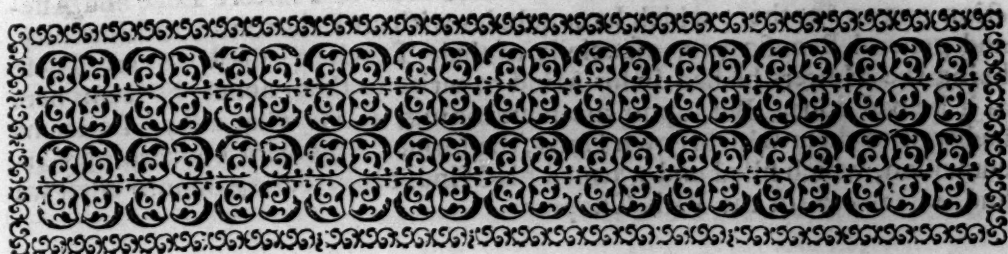
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A
PARAPHRASE
AND
NOTES
ON THE
EPISTLE OF ST. PAUL
TO THE
GALATIANS

The Publisher to the Reader

THE
Vol. II



THE
EPISTLE of St. PAUL
TO THE
GALATIANS.

*Writ from
Ephesus,
the Year of
our Lord
57. of
Nero 3.*

SYNOPSIS.



THE Subject and Design of this Epistle of St. Paul is much the same with that of his Epistle to the *Romans*, but treated in somewhat a different Manner. The Business of it is to dehort and hinder the *Galatians* from bringing themselves under the Bondage of the Mosaical Law.

St. Paul himself had planted the Churches of *Galatia*, and therefore referring (as he does, *Cb. I. 8, 9.*) to what he had before taught them, does not in this Epistle lay down at large to them the Doctrine of the Gospel, as he does in that to the *Romans*, who having been converted to the Christian Faith by others, he did not know how far they were instructed in all those Particulars, which, on the Occasion whereon he writ to them, it might be necessary for them to understand: And therefore, writing to the *Romans*, he sets before them a large and comprehensive View of the chief Heads of the Christian Religion.

He also deals more roundly with his Disciples the *Galatians*, than, we may observe, he does with the *Romans*, to whom he, being a Stranger, writes not in so familiar a Style, nor in his Reproofs and Exhortations uses so much the Tone of a Master, as he does to the *Galatians*.

St. Paul had converted the *Galatians* to the Faith, and erected several Churches among them in the Year of our Lord 51; between which, and the Year 57, wherein this Epistle was writ, the Disorders following were got into those Churches.

First, Some Zealots for the *Jewish* Constitution had very near persuaded them out of their Christian Liberty, and made them willing to submit to Circumcision, and all the ritual Observances of the *Jewish* Church, as necessary under the Gospel: *Cb. I. 7. III. 3. IV. 9, 10, 21. V. 1, 2, 6, 9, 10.*

Secondly, Their Dissentions and Disputes in this Matter had raised great Animosities amongst them, to the Disturbance of their Peace, and the setting them at Strife one with another: *Cb. V. 6, 13—15.*

The reforming them in these two Points seems to be the main Business of this Epistle, wherein he endeavours to establish them in a Resolution to stand

firm in the Freedom of the Gospel, which exempts them from the Bondage of the Mosaical Law : And labours to reduce them to a sincere Love and Affection one to another ; which he concludes with an Exhortation to Liberality, and general Beneficence, especially to their Teachers ; *Ch. VI. 6, 10.* These being the Matters he had in his Mind to write to them about, he seems here as if he had done. But, upon the mentioning, *v. 11.* what a long Letter he had writ to them with his own Hand, the former Argument concerning Circumcision, which filled and warmed his Mind, broke out again into what we find, *v. 12—17.* of the *VIth* Chapter.

S E C T. I.

Chap. I.

C H A P. I. 1—5.

Introduction.

C O N T E N T S.

THE general View of this Epistle plainly shews *St. Paul's* chief Design in it to be, to keep the *Galatians* from hearkening to those *Judaizing Seducers*, who had almost persuaded them to be circumcised. These Perverters of the Gospel of Christ, as *St. Paul* himself calls them, *v. 7.* had, as may be gather'd from *v. 8.* and *10.* and from *Ch. 5. 11.* and other Passages of this Epistle, made the *Galatians* believe that *St. Paul* himself was for Circumcision. Till *St. Paul* himself had set them right in this Matter, and convinced them of the Falshood of this Aspersion, it was in vain for him by other Arguments to attempt the re-establishing the *Galatians* in the Christian Liberty, and in that Truth which he had preach'd to them. The removing therefore of this Calumny was his first Endeavour : And to that Purpose this Introduction, different from what we find in any other of his Epistles, is marvellously well adapted. He declares here at the Entrance, very expressly and emphatically, that he was not sent by Men on their Errands ; nay, that Christ in sending him did not so much as convey his Apostolick Power to him by the Ministry, or Intervention of any Man ; but that his Commission and Instructions were all entirely from God, and Christ himself, by immediate Revelation. This of it self was an Argument sufficient to induce them to believe, 1. That what he taught them when he first preached the Gospel to them, was the Truth, and that they ought to stick firm to that. 2. That he changed not his Doctrine, whatever might be reported of him. He was Christ's chosen Officer, and had no Dependance on Men's Opinions, nor Regard to their Authority, or Favour, in what he preach'd ; and therefore 'twas not likely he should preach one thing at one time, and another thing at another.

Thus this Preface is very proper in this Place to introduce what he is going to say concerning himself, and adds Force to his Discourse, and the Account he gives of himself in the next Section.

P A R A P H R A S E.

T E X T.

1. **P**AUL (an Apostle not of Men (*a*) to serve their Ends, or carry on their Designs, nor receiving his Call, or Commission by the Intervention of any

PAUL an Apostle, (not of men, neither by man, but by Jesus Christ,

N O T E S.

1 (*a*) Οὐκ ἀπ' ἀνθρώπων, not of Men, i.e. not sent by Men at their Pleasure, or by their Authority ; not instructed by Men what to say or do, as we see *Timothy* and *Titus* were, when sent by *St. Paul* : And *Judas* and *Silas* sent by the Church of *Jerusalem*.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

and God the Father who raised him from the dead.)

- 2 And all the brethren which are with me unto the Churches of Galatia: Grace be to you, and Peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ:
4 Who gave himself for our Sins, that he might deliver us from this present world, according to the will of God and our Father. To whom be glory for ever and ever. Amen.

Man (*b*) to whom he might be thought to owe any Respect or Deference upon that Account; but immediately from Jesus Christ, and from God the Father, who raised him up from the Dead) and all the Brethren that are with me, unto the Churches (*c*) of Galatia: Favour be to you, and Peace (*d*) from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, who gave himself for our Sins, that he might take us out of this present evil World, (*e*) according to the Will and good Pleasure of God and our Father, to whom be Glory for ever and ever. Amen.

2.

3.

4.

5.

NOTES.

(*b*) 'Ουδὲ δι' ἀνθρώπου, nor by Man, i. e. His Choice and Separation to his Ministry and Apostleship, was so wholly an Act of God and Christ, that there was no Intervention of any thing done by any Man in the Case, as there was in the Election of *Matthias*. All this we may see explain'd at large, v. 10—12. and v. 16, 17. and Ch. II. 6—9.

2 (*c*) Churches of Galatia. This was an evident Seal of his Apostleship to the Gentiles: Since in no bigger a Country than Galatia, a small Province of the lesser Asia, he had, in no long Stay among them, planted several distinct Churches.

3 (*d*) Peace. The wishing of Peace, in the Scripture-Language, is the wishing of all manner of Good.

4 (*e*) 'Ὅπως ἐξαίρου ἡμᾶς ἐκ τῆς ἐνεστώσης αἰῶνος πομπῆς. That he might take us out of this present evil World, or Age, so the Greek Words signify. Whereby it cannot be thought that St. Paul meant, that Christians were to be immediately removed into the other World. Therefore ἐνεστώσης αἰῶνος must signify something else than present World, in the ordinary Import of those Words in English. Αἰὼν ἔστος, 1 Cor. 2. 6, 8. and in other Places plainly signifies the Jewish Nation under the Mosaic Constitution; and it suits very well with the Apostle's Design in this Epistle, that it should do so here. God has in this World but one Kingdom, and one People. The Nation of the Jews were the Kingdom and People of God, whilst the Law stood. And this Kingdom of God under the Mosaic Constitution was called αἰὼν ἔστος, this Age, or as it is commonly translated, this World, to which αἰὼν ἐνεστώσης, the present World, or Age, here answers. But the Kingdom of God, which was to be under the Messiah, wherein the Oeconomy and Constitution of the Jewish Church, and the Nation it self, that in Opposition to Christ adhered to it, was to be laid aside, is in the New Testament call'd αἰὼν μέλλων, the World, or Age to come; so that Christ's taking them out of the present World, may, without any Violence to the Words, be understood to signify his setting them free from the Mosaic Constitution. This is suitable to the Design of this Epistle, and what St. Paul has declar'd in many other Places. See Col. II. 14—17, and 20. which agrees to this Place, and Rom. VII. 4, 6. The Law is said to be contrary to us, Col. II. 14. and to work Wrath, Rom. IV. 15. and St. Paul speaks very diminishingly of the ritual Parts of it in many Places: But yet if all this may not be thought sufficient to justify the applying of the Epithet πομπῆς, Evil, to it, that Scruple will be removed, if we take ἐνεστώσης αἰῶνος, this present World, here, for the Jewish Constitution and Nation together, in which Sense it may very well be called Evil, tho' the Apostle, out of his wonted Tenderness to his Nation, forbears to name them openly, and uses a doubtful Expression, which might comprehend the Heathen World also, tho' he chiefly pointed at the Jews.

S E C T. II.

CHAP. I. 6—II. 21.

CONTENTS.

WE have observed, that St. Paul's first Endeavour in this Epistle was to satisfy the Galatians, that the Report spread of him that he preach'd Circumcision, was false. Till this Obstruction, that lay in his Way, was removed, it was to no Purpose for him to go about to dissuade them from Circumcision, though that be what he principally aims at in this Epistle. To shew them, that he promoted not Circumcision, he calls their hearkening to those who persuaded them to be circumcised, their being removed from him; and

Chap. I. and those that so persuaded them, *Perversers of the Gospel of Christ*, v. 6, 7. He farther assures them, that the Gospel which he preached every where was that, and that only, which he had received by immediate Revelation from Christ, and no Contrivance of Man, nor did he vary it to please Men: That would not consist with his being a Servant of Christ, v. 10. And he expresses such a firm Adherence to what he had received from Christ, and had preached to them, that he pronounces an *Anathema* upon himself, v. 8, 9. or any other Man or Angel, that should preach any thing else to them. To make out this to have been all along his Conduct, he gives an Account of himself for many Years backwards, even from the Time before his Conversion. Wherein he shews, that from a zealous persecuting Jew, he was made a Christian, and an Apostle, by immediate Revelation; and that, having no Communication with the Apostles, or with the Churches of *Judaea*, or any Man for some Years, he had nothing to preach, but what he had received by immediate Revelation. Nay, when fourteen Years after he went up to *Jerusalem*, it was by Revelation; and when he there communicated the Gospel, which he preach'd among the *Gentiles*, *Peter*, *James*, and *John* approv'd of it, without adding any thing, but admitted him as their Fellow-Apostle. So that in all this he was guided by nothing but Divine Revelation, which he inflexibly stuck to so far, that he openly opposed St. *Peter*, for his Judaizing at *Antioch*. All which Account of himself tends clearly to shew, that St. *Paul* made not the least Step towards complying with the *Jews* in Favour of the Law, nor did, out of Regard to Man, deviate from the Doctrine he had received by Revelation from God.

All the Parts of this Section, and the Narrative contain'd it, manifestly concenter in this, as will more fully appear, as we go through them, and take a closer View of them, which will shew us that the Whole is so skilfully managed, and the Parts so gently slid into, that it is a strong, but not seemingly labour'd Justification of himself, from the Imputation of Preaching up Circumcision.

P A R A P H R A S E.

T E X T.

6. I Cannot but wonder that you are so soon (f) removed from me, (g) (who called you into the Covenant of Grace which is in Christ) unto another Sort of Gospel; which is not owing to any thing else (b) but only this, that ye are troubled by a certain Sort of Men, who would overturn the Gospel of Christ, by making Circumcision, and the keeping of the Law

I Marvel that ye are so soon removed from him that called you into the grace of Christ, unto another Gospel: Which is not another; but there be some that trouble you, and would pervert the Gospel of

N O T E S.

6 (f) *So soon*. The first Place we find *Galatia* mentioned, is *Acts XVI.* 6. And therefore St. *Paul* may be supposed to have planted these Churches there, in his Journey mentioned, *Acts XVI.* which was *Anno Domini* 51. He visited them again, after he had been at *Jerusalem*, *Acts XVIII.* 21—23. *Anno Domini* 54. From thence he returned to *Ephesus*, and staid there about two Years, during which Time this Epistle was writ; so that counting from his last Visit, this Letter was writ to them within two or three Years from the Time he was last with them, and had left them confirmed in the Doctrine he had taught them, and therefore he might with Reason wonder at their forsaking him so soon, and that Gospel he had converted them to.

(g) *From him that called you*. These Words plainly point out himself. But then one might wonder how St. *Paul* came to use them; since it would have sounded better to have said, *Removed from the Gospel I preach'd to you, to another Gospel*, than *removed from me that preach'd to you, to another Gospel*. But if it be remember'd that St. *Paul's* Design here is to vindicate himself from the Asperion cast on him, That he preach'd Circumcision, nothing could be more suitable to that Purpose, than this way of expressing himself.

7 (b) *ὅτι ἕστιν ἄλλο*. I take to signify, *which is not any thing else*. The Words themselves, the Context, and the Business the Apostle is upon here, do all concur to give these Words the Sense I have taken them in. For, 1. If *ὅ* had referr'd to *δογματισμῶν*, it would have been more natural to have kept the Word *ἕστιν*, and not to have chang'd it into *ἄλλο*. 2. It can scarce be supposed by any one who reads what St. *Paul* says in the following Words of this Verse, and the two adjoining; and also *Ch. III.* 4. and *ver. 2—4*, and 7. That St. *Paul* should tell them, that what he would keep them from is *not another Gospel*. 3. It is suitable to St. *Paul's* Design here to tell them, that to their being removed to another Gospel no body else had contributed, but it was wholly owing to those Judaizing Seducers.

necessary

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

8 Christ. But though we,
or an angel from heaven
preach any other gospel
unto you, than that which
we have preach'd unto you,
9 let him be accursed. As
we said before, so say I
now again, if any man
preach any other gospel
unto you than that ye have
received, let him be accursed.
10 For do I now persuade
men or God? Or do I
seek to please men? For
if I yet pleased men, I
should not be the servant
11 of Christ. But I certify
you, brethren, that the
gospel which was preached
of me, is not after
12 man. For I neither received
it of man, neither was I
taught it, but by the
Revelation of Jesus
13 Christ. For ye have heard
of my conversation in
time past, in the Jews
religion, how that beyond
measure I persecuted the
Church of God,
14 and wasted it; And profited
in the Jews religion,
above many my equals
in mine own nation,
being more exceedingly
zealous of the traditions
of my Fathers.

necessary (i) under the Gospel. But if even I my self,
or an Angel from Heaven should preach any thing to
you for Gospel, different from the Gospel I have
preached unto you, let him be Accursed. I say it again
to you, if any one, under Pretence of the Gospel,
preach any other thing to you than what ye have received
from me, let him be Accursed. (k) For can it be doubted
of me, after having done and suffer'd so much for the Gospel
of Christ, whether I do now (l) at this time of day, make
my Court to Men, or seek the Favour (m) of God? If I had
hitherto made it my Business to please Men, I should not
have been the Servant of Christ, nor taken up the Profession
of the Gospel. But I certify you, brethren, that the Gospel
which has been every where (n) preached by me, is not
such as is pliant to humane Interest, or can be accommodated
to the pleasing of Men. (For I neither received it from
Man, nor was I taught it by any one as his Scholar) but
it is the pure and unmix'd immediate Revelation of
Jesus Christ to me. To satisfy you of this, my Behaviour,
whilst I was of the Jewish Religion, is so well known,
that I need not tell you, how excessive violent I was in
persecuting the Church of God, and destroy'd it all I could;
and that being carry'd on by an extraordinary Zeal for the
Traditions of my Forefathers, I out-strip'd many Students
of my

(i) See *Acts* XV. 1, 5, 23, 24.

9 (k) *Accursed*. Though we may look upon the Repetition of the *Anathema* here to be for the adding of Force to what he says, yet we may observe, that by joyning himself with an Angel in the foregoing Verse, he does as good as tell them, that he is not guilty of what deserves it, by skilfully insinuating to the *Galatians*, that they might as well suspect an Angel might preach to them a Gospel different from his, *i. e.* a false Gospel, as that he himself should: And then in this Verse lays the *Anathema* wholly and solely upon the Judaizing Seducers.

10 (l) *"Apti Now, and yet"*, cannot be understood without a Reference to something in St. Paul's past Life; what that was, which he had particularly then in his Mind, we may see by the Account he gives of himself, in what immediately follows, (*viz.*) That before his Conversion he was employ'd by Men in their Designs, and made it his Business to please them, as may be seen, *Acts* IX. 1, 2. But when God called him, he received his Commission and Instructions from him alone, and set immediately about it, without consulting any Man whatsoever, preaching that, and that only, which he had received from Christ. So that it would be senseless Folly in him, and no less than the forsaking his Master Jesus Christ, if he should now, as was reported of him, mix any thing of Mens with the pure Doctrine of the Gospel, which he had received immediately by Revelation from Jesus Christ, to please the *Jews*, after he had so long preach'd only that; and had, to avoid all Appearance or Pretence to the contrary, so carefully shun'd all Communication with the Churches of *Judea*; and had not, till a good while after, and that very sparingly, conversed with any, and those but a few of the Apostles themselves, some of whom he openly reproved for their Judaizing. Thus the Narrative subjoined to this Verse explains the *now* and *yet* in it, and all tends to the same Purpose.

(m) Πείθω translated *persuade*, is sometimes used for making Application to any one to obtain his good Will or Friendship; and hence, *Acts* 12. 25. πείθωντες Βλάστον is translated, having made *Blasius* their Friend: The Sense is here the same which 1 *Thess.* 2. 4. he expresses in these Words, εἰς ὅς ἀνθρώποις ἀρέσκοντες ἀμὰ τῷ Θεῷ, *not as pleasing Men, but God*.

11 (n) τὸ ἐ πανταχοῦ ἐμὲ, which has been preached by me: This, being spoken indefinitely, must be understood in general every where, and so is the Import of the foregoing Verse.

15. own Age and Nation, in *Judaism*. But when it pleased God (who separated (o) me from my Mother's Womb, and by his especial Favour called (p) me to be a Christian, and a Preacher of the Gospel) To reveal his Son to me, that I might preach him among the *Gentiles*, I thereupon apply'd not my self to any Man (q) for Advice what to do: (r) Neither went I up to *Jerusalem*, to those who were Apostles before me, to see whether they approved my Doctrine, or to have farther Instructions from them: But I went immediately (s) unto *Arabia*, and from thence returned again to *Damascus*. Then after three Years (t) I went up to *Jerusalem*, to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen Days. But other of the Apostles saw I none but James, the Brother of our Lord. These Things that I write to you, I call God to Witness, are all true; there is no Falshood in them. Afterwards I came into the Regions of *Syria*, and *Cilicia*. But with the Churches of Christ (u) in *Judea* I had had no Communication, they had not so much as seen my Face, (w) only they had heard that I, who formerly persecuted the Churches of Christ, did now preach the Gospel, which I once endeavour'd to suppress and extirpate. And they glorified God upon my Account.

But when it pleased God, who separated me from my mother's womb, and called me by his grace, To reveal his Son in me, that I might preach him among the Heathen; immediately I conferred not with flesh and blood: Neither went I up to Jerusalem, to them which were Apostles before me, but I went into Arabia, and returned again unto Damascus. Then after three years I went up to Jerusalem to see Peter, and abode with him fifteen days. But other of the apostles saw I none, save James the Lord's brother. Now the things which I write unto you, behold, before God, I lye not. Afterwards I came into the regions of Syria and Cilicia: And was unknown by face unto the Churches of Judea, which were in Christ. But they had heard only, That he which persecuted us in times past, now preacheth the faith which once he destroyed. And they glorified God in me.

NOTES.

15 (o) Separated. This may be understood by *Jer. I. 5.*

(p) Called. The History of this Call, see *Acts IX. 1, &c.*

16 (q) Flesh and Blood, is used for Man, see *Eph. VI. 12.*

(r) For Advice: This, and what he says in the following Verse, is to evidence to the *Galatians*, the full Assurance he had of the Truth and Perfection of the Gospel, which he had received from Christ by immediate Revelation; and how little he was disposed to have any Regard to the pleasing of Men in Preaching it, that he did not so much as communicate or advise with any of the Apostles about it, to see whether they approved of it.

17 (s) *Immediately*, though placed just before *and* and *DegeaneSipulw*, I conferred not, yet it is plain by the Sense and Design of St. Paul, here, that it principally relates to, I went into Arabia; his Departure into Arabia, presently upon his Conversion, before he had consulted with any body, being made use of, to shew that the Gospel he had received by immediate Revelation from Jesus Christ, was compleat, and sufficiently instructed and enabled him to be a Preacher and an Apostle to the *Gentiles*, without borrowing any thing from any Man, in order thereunto; no not with any of the Apostles, no one of whom he saw till three Years after.

18 (t) Three Years, i. e. from his Conversion.

22 (u) In Christ, i. e. Believing in Christ, see *Rom. 16. 7.*

(w) This which he so particularly takes notice of, does nothing to the proving that he was a true Apostle, but serves very well to shew, that in what he preached, he had no Communication with those of his own Nation, nor took any Care to please the *Jews*.

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CHAP. II.

Chap.
II.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

¹ Then fourteen years after, I went up again to Jerusalem, with Barnabas and took Titus with me also. And I went up by revelation, and communicated unto them that gospel which I preach among the *Gentiles*, but privately to them which were of reputation, lest by any means I should run, or had run in vain. But neither Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was compelled to be circumcised: and that because of false

Then fourteen Years after I went up again to Jerusalem, with Barnabas, and took Titus also with me. And I went up by Revelation, and there laid before them the Gospel which I (*x*) preached to the *Gentiles*, but privately to those who were of Note and Reputation amongst them, lest the Pains that I have already taken, (*y*) or should take in the Gospel, should be in vain. (*z*) But, tho' I communicated the Gospel which I preach'd to the *Gentiles*, to the eminent Men of the Church at Jerusalem, yet neither (*a*) Titus, who was with me, being a Greek, was forced to be circumcised: Nor (*b*) did I yield any thing one Moment by

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2 (*x*) *I communicated*. The Conference he had in private with the Chief of the Church of Jerusalem, concerning the Gospel which he preach'd among the *Gentiles*, seems not to have been barely concerning the Doctrine of their being free from the Law of Moses: That had been openly and hotly disputed at Antioch, and was known to be the Business they came about to Jerusalem; but it is probable it was to explain to them the whole Doctrine he had received by Revelation, by the Fulness and Perfection whereof (for it is said, ver. 6. that in that Conference they added nothing to it) and by the Miracles he had done in Confirmation of it (see ver. 8.) they might see and own what he preached to be the Truth, and him to be one of themselves, both by Commision and Doctrine, as indeed they did; *αὐτοῖς, them*, signifies those at Jerusalem: *κατ' ἰδίαν δὲ τοῖς δοκῶσι*, are exegetical, and shew the particular Manner and Persons, import *nempe privatim eminentioribus*. 'Twas enough to his Purpose to be owned by those of greatest Authority, and so we see he was by James, Peter and John, ver. 9. and therefore it was safest and best to give an Account of the Gospel he preach'd in private to them, and not publickly to the whole Church.

(*y*) *Running*, St. Paul uses for *taking Pains* in the Gospel. See Col. 2. 16. A Metaphor, I suppose, taken from the Olympick Games, to express his utmost Endeavours to prevail in the propagating the Gospel.

(*z*) *In vain*: He seems here to give two Reasons why at last, after 14 Years, he communicated to the Chief of the Apostles at Jerusalem, the Gospel that he preach'd to the *Gentiles*, when as he shews to the *Galatians* he had formerly declined all Communication with the convert Jews. 1. He seems to intimate, That he did it by Revelation. 2. He gives another Reason, viz. That if he had not communicated, as he did, with the leading Men there, and satisfied them of his Doctrine and Mission, his Opposers might unsettle the Churches he had, or should plant, by urging, that the Apostles knew not what it was that he preached, nor had ever owned it for the Gospel, or him for an Apostle. Of the Readiness of the judaizing Seducers to take any such Advantage against him, he had lately an Example in the Church of Corinth.

3 (*a*) *οὐκ ἐβιάσθη* is rightly translated, *was not compelled*, a plain Evidence to the *Galatians*, that the circumcising of the convert *Gentiles*, was no Part of the Gospel which he laid before these Men of Note, as what he preach'd to the *Gentiles*. For if it had, Titus must have been circumcised; for no Part of his Gospel was blamed, or alter'd by them, ver. 6. Of what other Use his mentioning this of Titus here can be, but to shew to the *Galatians*, that what he preach'd contain'd nothing of circumcising the convert *Gentiles*, it is hard to find. If it were to shew that the other Apostles, and Church at Jerusalem, dispensed with Circumcision, and other ritual Observances of the Mosaic Law, that was needless; for that was sufficiently declared by their Decree, Acts 15. which was made and communicated to the Churches before this Epistle was writ, as may be seen, Acts 16. 4. much less was this of Titus of any Force, to prove that St. Paul was a true Apostle, if that were what he was here labouring to justify. But considering his Aim here to be the clearing himself from a Report that he preached up Circumcision, there could be nothing more to his Purpose, than this Instance of Titus, whom, uncircumcised as he was, he took with him to Jerusalem; uncircumcised he kept with him there, and uncircumcised he took back with him when he returned. This was a strong and pertinent Instance to persuade the *Galatians*, that the Report of his preaching Circumcision was a mere Aspersion.

4 (*b*) *οὐδὲ, Neither*, in the 3d Verse, according to Propriety of Speech, ought to have a *Nor* to answer it, which is the *οὐδὲ, nor*, here; which, so taken, answers the Propriety of the Greek, and very much clears the Sense; *οὐδὲ τίς τινος ἐβιάσθη, οὐδὲ αὐτοὶ ἑαυτοὺς ἑξαμύνη*. *Neither was Titus compelled, nor did we yield to them a Moment.*

Vol. III.

Bb

way

- way of Subjection (c) to the Law, to those false Brethren, who by an unwary Admittance, were slyly crept in to spy out our Liberty from the Law, which we have under the Gospel: that they might bring us into Bondage (d) to the Law. But I stood my Ground against it, that the Truth (e) of the Gospel might remain (f) among you. But as for those (g) who were really Men (h) of Eminency and Value, what they were heretofore, it matters not at all to me: God accepts not the Person of any Man, but communicates the Gospel to whom he pleases, (i) as he has done

brethren unawares brought in, who came in privily to spy out our Liberty, which we have in Christ Jesus, that they might bring us into bondage: To whom we gave place by subjection, no not for an hour; that the truth of the gospel might continue with you. But of these, who seem'd to be somewhat, (whatsoever they were, it

NOTES.

(c) τῇ ὑποτάξει, by Subjection. The Point those false Brethren contended for, was, That the Law of Moses was to be kept, see Acts 15. 5. St. Paul, who on other Occasions was so complainant, that to the Jews he became as a Jew, to those under the Law, as under the Law, (see 1 Cor. 9. 19—22.) yet when Subjection to the Law was claim'd as due in any Case, he would not yield the least matter; this I take to be his Meaning of εἰς ἐξουσίαν τῇ ὑποτάξει; for where Compliance was desired of him, upon the Account of Expedience, and not of Subjection to the Law, we do not find him stiff and inflexible, as may be seen, Acts 21. 18—26. which was after the writing of this Epistle.

(d) Bondage. What this Bondage was, see Acts 15. 1, 5, 10.

(e) The Truth of the Gospel. By it he means here the Doctrine of Freedom from the Law; and so he calls it again, ver. 14. and ch. 3. 1. & 4. 19.

(f) Might remain among you. Here he tells the Reason himself why he yielded not to those judaizing false Brethren: It was, that the true Doctrine which he had preach'd to the Gentiles, of their Freedom from the Law, might stand firm. A convincing Argument to the Galatians, that he preach'd not Circumcision.

4, 5. And that, to whom. There appears a manifest Difficulty in these two Verses, which has been observed by most Interpreters, and is by several ascribed to a Redundancy, which some place in δὲ, in the Beginning of ver. 4. and others to οὐ in the Beginning of ver. 5. The Relation between εἰς, ver. 3. and εἰς, ver. 5. methinks puts an easie End to the Doubt, by the shewing St. Paul's Sense to be, that he neither circumcised Titus, nor yielded in the least to the false Brethren; he having told the Galatians, that upon his laying before the Men of most Authority in the Church at Jerusalem, the Doctrine which he preach'd, Titus was not circumcised; he, as a farther Proof of his not preaching Circumcision, tells them how he carried it toward the false Brethren, whose Design it was to bring the convert Gentiles into Subjection to the Law. And, or Moreover (for so δὲ often signifies) says he in regard to the false Brethren, &c. Which way of Entrance on the Matter would not admit of εἰς after it, to answer εἰς ver. 3. which was already writ, but without οὐ the Negation must have been expressed by οὐ, as any one will perceive, who attentively reads the Greek Original. And thus οὐ may be allow'd for an Hebrew Pleonasm, and the Reason of it to be the preventing the former εἰς to stand alone to the Disturbance of the Sense.

6 (g) He that considers the Beginning of this Verse, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν δοξάστων, with Regard to the διὰ δὲ τῶν ὑποτάξεων, in the Beginning of the 4th Verse, will easily be induced by the Greek Idiom, to conclude, that the Author by these Beginnings intimates a plain Distinction of the Matter separately treated of, in what follows each of them, (viz.) what passed between the false Brethren and him, contain'd in ver. 4. and 5. and what passed between the Chief of the Brethren and him, contained ver. 6—10. And therefore some (and I think with Reason) introduce this Verse with these Words, Thus we have behaved our selves towards the false Brethren: But, &c.

(h) τῶν δοξάστων ἡνδὲ τι, our Translation renders, who seemed to be somewhat, which however it may answer the Words, yet to an English Ear it carries a diminishing and ironical Sense, contrary to the Meaning of the Apostle, who speaks here of those for whom he had a real Esteem, and were truly of the first Rank; for it is plain by what follows, that he means Peter, James and John. Besides οἱ δοξῆτες being taken in a good Sense, ver. 2. and translated, those of Reputation, the same Expression should have been kept in rendering ver. 6. and 3. where the same Term occurs again three times, and may be presumed in the same Sense that it was at first used in ver. 2.

(i) Every body sees that there is something to be supplied to make up the Sense; most Commentators, that I have seen, add these Words, I learned nothing: But then that enervates the Reason that follows, For in Conference they added nothing to me, giving the same Thing as a Reason for itself, and making St. Paul talk thus, I learnt nothing of them, for they taught me nothing. But it is very good Reasoning and suited to his Purpose, that it was nothing at all to him, how much those great Men were formerly in Christ's Favour: This hindered not but that God, who was no Respector of Persons, might reveal the Gospel to him also, as 'twas evident he had done, and that in its full Perfection; for those great Men, the most eminent of the

GALATIANS.

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Chap.
II.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

maketh no matter to me :
God accepteth no man's
person) for they who seem-
ed to be somewhat, in con-
ference added nothing unto
7 me. But contrariwise, when
they saw that the Gospel
of the uncircumcision was
committed unto me, as the
Gospel of the circumcision
8 was unto Peter. (For he
that wrought effectually in
Peter to the apostleship of
the circumcision, the same
was mighty in me towards
9 the Gentiles.) And when
James, Cephas, and John,
who seemed to be pillars,
perceived the grace that
was given unto me, they
gave to me and Barnabas
the right hands of fellow-
ship; that we should go
10 unto the heathen, and they
unto the circumcision. On-
ly they would that we
should remember the poor;
the same which I also was
11 forward to do. But when
Peter was come to An-

done to me by Revelation, without their Help; for in
their Conference with me, they added nothing to me,
they taught me nothing new, nor that Christ had
taught me before, nor had they any thing to object
against what I preached to the Gentiles. But on the
contrary, (k) James, Peter, and John, who were of
Reputation, and justly esteem'd to be Pillars, percei-
ving that the Gospel which was to be preach'd to the
Gentiles, was committed to me; as that which was to
be preach'd to the Jews, was committed to Peter. (For
he that had wrought powerfully (l) in Peter, to his ex-
ecuting the Office of an Apostle to the Jews, had al-
so wrought powerfully in me in my Application and
Apostleship, to the Gentiles.) And knowing (m) the
Favour that was bestow'd on me, gave me and Barna-
bas the right Hand (n) of Fellowship, that we should
preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, and they to the
Children of Israel. All that they proposed was,
that we should remember to make Collections
among the Gentiles, for the poor Christians of
Judea, which was a Thing that of my self I was
forward to do. But when Peter came to Antioch, I

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NOTES.

the Apostles, had nothing to add to it, or except against it. This was proper to persuade the Galatians, that he no where in his Preaching receded from that Doctrine of Freedom from the Law, which he had preach'd to them, and was satisfied it was the Truth, even before he had conferred with these Apostles. The bare supplying of *oi* in the Beginning of the Verse, takes away the Necessity of any such Addition. Examples of the like Elleipses we have, *Mat.* 27. 9. where we read *and uiaw* for *oi and uiaw*; and *John* 16. 17. *in tau maduaw*, for *oi in tau maduaw*; and so here taking *and tau dokaw* to be for *oi and tau dokaw*, all the Difficulty is removed; and St. Paul having in the foregoing Verse ended the Narrative of his Deportment towards the false Brethren, he here begins an Account of what passed between him and the Chief of the Apostles.

7 (k) Peter, James, and John, who, 'tis manifest by ver. 9. are the Persons here spoken of, seem of all the Apostles to have been most in Esteem and Favour with their Master, during his Conversation with them on Earth. See *Mark* 5. 37. & 9. 2. & 14. 33. "But yet that," says St. Paul, is of no Moment now to me. The Gospel which I preach, and which God, who is no Respector of Persons, has been pleased to commit to me by immediate Revelation, is not the less true, nor is there any Reason for me to recede from it in a Tittle; for these Men of the first Rank could find nothing to add, alter or gainsay in it." This is suitable to St. Paul's Design here, to let the Galatians see that as he in his Carriage had never favour'd Circumcision; so neither had he any Reason, by preaching Circumcision, to forsake the Doctrine of Liberty from the Law, which he had preach'd to them as a Part of that Gospel which he had receiv'd by Revelation.

8 (l) *Epeynwas, working in*, may be understood here to signify, both the Operation of the Spirit upon the Mind of St. Peter and St. Paul, in sending them, the one to the Jews, the other to the Gentiles; and also the Holy Ghost bestowed on them, whereby they were enabled to do Miracles for the Confirmation of their Doctrine. In neither of which St. Paul, as he shews, was inferior, and so had as authentique a Seal of his Mission and Doctrine.

9 (m) *Kai and*, copulates *protes knowing*, in this Verse, with *protes seeing*, ver. 7. and makes both of them to agree with the Nominative Case to the Verb *as gave*, which is no other but James, Cephas, and John, and so justifies my transferring those Names to v. 7. for the more easie Construction and Understanding of the Text, though St. Paul defers the naming of them, till he is as it were against his Will forced to it before the End of his Discourse.

(n) The giving the right Hand was a Symbol amongst the Jews, as well as other Nations, of Accord, and admitting Men into Fellowship.

12. openly opposed (o) him to his Face. For indeed he was to be blamed. For he conversed there familiarly with the *Gentiles*, and ate with them till some *Jews* came thither from *James*, then he withdrew and separated from the *Gentiles*, for Fear of those who were of the Circumcision: And the rest of the *Jews* joined also with him in this Hypocrisy, insomuch that *Barnabas* himself was carried away with the Stream, and dissembled as they did. But when I saw they conformed not their Conduct to the Truth (p) of the Gospel, I said unto *Peter* before them all: If thou being a *Jew* takest the Liberty sometimes to live after the Manner of the *Gentiles*, nor keeping to those Rules which the *Jews* observe, why dost thou constrain the *Gentiles* to conform themselves to the Rites, and Manner of Living of the *Jews*? We who are by (q) Nature *Jews*, born under the Instruction and Guidance of the Law, God's peculiar People, and not of the unclean and profligate Race of the *Gentiles*, abandoned to Sin and Death, Knowing that a Man cannot be justified by the Deeds of the Law, but solely by Faith in Jesus Christ, even we have put our selves upon believing on him, and embraced the Profession of the Gospel for the Attainment of Justification by Faith,

tiach, I withstood him to the face, because he was to be blamed. For before that certain came from *James*, he did eat with the *Gentiles*: but when they were come, he withdrew, and separated himself, fearing them which were of the circumcision. And the other *Jews* dissembled likewise with him; insomuch that *Barnabas* also was carried away with their dissimulation. But when I saw that they walked not uprightly, according to the truth of the gospel, I said unto *Peter* before them all, If thou, being a *Jew*, livest after the manner of *Gentiles*, and not as do the *Jews*, why compellest thou the *Gentiles* to live as do the *Jews*? We who are *Jews* by nature, and not sinners of the *Gentiles*, Knowing that a man is not justified by the works of the law, but by the faith of Jesus Christ, even we have believed in Jesus Christ; that we might be justified by the faith of Christ, and not by the works of the law: for by the works of the law shall no flesh be justified.

NOTES.

11 (o) *I opposed him*. From this Opposition to *St. Peter*, which they suppose to be before the Council at *Jerusalem*, some would have it, that this Epistle to the *Galatians* was writ before that Council; as if what was done before the Council could not be mentioned in a Letter writ after the Council. They also contend, that this Journey mentioned here by *St. Paul*, was not that wherein he and *Barnabas* went up to that Council to *Jerusalem*; but that mentioned, *Acts* 11. 30. but this with as little Ground as the former. The strongest Reason they bring, is, that if this Journey had been to the Council, and this Letter after that Council, *St. Paul* would not certainly have omitted to have mentioned to the *Galatians*, that Decree. To which I answer, 1st. The mention of it was superfluous, for they had it already, see *Acts* 16. 4. 2^d. The mention of it was impertinent to the Design of *St. Paul's* Narrative here. For it is plain that his Aim in what he relates here of himself, and his past Actions, is to shew, that having received the Gospel from Christ by immediate Revelation, he had all along preached that, and nothing but that every where; so that he could not be supposed to have preached Circumcision, or by his Carriage to have shewn any Subjection to the Law. All the whole Narrative following being to make good what he says, *Ch.* 1. 11. That the Gospel which he preached was not accommodated to the humouring of Men; nor did he seek to please the *Jews*, (who were the Men here meant) in what he taught. Taking this to be his Aim, we shall find the whole Account he gives of himself, from that 11. v. of *Ch.* 1. to the End of this 2^d. to be very clear and easie, and very proper to invalidate the Report of his preaching Circumcision.

14 (p) Ἀλλὰ δεῖα τὴν ἐν ἀληθείᾳ, *The Truth of the Gospel* is put here for that Freedom from the Law of *Moses*, which was a Part of the true Doctrine of the Gospel. For it was in nothing else but their undue and timorous observing some of the Mosaical Rites, that *St. Paul* here blames *St. Peter*, and the other judaizing Converts at *Antioch*. In this Sense he uses the Word *Truth*, all along through this Epistle, as *Ch.* 11. 5, 14, & 3. 1. & 5. 7. insisting on it, that this Doctrine of Freedom from the Law, was the true Gospel.

15 (q) Φύσει Ἰουδαῖοι, *Jews by Nature*. What the *Jews* thought of themselves in Contradistinction to the *Gentiles*, see *Rom.* 2. 17, 23.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

17 justified. But if while we seek to be justified by Christ, we our selves also are found sinners, is therefore Christ the minister of
18 sin? God forbid. For if I build again the things which I destroyed, I make
19 my self a transgressor. For I through the law am dead to the law, that I might
20 live unto God. I am crucified with Christ: Nevertheless I live; yet not I, but Christ liveth in me: and the life which I now live in the flesh, I live by the faith of the Son of God, who loved me, and gave

in Christ, and not by the Works of the Law: But if we seek to be justified in Christ, even we our selves also are found unjustified Sinners, (r) (for such are all those who are under the Law, which admits of no Remission nor Justification) is Christ therefore the Minister of Sin? Is the Dispensation by him a Dispensation of Sin, and not of Righteousness? Did he come into the World, that those who believe in him should still remain Sinners, i. e. under the Guilt of their Sins, without the Benefit of Justification? By no means. And yet certain it is, if I (s) who quitted the Law, to put my self under the Gospel, put my self again under the Law, I make my self a Transgressor, I re-assume again the Guilt of all my Transgressions: Which by the Terms of that Covenant of Works, I cannot be justified from. For by the (t) Tenour of the Law it self, I by Faith in Christ am discharged (u) from the Law, that I might be appropriated (w) to God, and live acceptably to him in his Kingdom which he has now set up under his Son. I a Member of Christ's Body am crucified (x) with him, but tho' I am thereby dead to the Law, I nevertheless live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me, i. e. the Life which I now live in the Flesh, is upon no other Principle, nor under any other Law, but that of Faith in the

17.

18.

19.

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NOTES.

17 (r) *Sinners*. Those who are under the Law, having once transgressed, remain always Sinners unalterably so in the Eye of the Law; which excludes all from Justification. The Apostle in this place argues thus: "We Jews, who are by Birth God's holy People, and not as the profigate *Gentiles*, abandon'd to all manner of Pollution and Uncleanness, not being nevertheless able to attain Righteousness by the Deeds of the Law, have believ'd in Christ, that we might be justified by Faith in him. But if even we who have betaken our selves to Christ for Justification, are our selves found to be unjustify'd Sinners, liable still to Wrath, as also under the Law, to which we subject our selves; what Deliverance have we from Sin by Christ? None at all: We are as much concluded under Sin and Guilt, as if we did not believe in him. So that by joining him and the Law together for Justification, we shut our selves out from Justification, which cannot be had under the Law, and make Christ the Minister of Sin, and not of Justification, which God forbid."

18 (s) Whether this be a Part of what St. Paul said to St. Peter, or whether it be addressed to the *Galatians*, St. Paul, by speaking in his own Name plainly declares, that if he sets up the Law again, he must necessarily be an Offender; whereby he strongly insinuates to the *Galatians*, that he was no Promoter of Circumcision, especially when what he says, *Ch. 5. 2-4.* is added to it.

19 (t) *By the Tenor of the Law it self*. See *Rom. 3. 21. Gal. 3. 24, 25. & 4. 21, &c.*

(u) Being discharged from the Law, St. Paul expresses by *Dead to the Law*; compare *Rom. 6. 14.* with *7. 4.*

(w) *Live to God*. What St. Paul says here, seems to imply, that living under the Law, was to live not acceptably to God; a strange Doctrine certainly to the *Jews*, and yet it was true now under the Gospel. For God having put his Kingdom in this World wholly under his Son, when he raised him from the Dead, all who after that would be his People in his Kingdom, were to live by no other Law, but the Gospel, which was now the Law of his Kingdom. And hence we see God cast off the *Jews*, because sticking to their old Constitution, they would not have this Man reign over them: So that what St. Paul says here, is in effect this, "By believing in Christ, I am discharged from the Mosaic Law, that I may wholly conform my self to the Rule of the Gospel, which is now the Law which must be owned and observed by all those who, as God's People, will live acceptably to him." This, I think, is visibly his Meaning, though the accustoming himself to Antitheses may possibly be the Reason why, after having said, *I am dead to the Law*, he expresses his putting himself under the Gospel, by *living to God*.

20 (x) *Crucified with Christ*; see this explain'd, *Rom. 7. 4. and 6. 2-14.*

21. Son of God, (y) who loved me, and gave himself for me. And in so doing I avoid frustrating the Grace of God, I accept of the Grace (z) and Forgiveness of God, as it is offered through Faith in Christ in the Gospel: But if I subject my self to the Law, as still in Force under the Gospel, I do in effect frustrate Grace. For if Righteousness be to be had by the Law, then Christ died to no purpose, there was no need of it. (a)

himself for me. I do not 21 frustrate the grace of God: for if righteousness come by the law; then Christ is dead in vain.

NOTES.

(y) i. e. The whole Management of my self is conformable to the Doctrine of the Gospel of Justification in Christ alone, and not by the Deeds of the Law. This, and the former Verse seems to be spoken in Opposition to St. Peter's owing a Subjection to the Law of Moses, by his Walking, mentioned, v. 14.

21 (z) Grace of God; see Ch. 1. 6, 7. to which this seems here opposed.

(a) In vain; Read this explain'd in St. Paul's own Words, Ch. 5. 3—6.

S E C T. III.

CHAP. III. 1—5.

CONTENTS.

BY the Account St. Paul has given of himself in the foregoing Section, the *Galatians* being furnish'd with Evidence sufficient to clear him in their Minds, from the Report of his preaching Circumcision, he comes now, the Way being thus open'd, directly to oppose their being circumcised, and subjecting themselves to the Law. The first Argument he uses, is, That they received the Holy Ghost, and the Gifts of Miracles, by the Gospel, and not by the Law.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

1. O Ye foolish *Galatians*, who hath cast a Mist before your Eyes, that you should not keep to the Truth (b) of the Gospel, you to whom the Sufferings and Death of Christ (c) upon the Cross, hath been by me so lively represented, as if it had been actually done in your Sight? This one thing I desire to know of you, Did you receive the miraculous Gifts of the Spirit, by the Works of the Law, or by the Gospel
- 2.

O Foolish *Galatians*, who hath bewitched you, that you should not obey the truth, before whose Eyes Jesus Christ hath been evidently set forth crucified among you? This only would I learn of you, Received ye the Spirit by the Works of the

NOTES.

1 (b) Obey the Truth, i. e. Stand fast in the Liberty of the Gospel, Truth being used in this Epistle, as we have already noted, Ch. 2. 14. for the Doctrine of being free from the Law, which St. Paul had deliver'd to them. The Reason whereof he gives, Ch. 5. 3—5.

(c) St. Paul mentions nothing to them here, but Christ Crucified, as knowing that when formerly he had preach'd Christ crucified to them, he had shewn them, that by Christ's Death on the Cross, Believers were set free from the Law, and the Covenant, of Works was removed, to make way for that of Grace. This we may find him inculcating to his other Gentile Converts. See *Eph.* 2. 15, 16. *Col.* 2. 14, 20. And accordingly he tells the *Galatians*, Ch. 5. 2. 4. that if by Circumcision they put themselves under the Law, they were fallen from Grace, and Christ should profit them nothing at all: Things which they are supposed to understand at his writing to them.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

Law, or by the hearing of
faith? Are ye so foolish?
Having begun in the spi-
rit, are ye now made per-
4 feet by the flesh? Have ye
suffered so many things in
vain, if it be yet in vain.
5 He therefore that mini-
streth to you the Spirit,
and worketh miracles a-
mong you, doth he it by
the works of the law, or
by the hearing of faith?

preach'd to you? Have you so little Understanding,
that having begun in the Reception of the Spiritual
Doctrine of the Gospel, you hope to be advanced to
higher Degrees of Perfection, and to be compleated
by the Law? (d) Have you suffered so many Things
in vain, if at least you will render it in vain, by fall-
ing off from the Profession of the pure and uncor-
rupted Doctrine of the Gospel, and apostatizing to
Judaism? The Gifts of the Holy Ghost that have been
conferred upon you, have they not been conferred on
you as Christians, professing Faith in Jesus Christ, and
not as Observers of the Law? And hath not he (e) who
hath convey'd these Gifts to you, and done Miracles
amongst you, done it as a Preacher and Professor of
the Gospel, the Jews who stick in the Law of Moses,
being not able by Virtue of that to do any such thing?

4.

5.

NOTES.

3 (d) It is a way of speaking very familiar to St. Paul, in opposing the Law and the Gospel, to call the Law *Flesh* and the Gospel *Spirit*. The Reason whereof is very plain to any one conversant in his Epistles.

5 (e) He. The Person meant here by *ὁ ἐπιχορηγῶν*, *he that ministreth*, and Chap. 1. 6. by *ὁ καλῶν*, *he that called*, is plainly St. Paul himself, though, out of Modesty, he declines naming himself.

SECT. IV.

CHAP. III. 6—18.

CONTENTS.

HIS next Argument against Circumcision and Subjection to the Law, is, that the Children of *Abraham*, entitled to the Inheritance and Blessing promised to *Abraham* and his Seed, are so by Faith, and not by being under the Law, which brings a Curse upon those who are under it.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

6 Even as Abraham belie-
ved God, and it was ac-
counted to him for righte-
7 ousness: Know ye there-
fore, that they which are
of Faith, the same are the
Children of Abraham.
8 And the Scripture fore-
seeing that God would ju-
stify the Heathen through
faith, preached before the
Gospel unto Abraham, say-
ing, In thee shall all na-
9 tions be blessed. So then

BUT to proceed. As *Abraham* believed in God,
and it was accounted to him for Righteousness;
So know ye, that those who are of Faith, *i. e.* who
rely upon God, and his Promises of Grace, and not
upon their own Performances, they are the Children
of *Abraham*, who shall inherit, and this is plain in the
Scripture. For it being in the Purpose of God to
justify the *Gentiles* by Faith, he gave *Abraham* a
Fore-knowledge of the Gospel in these Words:
(f) *In thee all the Nations of the Earth shall be bles-*
sed. So that they who are of (g) Faith are blessed

6.

7.

8.

9.

NOTES.

8 (f) Gen. 12. 3.

9, 10 (g) *Of Faith*, and *of the Works of the Law*; spoken of two Races of Men, the one as the genuine Posterity of *Abraham*, Heirs of the Promise, the other not.

(b) with

10. with *Abraham*, who believed: But as many as are of the Works of the Law are under the (b) Curse: For it is written (i) *Curst is every one who remaineth not in all things which are written in the Book of the Law to do them.* But that no Man is justified by the Law in the Sight of God, is evident, for the *Just shall live by Faith*: (k) But the Law says not so, the Law gives not Life to those who believe: (l) But the Rule of the Law is, *He that doth them, shall live in them.* (m) Christ hath redeem'd us from the Curse of the Law, being made a Curse for us. For it is written, (n) *Curst is every one that hangeth on a Tree.* That the Blessing (o) promised to *Abraham* might come on the *Gentiles* through Jesus Christ; that we who are Christians might, believing, receive the Spirit that was promis'd. (p) Brethren, this is a known and allow'd Rule in humane Affairs, that a Promise or Compact, tho' it be barely a Man's Covenant, yet if it be once ratified, so it must stand, no Body can render it void, or make any
14. Alteration in it. Now to *Abraham* and his Seed were the Promises made. God doth not say, and to *Seeds*, (q) as if he spoke of more Seeds than one, that were entitled to the Promise upon different Accounts; but only of one Sort of Men, who upon one sole Account were that Seed of *Abraham* which was alone meant and concern'd in the Promise; so that unto thy Seed, (r) design'd Christ, and his mystical Body, (s) i. e. Those that become Members of him by Faith.

they which be of faith, are blessed with faithful Abraham. For as many as are of the works of the law, are under the curse; for it is written, Curst is every one that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them. But that no man is justified by the law in the sight of God, it is evident: for, the just shall live by faith. And the law is not of faith: but, The man that doth them shall live in them. Christ hath redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us; for it is written, Curst is every one that hangeth on a tree: That the blessing of Abraham might come on the Gentiles through Jesus Christ; that we might receive the promise of the Spirit through faith. Brethren, I speak after the manner of men; Though it be but a man's covenant, yet if it be confirmed, no man disannulleth or addeth thereto. Now to Abraham and his seed were the promises made. He saith not, And to seeds, as of many; but as of one, And to thy seed, which is

NOTES.

(b) *Blessed*, and *under the Curse*. Here again there is another *Division*, (viz.) into the *Blessed*, and those *under the Curse*, whereby is meant such as are in a State of Life, or Acceptance with God; or such as are exposed to his Wrath, and to Death, see *Deut.* 30. 19.

10 (i) Written, *Deut.* 27. 26.

11 (k) *Hab.* 2. 4.

12 (l) See *Acts* 13. 39.

(m) *Lev.* 8. 15.

13 (n) *Deut.* 21. 23.

14 (o) *Blessing*: That Blessing, v. 8, 9, 14. Justification, v. 11. Righteousness, v. 21. Life, v. 11, 12, 21. Inheritance, v. 18. Being the Children of God, v. 26. are in effect all the same on the one Side: And the *Curse*, v. 13. the direct contrary on the other Side; so plain is St. Paul's Discourse here, that no Body who reads it with the least Attention, will be in any Doubt about it.

(p) *Promised*. St. Paul's Argument to convince the *Galatians*, that they ought not to be circumcised, or submit to the Law, from their having received the Spirit from him, upon their having received the Gospel which he preached to them, v. 2. and 5. stands thus. The Blessing promised to *Abraham*, and to his Seed, was wholly upon the Account of Faith, v. 7. There were not different Seeds who should inherit the Promise; the one by the Works of the Law, and the other by Faith. For there was but one Seed, which was Christ, v. 16. and those who should claim in and under him by Faith. Among those there was no Distinction of *Jew* and *Gentile*. They, and they only, who believed, were all one and the same true Seed of *Abraham*; and Heirs according to the Promise, v. 28, 29. And therefore the Promise made to the People of God, of giving them the Spirit under the Gospel, was perform'd only to those who believed in Christ: A clear Evidence that it was not by putting themselves under the Law, but by Faith in Jesus Christ, that they were the People of God, and Heirs of the Promise.

16 (q) *And to Seeds*: By *Seeds* St. Paul here visibly means the *οἱ ἐκ πίστεως*, *Those of Faith*; and the *οἱ ἐκ ἔργων νόμου*, *Those of the Works of the Law*, spoken of above, v. 9, 10. As two distinct Seeds, or Descendants claiming from *Abraham*.

(r) *And to thy Seed*; see *Gen.* 12. 7. repeated again in the following Chapters.

(s) *Mystical Body*; see v. 27.

This

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

17 Christ. And this, I say, that the covenant that was confirmed before of God in Christ, the law which was four hundred and thirty years after, cannot disannul, that it should make the promise of none effect.

this therefore I say, that the Law which was not till 430 Years after, cannot disannul the Covenant that was long before made and ratified to Christ by God, so as to set aside the Promise. For if the Right to the Inheritance be from the Works of the Law, it is plain that it is not founded in the Promise to *Abraham*, as certainly it is. For the Inheritance was a Donation and free Gift of God, settled on *Abraham* and his Seed by Promise.

17.

S E C T. V.

C H A P. III. 19—25.

C O N T E N T S.

IN Answer to this Objection, *To what then serveth the Law?* He shews that the Law was not contrary to the Promise; But since all Men were guilty of Transgression, v. 22. the Law was added to shew the *Israelites*, the Fruit and inevitable Consequence of their Sin, and thereby the Necessity of betaking themselves to Christ; But as soon as Men have received Christ, they have attained the End of the Law, and so are no longer under it. This is a farther Argument against Circumcision.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

18 For if the Inheritance be of the law, it is no more of promise: but God gave it to *Abraham* by promise.
19 Wherefore then serveth the law? It was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come, to whom the promise was made; and it was ordained by angels in the hand of a mediator. Now a mediator is not a mediator of one; but God is one.

If the Blessing and Inheritance be settled on *Abraham* and Believers, as a free Gift by Promise, and was not to be obtained by the Deeds of the Law, to what Purpose then was the Law? It was added, because the *Israelites*, the Posterity of *Abraham*, were Transgressors (t) as well as other Men, to shew them their Sins, and the Punishment and Death they incurr'd by them, till Christ should come, who was the Seed into whom both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, ingrafted by believing, become the People of God, and Children of *Abraham*, that Seed to which the Promise was made. And the Law was ordain'd by Angels in the Hand of a Mediator (u) whereby it is manifest, that the Law could not disannul the Promise; because a Mediator is a Mediator between two Parties concerned, but God is but one (w) of those concerned in the Promise.

18.

19.

20.

If

N O T E S.

19 (t) That this is the meaning of, *because of Transgression*, the following Part of this Section shews, wherein St. Paul argues to this Purpose: The *Jews* were Sinners as well as other Men, v. 22. The Law denouncing Death to all Sinners, could save none, v. 21. but was thereby useful to bring Men to Christ, that they might be justified by Faith, v. 24. See ch. 2. 15, 16.

(u) Mediator. See Deut. 5. 5. Lev. 26. 46. Where it is said, the Law was made between God and the Children of *Israel*, by the Hand of *Moses*.

20 (w) But God is one: To understand this Verse, we must carry in our Minds what St. Paul is here doing, and that from v. 17. is manifest, that he is proving that the Law could not disannul the Promise; and he does it upon this known Rule, that a Covenant or Promise once ratified, cannot be altered or disannull'd by any other, but by both the Parties concerned. Now, says he, God is but one of the Parties concern'd in the Promise; the *Gentiles* and *Israelites* together made up the other, v. 14. But *Moses* at the giving of the Law was a Mediator only between the *Israelites* and God, and therefore could not transact any thing to the disannulling the Promise

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which

21. If then the promised Inheritance come not to the Seed of *Abraham* by the Law, is the Law opposite, by the Curse it denounces against Transgressors, to the Promises that God made of the Blessing to *Abraham*? No by no means. For if there had been a Law given, which could have put us in a State of Life, (x) certainly Righteousness should have been by Law. (y)
22. But we find the quite contrary by the Scripture, which makes no Distinction betwixt *Jew* and *Gentile* in this Respect, but has shut up together all Mankind, (z) *Jews* and *Gentiles* under Sin (a) and Guilt, that the Blessing which was promised to that which is *Abraham's* true and intended Seed by Faith (b) in Christ, might be given to those who believe. But before
23. Christ and the Doctrine of Justification by Faith (c) in him came, we *Jews* were shut up as a Company of Prisoners together, under the Custody and inflexible Rigor of the Law, unto the Coming of the Messiah, when the Doctrine of Justification by Faith (d) in him should be revealed. So that the Law by its Severity served as a School-master to bring us to Christ, that we might be justified by Faith. But Christ being come, and with him the Doctrine of Justification by Faith, we are set free from this School-master, there is no longer any Need of him.

Is the law then against the promises of God? God forbid: for if there had been a law given which could have given life, verily righteousness should have been by the law. But the Scripture hath concluded all under sin, that the promise by faith of Jesus Christ might be given to them that believe. But before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterwards be revealed. Wherefore the law was our school-master to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith. But, after that faith is come, we are no longer under a school-master.

NOTES.

which was between God, and the *Israelites* and *Gentiles* together, because God was but one of the Parties to that Covenant; the other, which was the *Gentiles* as well as *Israelites*, *Moses* appeared or transacted not for. And so what was done at Mount *Sinai*, by the Mediation of *Moses*, could not affect a Covenant made between Parties, whereof one only was there. How necessary it was for St. Paul to add this, we shall see, if we consider, that without it, his Argument of 430 Years Distance would have been deficient and hardly conclusive. For if both the Parties concerned in the Promise had transacted by *Moses* the Mediator, (as they might if none but the Nation of the *Israelites* had been concerned in the Promise made by God to *Abraham*) they might by mutual Consent have altered or set aside the former Promise, as well four hundred Years, as four Days after. That which hinder'd it was, that at *Moses's* Mediation at Mount *Sinai*, God, who was but one of the Parties to the Promise, was present: But the other Party, *Abraham's* Seed, consisting of *Israelites* and *Gentiles* together, was not there; *Moses* transacted for the Nation of the *Israelites* alone: The other Nations were not concern'd in the Covenant made at Mount *Sinai*, as they were in the Promise made to *Abraham* and his Seed; which therefore could not be disannulled without their Consent. For that both the Promise, both to *Abraham* and his Seed, and the Covenant with *Israel* at Mount *Sinai*, was National, is in it self evident.

21 (x) *Zωοποιῶσαι*, Put into a State of Life. The Greek Word signifies to make alive. St. Paul considers all Men here, as in a mortal State, and to be put out of that mortal State into a State of Life, he calls being made alive. This he says the Law could not do, because it could not confer Righteousness.

(y) *ἐκ νόμου*, by Law, i. e. by Works or Obedience to that Law, which tended towards Righteousness, as well as the Promise, but was not able to reach or confer it. See Rom. 8. 3. i. e. Frail Men were not able to attain Righteousness by any exact Conformity of their Actions to the Law of Righteousness.

22 (z) *Τὰ πάντα*, All, is used here for All Men. The Apostle, Rom. 3. 9, and 19. expresses the same thing by *πάντας*, all Men; and *πᾶς ὁ κόσμος*, all the World. But speaking in the Text here of the *Jews* in particular, he says, *We*, meaning those of his own Nation, as is evident from v. 24, 25.

(a) Under Sin, i. e. rank them all together, as one guilty Race of Sinners: See this proved, Rom. 3. 9. 1. 18. &c. To the same Purpose of putting both *Jews* and *Gentiles* into one State, St. Paul uses *συνέχευσε πάντας*, hath shut them up all together, Rom. 11. 22.

(b) The thing promised in this Chapter, sometimes called Blessing, v. 9. 14. sometimes Inheritance, v. 18. sometimes Justification, v. 11, 24. sometimes Righteousness, v. 21. and sometimes Life, v. 11, 21.

(c) By Faith, see v. 14.

23 (d) Justification by Faith, see v. 24.

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Chap.
III.

S E C T. VI.

C H A P. III. 26——29.

C O N T E N T S.

AS a farther Argument to dissuade them from Circumcision, he tells the *Galatians*, that by Faith in Christ, all, whether *Jews* or *Gentiles*, are made the Children of God, and so they stood in no need of Circumcision.

T E X T.

P A R A P H R A S E.

- | | | |
|---|--|---|
| <p>26 For ye are all the children of God by faith in Christ</p> <p>27 Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on Christ.</p> <p>28 There is neither Jew nor Greek, there is neither bond nor free, there is neither male nor female: for ye are all one in Christ Jesus. And if ye be Christ's, then are ye Abraham's seed, and heirs according to the promise.</p> | <p>For ye are (e) all the Children of God by Faith in Christ Jesus. For as many of you as have been baptized into Christ, have put on (f) Christ. There is no Distinction of <i>Jew</i> or <i>Gentile</i>, of Bond or Free, of Male or Female. For ye are all one Body, making up one Person in Christ Jesus. And if ye are all one in Christ Jesus, (g) ye are the true ones, Seed of <i>Abraham</i>, and Heirs according to the Promise.</p> | <p>26.</p> <p>27.</p> <p>28.</p> <p>29.</p> |
|---|--|---|

N O T E S.

26 (e) *All*, i. e. Both *Jews* and *Gentiles*.

27 (f) *Put on Christ*. This, which at first Sight may seem a very bold Metaphor, if we consider what St. Paul has said, ver. 16, and 26, is admirably adapted to express his Thoughts in few Words, and has a great Grace in it. He says, ver. 16. that the Seed to which the Promise was made, was but one, and that one was Christ. And v. 26. he declares, that by Faith in Christ they all became the Sons of God. To lead them into an easie Conception how this is done, he here tells them, that by taking on them the Profession of the Gospel, they have as it were put on Christ; so that to God, now looking on them, there appears nothing but Christ. They are, as it were, cover'd all over with him, as a Man is with the Clothes he hath put on. And hence he says in the next Verse, that they are all one in Christ Jesus, as if there were but that one Person.

29 (g) The *Clermont* Copy reads *ei δὲ ὑμεῖς εἰς ἓν ἐν Χριστῷ ἴνα*, And if we are one in Christ Jesus, more suitable, as it seems, to the Apostle's Argument. For v. 28. he says, they are all one in Christ Jesus; from whence the Inference in the following Words of the *Clermont* Copy is natural: And if ye be one in Christ Jesus, then are ye Abraham's Seed, and Heirs according to Promise.

S E C T. VII.

C H A P. IV. I——II.

C O N T E N T S.

IN the first Part of this Section he farther shews, that the Law was not against the Promise, in that the Child is not disinherited by being under Tutors. But the chief Design of this Section is to shew, that tho' both *Jews* and *Gentiles* were intended to be the Children of God, and Heirs of the Promise by Faith in Christ, yet they both of them were left in Bondage, the *Jews* to the Law, v. 3. and the *Gentiles* to false Gods, ver. 8. till Christ in due time came to redeem them both; and therefore it was Folly in the *Galatians*, being redeem'd from one Bondage, to go backwards, and put themselves again in a State of Bondage, tho' under a new Master.

GALATIANS.

PARAPHRASE

TEXT.

1. NOW I say that the Heir, as long as he is a
2. Child, differeth nothing from a Bondman, (b)
3. tho' he be Lord of all, but is under Tutors and Guar-
4. dians, until the Time prefix'd by his Father. So we
5. (i) *Jews*, whilst we were Children, were in Bondage
6. under the Law. (k) But when the Time appointed for
7. the Coming of the Messiah was accomplished, God
8. sent forth his Son made of a Woman, and subjected
9. to the Law; That he might redeem those who were
- under the Law, and set them free from it, that we
- who believe might be put out of the State of Bond-
- men into that of Sons. Into which State of Sons, it
- is evident that you *Galatians*, who were heretofore
- Gentiles*, are put; for as much as God hath sent forth
- his Spirit (l) into your Hearts, which enables you to
- cry *Abba*, Father; so that thou art no longer a Bond-
- man, but a Son: And if a Son, then an Heir (m) of
- God, or of the Promise of God through Christ. But
- then, *i. e.* before ye were made the Sons of God, by
- Faith in Christ, now under the Gospel, ye not know-
- ing God, were in Bondage to those who were in
- Truth no Gods. But now that ye know God, yea
- rather, that ye are known (n) and taken into Favour
- by him, how can it be that you who have been put
- out of a State of Bondage into the Freedom of Sons,

NOW I say, that the 1
 heir as long as he is 2
 a child, differeth nothing 3
 from a servant, tho' he be 4
 lord of all; But is under 5
 tutors and governours, un- 6
 til the time appointed of 7
 the father. Even so we, 8
 when we were children, 9
 were in bondage under the 10
 elements of the world: But 11
 when the fulness of the time 12
 was come, God sent forth 13
 his Son made of a woman, 14
 made under the law, to re- 15
 deem them that were under 16
 the law, that we might 17
 receive the adoption of 18
 sons. And because ye are 19
 sons, God hath sent forth 20
 the Spirit of his Son into 21
 your hearts, crying Abba, 22
 Father. Wherefore thou 23
 art no more a servant, but 24
 a son; and if a son, then 25
 an heir of God through 26
 Christ. Howbeit then, 27
 when ye knew not God, ye 28
 did service unto them 29
 which by nature are no 30
 gods. But now after that 31

NOTES.

1 (b) *Bondman*; so δέσλος signifies; and unless it be so translated, v. 7, 8. *Bondage*, v. 3, 7. will scarce be understood by an English Reader, but St. Paul's Sense will be lost to one, who by *Servant* understands not one in a State of *Bondage*.

3 (i) *We*. 'Tis plain, St. Paul speaks here in the Name of the *Jews* or *Jewish Church*, which, though God's peculiar People, yet was to pass its Nonage (so St. Paul calls it) under the Restraint and Tutorage of the Law, and not to receive the Possession of the promised Inheritance till Christ came.

(k) *The Law*, he calls here στοιχεῖα τῷ κόσμῳ, *Elements*, or *Rudiments of the World*. Because the Observances and Discipline of the Law, which had Restraint and Bondage enough in it, led them not beyond the Things of this World, into the Possession or Taste of their spiritual and heavenly Inheritance.

6 (l) The same Argument of proving their Son-ship from their having the Spirit, St. Paul uses to the *Romans*, Rom. 8. 16. And he that will read 2 Cor. 4. 17 — 5, 6. and Eph. 1. 14. will find, that the Spirit is look'd on as the Seal and Assurance of the Inheritance of Life to those who have received the Adoption of Sons, as St. Paul speaks here, v. 5. The Force of the Argument seems to lie in this, that as he that has the Spirit of a Man in him, has an Evidence that he is the Son of a Man, so he that hath the Spirit of God, has thereby an Assurance that he is the Son of God. Conformable hereunto the Opinion of the *Jews* was, that the Spirit of God was given to none but themselves, they alone being the People or Children of God, for God calls the People of *Israel* his Sons, Exod. 4. 22, 23. And hence we see, that when, to the Astonishment of the *Jews*, the Spirit was given to the *Gentiles*, the *Jews* no longer doubted that the Inheritance of eternal Life was also conferred on the *Gentiles*. Compare Acts 10. 44—48. with Acts 11. 15—18.

7 (m) St. Paul from the *Galatians* having received the Spirit (as appears Ch. 3. 2.) argues, that they are the Sons of God without the Law, and consequently Heirs of the Promise without the Law; for, says he, ver. 1. — 6. the *Jews* themselves were fain to be redeem'd from the Bondage of the Law by Jesus Christ, that as Sons they might attain to the Inheritance. But you, *Galatians*, says he, have by the Spirit that is given you by the Ministry of the Gospel, an Evidence that God is your Father; and being Sons, are free from the Bondage of the Law, and Heirs without it. The same Sort of Reasoning St. Paul uses to the *Romans*, Ch. 8. 14—17.

9 (n) *Known*. It has been before observed, how apt St. Paul is to repeat his Words, though something varied in their Signification. We have here another Instance of it, having said, Ye have known God, he subjoins, or rather are known of him, in the Hebrew Latitude of the Word *known*, in which Language it sometimes signifies *knowing* with Choice and Approbation. See Amos 3. 2. 1 Cor. 8. 3.

should

GALATIANS.

133

Chap.
IV.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

ye have known God, or rather are known of God, how turn ye again to the weak and beggarly elements, whereunto ye desire again to be in bondage?
10 Ye observe days, and months, and times, and years. I am afraid of you, lest I have bestowed upon you labour in vain.

should go backwards, and be willing to put yourselves under the (o) weak and beggarly Elements (p) of the World, into a State of Bondage again? Ye observe Days and Months, and Times, and Years, in Compliance with the Mosaical Institution. I begin to be afraid of you, and to be in Doubt, whether all the Pains I have taken about you, to set you at Liberty in the Freedom of the Gospel, will not prove lost Labour.

10.

11.

NOTES.

(o) The Law is here called *weak*, because it was not able to deliver a Man from Bondage and Death, into the glorious Liberty of the Sons of God, *Rom.* 8. 1—3. And it is called *beggarly*, because it kept Men in the poor Estate of Pupils, from the full Possession and Enjoyment of the Inheritance, *v.* 1—3.

(p) The Apostle makes it matter of Astonishment, how they who had been in Bondage to false Gods, having been once set free, could endure the Thoughts of parting with their Liberty, and of returning into any sort of Bondage again, even under the mean and beggarly Rudiments of the Mosaical Institution, which was not able to make them Sons, and install them in the Inheritance. For *St. Paul*, *v.* 7. expressly opposes Bondage to Sonship; so that all who are not in the State of Sons, are in the State of Bondage. *Πάλιν, again*, cannot here refer to *στοιχία, Elements*, which the *Galatians* had never been under hitherto, but to *Bondage*, which he tells them, *v.* 8. they had been in to false Gods.

SECT. VIII.

CHAP. IV. 12—20.

CONTENTS.

HE presses them with the Remembrance of the great Kindness they had for him when he was amongst them, and assures them that they have no reason to be alienated from him, though that be it which the Judaizing Seducers aim at.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

12 Brethren, I beseech you, be as I am: for I am as ye are; ye have not injured me at
13 all. Ye know how through infirmity of the flesh, I preached the gospel unto
14 you at the first. And my temptation which was in my flesh ye despised not, nor rejected; but received me as an Angel of God, even as Christ Jesus.
15 Where is then the Blessedness you spake of? for I

I beseech you, Brethren, let you and I be as if we were all one. Think your selves to be very me; as I in my own Mind put no Difference at all between you and my self; you have done me no manner of Injury: On the contrary, ye know, that through Infirmary of the Flesh, I heretofore preach'd the Gospel to you, and yet ye despised me not for the Trial I underwent in the Flesh, (q) you treated me not with Contempt and Scorn: But you received me as an Angel of God, yea as Jesus Christ himself. What Benedictions (r) did you then pour out upon me? For I bear you witness,

12.

13.

14.

15.

NOTES.

14 (q) What this *Weakness* and *Trial in the Flesh* was, since it has not pleased the Apostle to mention it, is impossible for us to know: But may be remarked here, as an Instance once for all, of that unavoidable Obscurity of some Passages in Epistolary Writings, without any Fault in the Author. For some things, necessary to the Understanding of what is writ, are usually of course, and justly omitted, because already known to him the Letter is writ to, and it would be sometimes ungraceful, oftentimes superfluous, particularly to mention them.

15 (r) The Context makes this Sense of the Words so necessary and visible, that 'tis to be wonder'd how any one could overlook it.

had

16. had it been practicable, you would have pulled out your very Eyes, and given them me. But is it so that I am become your Enemy (s) in continuing to tell you the Truth? They who would make you of that Mind, shew a Warmth of Affection to you; but it is not well: For their Business is to exclude me, that they may get into your Affection. It is good to be well and warmly affected towards a good Man (t) at all times, and not barely when I am present with you.
17. My little Children, for whom I have again the Pains of a Woman in Child-birth till Christ be formed in you, (u) i. e. till the true Doctrine of Christianity be settled in your Minds. But I would willingly be this very Moment with you, and change (w) my Discourse as I should find Occasion. For I am at a Stand about you, and know not what to think of you.

bear you record, that if it had been possible, ye would have plucked out your own eyes, and have given them to me. Am I therefore become your enemy, because I tell you the truth? They zealously affect you, but not well; yea, they would exclude you, that you might affect them. But it is good to be zealously affected always in a good thing, and not only when I am present with you. My little children, of whom I travail in birth again, until Christ be formed in you: I desire to be present with you now, and to change my voice, for I stand in doubt of you.

NOTES.

16 (s) *Your Enemy.* See Ch. i. 6.

18 (t) That by *καλῶ* here he means a Person and himself, the Scope of the Context evinces. In the six preceding Verses he speaks only of himself, and the Change of their Affection to him since he left them. There is no other thing mentioned, as peculiarly deserving their Affection, to which the Rule given in this Verse could refer. He had said, ver. 17. *ζηλοῦσιν ὑμᾶς*, they affect you; and *ἵνα αὐτοὺς ζηλήτε*, that you might affect them; this is only of Persons, and therefore *ζηλοῦμαι ἐν καλῶ*, which immediately follows, may best be understood of a Person, else the following Part of the Verse, tho' join'd by the Copulative *καὶ*, and, will make but a disjointed Sense with the preceding. But there can be nothing plainer, nor more coherent than this, which seems to be St. Paul's Sense here. *You were very affectionate to me when I was with you. You are since estranged from me; it is the Artifice of the Seducers that have cooled you to me. But if I am the good Man you took me to be, you will do well to continue the Warmth of your Affection to me, when I am absent, and not to be well affected towards me, only when I am present among you.* Though this be his Meaning, yet the Way he has taken to express it, is much more elegant, modest and graceful. Let any one read the Original and see whether it be not so.

19 (u) If this Verse be taken for an entire Sentence by it self, it will be a Parenthesis, and that not the most necessary or congruous that is to be found in St. Paul's Epistles; or *ἃ* But, must be left out, as we see it is in our Translation. But if *τεκνία μὲν* my little Children, be join'd on by Apposition to *ὑμᾶς*, You, the last Word of the foregoing Verse, and so the two Verses 18, and 19, be read as one Sentence, the 20 v. with *ἃ* But, in it, follows very Naturally. But as we now read it in our English Bible *ἃ* But, is forced to be left out, and the 20th v. stands alone by itself, without any Connexion with what goes before, or follows.

20 (w) *Ἀλλάξαι φωνήν*, to change the Voice, seems to signify the speaking higher or lower; changing the Tone of the Voice suitably to the Matter one delivers, v. g. whether it be Advice, or Commendation, or Reproof, &c. For each of these have their distinct Voices. St. Paul wishes himself with them, that he might accommodate himself to their present Condition and Circumstances, which he confesses himself to be ignorant of, and in doubt about.

SECT. IX.

CHAP. IV. 21.—V. 1.

CONTENTS.

HE exhorts them to stand fast in the Liberty with which Christ hath made them free, shewing those who are so zealous for the Law, that if they mind what they read in the Law, they will there find, that the Children of the Promise, or of the New Jerusalem, were to be free; but the Children after the Flesh, of the Earthly Jerusalem, were to be in Bondage, and to be cast out, and not to have the Inheritance.

Tell

21 Tell me, ye that desire to be under the law, do ye
22 not hear the law? For it is written, that Abraham had two sons; the one by a bond-maid, the other by
23 a free-woman. But he who was of the bond-woman, was born after the flesh: but he of the free-woman was by promise.
24 Which things are an allegory; for these are the two covenants; the one from the mount Sinai, which gendreth to bondage, which
25 is Agar. For this Agar is mount Sinai in Arabia, and answereth to Jerusalem which now is, and is in bondage with her children.
26 But Jerusalem which is above, is free, which is
27 the Mother of us all. For it is written, Rejoice thou barren that bearest not; break forth and cry, thou that travailest not: for the desolate hath many more children than she which
28 hath an Husband. Now we brethren, as Isaac was, are the children of promise. But as then he that was born after the flesh, persecuted him that was born after the Spirit, even
29 so it is now. Nevertheless, what saith the scripture? Cast out the bond-woman, and her son: for the son of the bond-woman shall not be heir with the son of the
30 free-woman. So then, brethren, we are not children of the bond-woman, but of the free.

1 Stand fast therefore in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not intangled again with the yoke of bondage.

Tell me, you that would so fain be under the Law, do you not acquaint your selves with what is in the Law, either by reading (x) it, or having it read in your Assemblies? For it is there written, (y) *Abraham* had two Sons, one by a Bond-maid, the other by a Free-woman; but he that was of the Bond-woman was born according to the Flesh, in the ordinary Course of Nature; but he that was of the Free-woman *Abraham* had by Virtue of the Promise, after he and his Wife were past the Hopes of another Child. These things have an Allegorical Meaning: For the two Women are the two Covenants, the one of them deliver'd from Mount *Sinai*, and is represented by *Agar*, who produces her Issue into Bondage. (For *Agar* is Mount *Sinai* in *Arabia*, and answers to *Jerusalem* that now is, and is in Bondage with her Children. But the Heavenly *Jerusalem* which is above, and answers to *Sarah*, the Mother of the promised Seed, is free, the Mother of us all, both *Jews* and *Gentiles*, who believe. For it was of her that it is written, (z) *Rejoyce thou barren that bearest not; break out into loud Acclamations of Joy, thou that hast not the Travails of Child-birth, for more are the Children of the Desolate than of her that hath an Husband.* And 'tis we, my Brethren, who, as *Isaac* was, are the Children of Promise. But as then *Ishmael*, who was born in the ordinary Course of Nature, (a) persecuted *Isaac*, who was born by an extraordinary Power from Heaven, working miraculously; so is it now. But what saith the Scripture, (b) *Cast out the Bond-woman and her Son. For the Son of the Bond-woman shall not share the Inheritance with the Son of the Free-woman.* So then, Brethren, we who believe in Christ, are not the Children of the Bond-woman, but of the Free. (c) Stand fast therefore in the Liberty wherewith Christ Ver. 1. hath made you free, and do not put on again a Yoke of bondage, by putting your selves under the Law.

NOTES.

21 (x) The Vulgar has, after some Greek Manuscripts, *Read.*

22 (y) *Written there,* (viz.) *Gen. 16. 15. and 21. 1.* The Term *Law* in the foregoing Verse comprehends the five Books of *Moses*.

27 (z) *Written,* (viz.) *Isai. 54. 1.*

29 (a) *ὅτι ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ σαρκὸς γενηθεὶς, Born after the Flesh; and ὁ ἀπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος, Born after the Spirit.* These Expressions have in their Original Brevity, with Regard to the whole View wherein St. Paul uses them, an admirable Beauty and Force, which cannot be retained in a Paraphrase.

30 (b) *Scripture,* (viz.) *Gen. 20. 10.*

31 (c) The Apostle, by his allegorical History, shews the *Galatians*, that they who are Sons of *Agar*, i. e. under the Law given at Mount *Sinai*, are in Bondage, and intended to be cast out, the Inheritance being designed for those only, who are the free-born Sons of God, under the Spiritual Covenant of the Gospel. And thereupon he exhorts them in the following Words, to preserve themselves in that State of Freedom.

SECT.

GALATIANS.

S E C T. X.

CHAP. V. 2—13.

CONTENTS.

IT is evident from Verse 11. that the better to prevail with the *Galatians* to be circumcised, it had been reported that St. *Paul* himself preach'd up Circumcision. St. *Paul*, without taking express Notice of this Calumny, *Ch.* 1. 6. & 2. 21. gives an Account of his past Life in a large Train of Particulars, which all concur to make such a Character of him, as renders it very incredible, that he should ever declare for the Circumcision of the *Gentile* Converts, or for their Submission to the Law. Having thus prepared the Minds of the *Galatians*, to give him a fair Hearing, as a fair Man, *ζηλοῦμαι ἐκ καλῶ*, he goes on to argue against their subjecting themselves to the Law. And having establish'd their Freedom from the Law by many strong Arguments, he comes here at last openly to take Notice of the Report had been raised of him, that he preach'd Circumcision, and directly confutes it.

1. By positively denouncing to them himself, very solemnly, that they who suffer'd themselves to be circumcised, put themselves into a perfect legal State, out of the Covenant of Grace, and could receive no Benefit by Jesus Christ, *ver.* 2—4.

2. By assuring them, that he and those that followed him, expected justification only by Faith, *v.* 5—6.

3. By telling them, that he had put them in the right Way, and that this new Persuasion came not from him that converted them to Christianity, *ver.* 7—8.

4. By insinuating to them, that they should agree to pass Judgment on him that troubled them with this Doctrine, *v.* 9—10.

5. By his being persecuted, for opposing the Circumcision of the Christians. For this was the great Offence which stuck with the *Jews*, even after their Conversion, *v.* 11.

6. By wishing those cut off that trouble them with this Doctrine, *v.* 12.

This will, I doubt not, by whoever weighs it, be found a very skilful Management of the argumentative Part of this Epistle, which ends here. For though he begins with sapping the Foundation on which the judaizing Seducers seem'd to have laid their main Stress, (*viz.*) the Report of his preaching Circumcision; yet he reserves the direct and open Confutation of it to the End, and so leaves it with them, that it may have the more forcible and lasting Impression on their Minds.

P A R A P H R A S E.

T E X T.

2. **T**AKE Notice that I *Paul* (*d*) who am falsely reported to preach up Circumcision in other Places, say unto you, that if you are circumcised, Christ shall be of no Advantage to you. For I repeat here again what I have always preach'd, and solemnly testify to every one who yields to be circumcised, in Compliance with those who say that now under the Gospel he cannot be saved without it, (*e*) that he is under an Obligation
3. Behold, I *Paul* say unto² you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing. For I testify³ again to every man that is circumcised, that he is a debtor to the whole law

N O T E S.

2 (*d*) Ἰδὲ, ἐγὼ Παῦλος, Behold, I *Paul*, I the same *Paul*, who am reported to preach Circumcision, μαρτυροῦμαι πάντι ἀνθρώπῳ, *v.* 3. Witness again, continue my Testimony, to every Man, to you and all Men. This so emphatical Way of speaking, may very well be understood to have Regard to what he takes Notice, *v.* 11. to be cast upon him, (*viz.*) his preaching Circumcision, and is a very significant Vindication of himself.

3 (*e*) Cannot be saved. This was the Ground upon which the *Jews* and *Judaizing* Christians urged Circumcision. See *Acts* 15. 1.

GALATIANS.

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Chap.
V.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

4 Christ is become, of no ef-
fect unto you, whosoever
of you are justified by the
law; ye are fallen from
5 grace. For we through
the Spirit wait for the
hope of righteousness by
6 faith. For in Jesus Christ,
neither circumcision avail-
eth any thing, nor uncir-
cumcision, but faith which
7 worketh by love. Ye did
run well, who did hinder
you, that ye should not
8 obey the truth? This per-
suasion cometh not of him
9 that calleth you. A little
leaven leaveneth the whole
10 lump. I have confidence in
you through the Lord,
that you will be none o-
therwise minded: but he
that troubleth you, shall
bear his judgment, who-
11 soever he be. And I,
brethren, if I yet preach
circumcision, why do I yet
suffer persecution? then is
the offence of the cross

to the whole Law, and bound to observe and perform
every tittle of it. Christ is of no use to you, who
seek Justification by the Law: Whosoever do so, be
ye what you will, ye are fallen from the Covenant of
Grace. But I (f) and those who with me are true
Christians, we who follow the Truth of the Gospel
(g) and the Doctrine of the Spirit of God, have no
other Hope of Justification but by Faith in Christ.
For in the State of the Gospel under Jesus the Messiah,
'tis neither Circumcision nor Uncircumcision that is
of any Moment; All that is available is Faith alone,
working by Love. (h) When you first entered into the
Profession of the Gospel, you were in a good way,
and went on well: Who has put a Stop to you, and
hindered you, that you keep no longer to the Truth of
the Christian Doctrine? This Persuasion, that it is
necessary for you to be circumcised, cometh not from
him (i) by whose Preaching you were call'd to the
Profession of the Gospel. Remember that a little Lea-
ven leaveneth the whole Lump; the Influence of one
Man (k) entertain'd among you, may mislead you all:
I have Confidence in you, that by the Help of the
Lord, you will be all of this same mind (l) with me; and
consequently he that troubles you shall fall under the
Censure he deserves for it, (m) whoever he be. But as
for me, Brethren, If I at last am become a Preacher
of Circumcision, why am I yet persecuted? (n) If it
be so that the Gentile Converts are to be circumcised,

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NOTES.

5 (f) *We*. 'Tis evident from the Context, that St. Paul here means himself. But *We* is a more graceful way of speaking than *I*, though he be vindicating himself alone from the Imputation of setting up Circumcision.

(g) *Spirit*. The Law and the Gospel opposed under the Titles of *Flesh* and *Spirit*, we may see, Ch. 3. 3. of this Epistle. The same Opposition it stands in here to the *Law* in the foregoing Verse, points out the same Signification.

6 (h) *Which worketh by Love*. This is added to express the Animosities which were amongst them, probably raised by this Question about Circumcision. See v. 19—25.

8 (i) This Expression of *him that called*, or *calleth you*, he used before, Ch. 1. 6. and in both Places means himself, and here declares, that this *παρανομία* (whether taken for *Persuasion*, or for *Subjection*, as it may be in St. Paul's Style, considering *πείθεσθαι*, in the End of the foregoing Verse) came not from him, for he called them to Liberty from the Law, and not Subjection to it; See v. 13. *You were going on well in the Liberty of the Gospel, who stopp'd you? I, you may be sure, had no Hand in it; I, you know, call'd you to Liberty, and not to Subjection to the Law; and therefore you can by no means suppose that I should preach of Circumcision.* Thus St. Paul argues here.

9 (k) By this and the next Verse, it looks as if all this Disorder arose from one Man.

10 (l) *Will not be otherwise minded*, will beware of this Leaven, so as not to be put into a Ferment, nor shaken in your Liberty, which you ought to stand fast in, and to secure it, I doubt not (such Confidence I have in you) will with one Accord cast out him that troubles you. For, as for me, you may be sure I am not for Circumcision, in that the *Jews* continue to persecute me. This is evidently his Meaning, though not spoken out, but managed warily, with a very skilful and moving Insinuation. For as he says himself, Ch. 4. 20. he knew not at that Distance what Temper they were in.

(m) *Κεῖμα, Judgment*, seems here to mean Expulsion by a Church-censure, see v. 12. We shall be the more inclin'd to this, if we consider, that the Apostle uses the same Argument of a little Leaven leaveneth the whole Lump, 1 Cor. 5. 6. where he would persuade the *Corinthians* to purge out the Fornicator.

11 (n) *Persecution*. The Persecution St. Paul was still under, was a convincing Argument, that he was not for Circumcision and Subjection to the Law, for it was from the *Jews*, upon that Account, that at this Time rose all the Persecution which the Christians suffered, as may be seen through all the History of the *Acts*. Nor are there wanting clear Footsteps of it in several Places of this Epistle, besides this here, as Ch. 3. 4. and 6. 12.

Vol. III.

D d

and

GALATIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

- and so subjected to the Law, the great Offence of the Gospel (o) in relying solely on a crucified Saviour for
12. Salvation, is removed. But I am of another Mind, and wish that they may be cut off who trouble you
13. about this Matter, and they shall be cut off. For, Brethren, ye have been call'd by me unto Liberty.

ceased. I would they were¹² even cut off which trouble you. For, brethren, ye¹³ have been called unto liberty.

NOTES.

(o) Offence of the Cross, see ch. 6. 12—14.

SECT. XI.

CHAP. V. 13—26.

CONTENTS.

FROM the mention of Liberty which he tells them they are called to under the Gospel, he takes a Rise to caution them in the use of it, and so exhorts them to a Spiritual or true Christian Life, shewing the Difference and Contrariety between that and a Carnal Life, or a Life after the Flesh.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

- Though the Gospel to which ye are called, be a State of Liberty from the Bondage of the Law, yet pray take great care you do not mistake that Liberty, nor think it affords you an Opportunity, in the Abuse of it, to satisfy the Lust of the Flesh, but serve (p) one
14. another in Love. For the whole Law concerning our Duty to others, is fulfill'd in observing this one Pre-
15. cept, (q) *Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self*. But if you bite and tear one another, take heed that you be
16. not destroy'd and consumed by one another. This I say to you, conduct your selves by the Light that is in your Minds, (r) and do not give your selves up to the Lusts of the Flesh, to obey them in what they put
17. upon you. For the Inclinations and Desires of the Flesh are contrary to those of the Spirit: And the Dictates and Inclinations of the Spirit, are contrary to those of the Flesh; so that under these contrary Impulses you do not do the things that you purpose to

Only use not liberty for an occasion to the flesh, but by love serve one another.

For all the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this; Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self. But if ye bite and devour¹⁵ one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another. This I¹⁶ say then, Walk in the Spirit, and ye shall not fulfil the lust of the flesh. For¹⁷ the flesh lusteth against the Spirit, and the Spirit against the flesh; and these are contrary the one to the other; so that ye cannot do the things that ye would.

NOTES.

13 (p) Διακονεῖτε, *Serve*, has a greater Force in the Greek, than our English word *serve* does in the common Acceptation of it express. For it signifies the Opposite to ἐλευθερία, *Freedom*. And so the Apostle elegantly informs them, that though by the Gospel they are called to a State of *Liberty* from the Law; yet they were still as much bound and subjected to their Brethren in all the Offices and Duties of Love and Good-will, as if in that respect they were their Vassals and Bondmen.

14 (q) Lev. 19. 18.

16 (r) That which he here, and in the next Verse, calls *Spirit*, he calls, Rom. 7. 22. the inward Man; v. 23. the law of the Mind; v. 25. the Mind.

your

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

18 But if ye be led by the Spirit, ye are not under the law. Now the works of the flesh are manifest, which are these, adultery, fornication, uncleanness, lasciviousness, idolatry, witchcraft, hatred, variance, emulations, wrath, strife, seditions, heresies, envyings, murders, drunkenness, revellings, and such like: of the which I tell you before, as I have also told you in time past, that they which do such things, shall not inherit the Kingdom of God.

22 But the fruit of the Spirit is love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, tem-

your selves. (s.) But if you give your selves up to the Conduct of the Gospel (t) by Faith in Christ, ye are not under the Law. (u.) Now the Works of the Flesh, as is manifest, are these, Adultery, Fornication, Uncleaness, Lasciviousness, Idolatry, Witchcraft, (w) Enmities, Quarrels, Emulations, Animosities, Strife, Seditions, Sects, Envyings, Murders, Drunkenness, Revellings, (x) and such like, concerning which I forewarn you now, as heretofore I have done, that they who do such things shall not inherit the Kingdom of God. But on the other side, the Fruit of the Spirit is Love, Joy, Peace, Long-suffering, Sweetness of Disposition, Beneficence, Faithfulness, Meekness, Temperance: Against these and the like there is no

18.

19.

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22.

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NOTES.

17 (s) *Do not*; So it is in the Greek, and our's is the only Translation that I know, which renders it *cannot*.

16, 17. There can be nothing plainer, than that the State St. Paul describes here in these two Verses, he points out more at large, *Rom. 7. 17, &c.* Speaking there in the Person of a Jew. This is evident, that St. Paul supposes two Principles in every Man, which draw him different Ways, the one he calls *Flesh*, the other *Spirit*. These, though there be no other Appellations given them, are the most common and usual Names given them in the New Testament: By *Flesh* is meant all those vicious, and irregular Appetites, Inclinations and Habitudes, whereby a Man is turn'd from his Obedience to that eternal Law of Right, the Observance whereof God always requires and is pleased with. This is very properly call'd *Flesh*, this bodily State being the Source from which all our Deviations from the straight Rule of Rectitude, do for the most part take their Rise, or else do ultimately terminate in: On the other side, *Spirit* is the Part of a Man which is endowed with Light from God, to know and see what is Righteous, Just and Good, and which being consulted and hearken'd to, is always ready to direct and prompt us to that which is good. The *Flesh* then, in the Gospel-Language, is that Principle which inclines and carries Men to Ill; the *Spirit* that Principle which dictates what is Right, and inclines to Good. But because, by prevailing Custom and contrary Habits, this Principle was very much weaken'd, and almost extinct in the *Gentiles*, see *Eph. 4. 17—21*. He exhorts them to be renewed in the Spirit of their Minds, v. 23. and to put off the old Man, i. e. *Fleshly* corrupt Habits, and to put on the New Man, which he tells them, v. 24. is created in Righteousness and true Holiness. This is also called renewing of the Mind, *Rom. 12. 2. Renewing of the inward Man*, 2 *Cor. 4. 16*. Which is done by the Assistance of the Spirit of God, *Eph. 3. 16*.

18 (t) The Reason of this Assertion we may find, *Rom. 8. 14. viz.* Because, *they who are led by the Spirit of God, are the Sons of God*, and so Heirs, and free without the Law, as he argues here, *Ch. 3. and 4.*

(u) This is plainly the Sense of the Apostle, who teaches all along in the former Part of this Epistle, and also that to the *Romans*, that those that put themselves under the Gospel, are not under the Law: The Question then that remains, is only about the Phrase, *led by the Spirit*. And as to that, it is easie to observe how Natural it is for St. Paul, having in the foregoing Verses more than once mentioned the *Spirit*, to continue the same Word, though somewhat varied in the Sense. In St. Paul's Phraseology, as the Irregularities of Appetite, and the Dictates of right Reason, are opposed under the Titles of *Flesh* and *Spirit*, as we have seen: So the Covenant of Works, and the Covenant of Grace, Law, and Gospel, are opposed under the Titles of *Flesh* and *Spirit*, 2 *Cor. 3. 6. 8.* he calls the Gospel *Spirit*, and *Rom. 7. 5. In the Flesh*, signifies in the legal State. But we need go no farther than *Ch. 3. 3.* of this very Epistle, to see the Law and the Gospel opposed by St. Paul under the Titles of *Flesh* and *Spirit*. The Reason of thus using the Word *Spirit*, is very apparent in the Doctrine of the New Testament, which teaches, that those who receive Christ by Faith, with him receive his Spirit, and its Assistance against the *Flesh*; See *Rom. 8. 9.—11.* Accordingly, for the attaining of Salvation, St. Paul joins together Belief of the Truth, and Sanctification of the Spirit, 1 *Thes. 2. 13.* And so *Spirit* here may be taken for the *Spirit of their Minds*, but renewed and strengthen'd by the Spirit of God; See *Eph. 3. 16. and 4. 23.*

20 (w) *Φαρμακία* signifies *Witchcraft*, or *Poisoning*.

21 (x) *Κῶμοι*, *Revellings*, were amongst the *Greeks*, disorderly spending of the Night in Feasting, with a licentious indulging to Wine, good Cheer, Musick, Dancing, &c.

GALATIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

24. Law. Now they who belong (γ) to Christ, and are his Members, have (α) crucified the Flesh, with the Affections and Lusts thereof. If our Life then (our Flesh having been crucified) be as we profess by the Spirit, whereby we are alive from that State of Sin we were dead in before, let us regulate our Lives and Actions by the Light and Dictates of the Spirit. Let us not be led by an itch of vain Glory to provoke one another, or to envy one another. (a)

perance : against such there is no law. And they that 24 are Christ's, have crucified the Flesh, with the affections and lusts. If we 25 live in the Spirit, let us also walk in the Spirit. Let us not be desirous of 26 vain-glory, provoking one another, envying one another.

NOTES.

24 (γ) Οἱ τῷ Χριστῷ, *Those who are of Christ*, are the same with *those who are led by the Spirit*, v. 18. and are opposed to *those who live after the Flesh*, Rom. 8. 13. Where it is said, conformably to what we find here, *they through the Spirit mortifie the Deeds of the Body*.

(α) *Crucified the Flesh*. That Principle in us, from whence spring vicious Inclinations and Actions, is, as we have observed, above called, sometimes the *Flesh*, sometimes the *Old Man*. The subduing and mortifying of this evil Principle, so that the Force and Power wherewith it used to rule in us, is extinguished; the Apostle, by a very engaging Accommodation to the Death of our Saviour, calls, *Crucifying the Old Man*, Rom. 6. 6. *Crucifying the Flesh*, here, *Putting off the Body of the Sins of the Flesh*, Col. 2. 11. *Putting off the Old Man*, Eph. 4. 2. Col. 3. 8, 9. It is also called, *Mortifying the Members which are on Earth*, Col. 3. 5. *Mortifying the Deeds of the Body*, Rom. 8. 13.

26 (a) Whether the *vain Glory* and *envying* here were about their spiritual Gifts, a Fault which the *Corinthians* were guilty of, as we may see at large, 1 Cor. 12. 13, 14. or upon any other Occasion, and so contained in v. 15. of this Chapter, I shall not curiously examine: Either way, the Sense of the Words will be much the same, and accordingly this Verse must end the 5th or begin the 6th Chapter.

S E C T. XII.

CHAP. VI. 1—5.

CONTENTS.

HE here exhorts the Stronger to Gentleness and Meekness towards the Weak.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

1. **B**rethren, if a Man by Frailty or Surprise, fall into a Fault, do you who are eminent in the Church for Knowledge, Practice, and Gifts, (b) raise him up again, and set him right, with Gentleness and Meekness, considering that you yourselves are not out of the Reach of Temptations. Bear with one another's Infirmities, and help to support each other under your Burdens, (c) and so fulfil the Law of Christ. (d) For if any one be conceited of himself,

Brethren, if a Man be overtaken in a fault, ye which are Spiritual, restore such an one in the spirit of meekness; considering thy self, lest thou also be tempted. Bear ye 2 one another's burdens, and so fulfil the law of Christ. For if a man think himself 3 to be something, when he

NOTES.

1 (b) Πνευματικοί, *Spiritual*, in 1 Cor. 3. 1. and 12. 1. taken together, has this Sense.

2 (c) See a parallel Exhortation, 1 Thess. 5. 14. which will give Light to this, as also Rom. 15. 1.

(d) See John 13, 34, 35. and 14. 2. There were some among them very zealous for the Observation of the Law of Moses; St. Paul here puts them in mind of a Law, which they were under, and were oblig'd to observe, viz. the *Law of Christ*. And he shews them how to do

GALATIANS.

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Chap.
VI.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

is nothing, he deceiveth
4 himself. But let every
man prove his own work
and then shall he have re-
joycing in himself alone,
5 and not in another. For
every man shall bear his
own burden.

as if he were something, a Man of Weight, fit to
prescribe to others, when indeed he is not, he de-
ceiveth himself. But let him take care that what he
himself doth be right, and such as will bear the Test,
and then he will have matter of glorying (e) in him-
self, and not in another. For every one shall be ac-
countable only for his own Actions.

4.

5.

NOTES.

do it, (viz.) by helping to bear one another's Burdens, and not increasing their Burdens by the
Observances of the Levitical Law. Though the Gospel contain the Law of the Kingdom of
Christ, yet I do not remember that St. Paul any where calls it *the Law of Christ*, but in this
Place, where he mentions it in Opposition to those who thought a Law so necessary, that they
would retain that of *Moses* under the Gospel.

4 (e) Καύχημα, I think should have been translated here, *Glorying*: Καυχῶμαι is, v. 13. The
Apostle in both Places meaning the same Thing, (viz.) Glorying in another, in having brought
him to Circumcision, and other ritual Observances of the Mosaic Law. For thus St. Paul seems
to me to discourse in this Section. "Brethren, there be some among you that would bring
others under the ritual Observances of the Mosaic Law, a Yoke which was too heavy for us,
and our Fathers to bear. They would do much better to ease the Burdens of the Weak; this
is suitable to the Law of Christ, which they are under, and is the Law which they ought
strictly to obey. If they think, because of their spiritual Gifts, that they have Power to pre-
scribe in such Matters, I tell them, that they have not, but do deceive themselves. Let
them rather take care of their own particular Actions, that they be right, and such as they
ought to be. This will give them matter of Glorying in themselves, and not vainly in
others, as they do when they prevail with them to be Circumcised. For every Man shall be
answerable for his own Actions." Let the Reader judge whether this does not seem to be
St. Paul's View here, and suit with his way of Writing?

Εὐχρη Καύχημα, is a Phrase whereby St. Paul signifies to have matter of Glorying, and to that
Sense it is render'd, Rom. 4. 2.

SECT. XIII.

CHAP. VI. I — IO.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul having laid some Restraint upon the Authority and Forwardness
of the Teachers, and leading Men amongst them, who were, as it seems,
more ready to impose on the *Galatians*, what they should not, than to help
them forward in the Practice of Gospel-Obedience; he here takes care of
them in respect of their Maintenance, and exhorts the *Galatians* to Liberality
towards them; and in general, towards all Men, especially Christians.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

6 Let him that is taught in
the word, communicate
unto him that teacheth, in
7 all good things. Be not
deceived; God is not mock-
ed: for whatsoever a man
soweth, that shall be also
8 reaped. For he that soweth

LET him that is taught the Doctrine of the Go-
spel, freely communicate the good things of this
World, to him that teaches him. Be not deceived,
God will not be mocked. For as a Man soweth, (f)
so also shall he reap. He that lays out the Stock of
good things he has, only for the Satisfaction of his

6.

7.

8.

NOTES.

7 (f) Soweth. A Metaphor used by St. Paul for Men's laying out their Worldly Goods. See
2 Cor. 9. 6, &c.

own

GALATIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

- own bodily Necessities, Conveniencies or Pleasures, shall at the Harvest find the Fruit and Product of such Husbandry to be Corruption and perishing. (g) But he that lays out this worldly Substance according to the Rules dictated by the Spirit of God in the Gospel, shall of the Spirit reap Life Everlasting. In doing thus what is good and right, let us not wax weary, for in due Season, when the Time of Harvest comes, we shall reap, if we continue on to do good, and flag not. Therefore as we have Opportunities, let us do Good unto all Men, especially to those who profess Faith in Jesus Christ, i. e. the Christian Religion.

to his flesh, shall of the flesh reap corruption: but he that soweth to the Spirit, shall of the Spirit reap life everlasting. And let us not be weary in well-doing: for in due season we shall reap, if we faint not. As we have therefore opportunity, let us do good unto all men, especially unto them who are of the household of faith.

NOTES.

8 (g) Rom. 8. 13. and 2. 12.

S E C T. XIV.

CHAP. VI. 11—18.

CONTENTS.

ONE may see what lay upon St. Paul's Mind, in writing to the *Galatians*, by what he inculcates to them here, even after he had finished his Letter. The like we have in the last Chapter to the *Romans*. He here winds up all with Admonitions to the *Galatians*, of a different End and Aim they had to get the *Galatians* circumcised, from what he had in preaching the Gospel.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

11. You see how long a Letter I have writ to you with my own Hand. (b) They who are willing to carry it so fairly in the ritual Part of the Law, and to make Ostentation of their Compliance therein, constrain you to be circumcised, only to avoid Persecution, for owning their Dependence for Salvation solely on a crucified Messiah, (i) and not on the Observance of the Law. For even they themselves who are circumcised do not keep the Law. But they will have you to be circumcised, that this Mark in your Flesh may afford them matter of Glorifying, and of recommending themselves to the good Opinion of the *Jews*. (k)
12. But as for me, whatever may be said of me, (l) God forbid that I should glory in any thing, but in having

Ye see how large a letter I have written unto you with mine own hand. As many as desire to make a fair shew in the flesh, they constrain you to be circumcised; only lest they should suffer persecution for the cross of Christ. For neither they themselves who are circumcised keep the law; but desire to have you circumcised, that they may glory in your flesh. But God forbid that I should glory save in the cross of our Lord Jesus

NOTES.

11 (b) St. Paul mentions the *Writing with his own Hand*, as an Argument of his great Concern for them in the Case. For it was not usual for him to write his Epistles with his own Hand, but to dictate them to others who writ them from his Mouth. See Rom. 16. 22. 1 Cor. 16. 21.

12 (i) In the *Flesh*, i. e. in the ritual Observances of the Law, which, Heb. 9. 10. are called, δικαιώματα σαρκός.

13 (k) See Ch. 5. 11.

14 (l) See Ch. 5. 11.

GALATIANS.

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Chap.
VI.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world. For in Christ Jesus neither circumcision availeth any thing, nor uncircumcision, but a new creature. And as many as walk according to this rule, peace be on them, and mercy, and upon the Israel of God. From henceforth let no man trouble me; for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus. Brethren, the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your spirit, Amen. ¶ Unto the Galatians, written from Rome.

Jesus Christ who was crucified, for my sole Lord and Master, whom I am to obey and depend on, which I so entirely do, without regard to any thing else, that I am wholly dead to the World, and the World dead to me, and it has no more Influence on me than if it were not. For as to the obtaining a Share in the Kingdom of Jesus Christ, and the Privileges and Advantages of it, neither Circumcision nor Uncircumcision, such outward Differences in the Flesh, avail any thing, but the New Creation, wherein by a thorough Change, a Man is disposed to Righteousness and true Holiness in good Works. (m) And on all those who walk by this Rule, viz. that it is the New Creation alone, and not Circumcision, that availeth under the Gospel, Peace and Mercy shall be on them, they being that *Israel* which are truly the People of God. (n) From henceforth, let no Man give me trouble by Questions, or Doubt, whether I preach Circumcision or no. 'Tis true, I am circumcised. But yet the Marks I now bear in my Body, are the Marks of Jesus Christ, that I am his. The Marks of the Stripes which I have received from the *Jews*, and which I still bear in my Body for preaching Jesus Christ, are an Evidence that I am not for Circumcision. Brethren, *The Favour of our Lord Jesus Christ be with your Spirit.* Amen.

15.

16.

17.

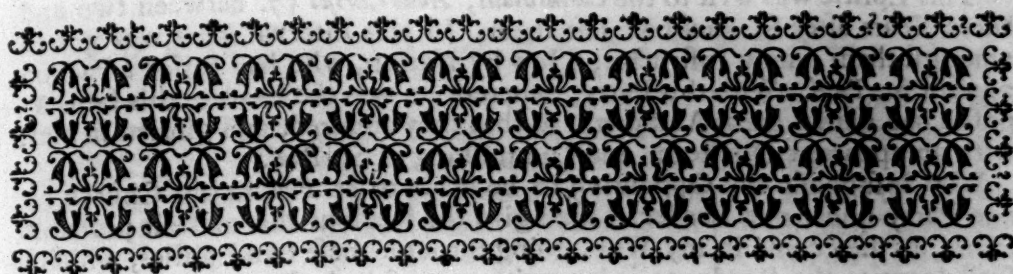
18.

NOTES.

15 (m) See Eph. 2. 10. and 4. 24.

16 (n) St. Paul having in the foregoing Verse asserted, that it is the New Creation alone that puts Men into the Kingdom of Christ, and into the Possession of the Privileges thereof, this Verse may be understood also as Assertory, rather than as a Prayer, unless there were a Verb that expressed it; Especially considering that he writes this Epistle to encourage them to refuse Circumcision. To which End the assuring them, that those who do so shall have Peace and Mercy from God, is of more Force than to tell them, that he prays that they may have Peace and Mercy. And for the same reason I understand the *Israel of God*, to be the same with *those who walk by this Rule*, though join'd with them by the Copulative *Kai*, And; no very unusual way of speaking.

A P A R A -



A
PARAPHRASE
 AND
NOTES
 ON THE
First Epistle of St. PAUL
 TO THE
CORINTHIANS.

SYNOPSIS.



*S*aint Paul's first coming to *Corinth* was *Anno Christi* 52, where he first applied himself to the Synagogue, *Acts* 18. 4. But finding them obstinate in their Opposition to the Gospel, he turn'd to the Gentiles, *ver.* 6. out of whom this Church at *Corinth* seems chiefly to be gathered, as appears, *Acts* 18. & 1 *Cor.* 12. 2.

His Stay here was about two Years, as appears from *Acts* 18. 11, 18. compared: In which time it may be concluded he made many Converts, for he was not idle there, nor did he use to stay long in a Place where he was not encouraged by the Success of his Ministry. Besides what his so long Abode in this one City, and his indefatigable Labour every where might induce one to presume of the Number of Converts he made in that City; the Scripture itself, *Acts* 18. 10. gives sufficient Evidence of a numerous Church gathered there.

Corinth itself was a rich Merchant-Town, the Inhabitants Greeks, a People of quick Parts, and inquisitive, 1 *Cor.* 1. 22. but naturally vain and conceited of themselves.

These things consider'd may help us in some measure the better to understand St. Paul's Epistles to this Church, which seems to be in greater Disorder than any other of the Churches which he writ to.

This Epistle was writ to the *Corinthians*, *Anno Christi* 57. between two and three Years after *St. Paul* had left them. In this Interval there was got in amongst them a new Instructor, a Jew by Nation, who had raised a Faction against *St. Paul*. With this Party, whereof he was the Leader, this false Apostle had gain'd great Authority, so that they admired, and gloried in him, with an apparent Disesteem and Diminishing of *St. Paul*.

Why I suppose the Opposition to be made to *St. Paul* in this Church by one Party under one Leader, I shall give the Reasons that make it probable to me, as they come in my Way, going through these two Epistles, which I shall leave to the Reader to judge, without positively determining on either Side: And therefore shall, as it happens, speak of these Opposers of *St. Paul* sometimes in the singular, and sometimes in the plural Number.

This at least is evident, that the main Design of *St. Paul* in this Epistle, is to support his own Authority, Dignity, and Credit, with that part of the Church which stuck to him; to vindicate himself from the Aspersions and Calumnies of the opposite Party; to lessen the Credit of the chief and leading Men in it, by intimating their Miscarriages, and shewing their no Cause of glorying, or being gloried in; that so withdrawing their Party from the Admiration and Esteem of those their Leaders, he might break the Faction; and putting an End to the Division, might re-unite them with the uncorrupted part of the Church, that they might all unanimously submit to the Authority of his Divine Mission, and with one Accord receive and keep the Doctrine and Directions he had deliver'd to them.

This is the whole Subject from *Ch.* 1. 10. to the End of *Ch.* 6. In the remaining part of this Epistle he answers some Questions they had propos'd to him; and resolves some Doubts not without a Mixture, on all Occasions, of Reflections on his Opposers, and of other things that might tend to the breaking of their Faction.

S E C T. I.

C H A P. I. V. 1—9.

*An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.*

I N T R O D U C T I O N.

T E X T.

1. **P**AUL an Apostle of Jesus Christ, called to be so
 2. by the Will of God (a) and *Sosthenes* (b) our Brother in the Christian Faith, to the Church of God which is at *Corinth*, to them that are separated from the rest of the World by Faith in *Christ Jesus*, (c) called to be Saints, with all that are every where called
- P**AUL called to be an apostle of Jesus Christ through the will of God and *Sosthenes* our brother. Unto the church of God² which is at Corinth, to them that are sanctified in *Christ Jesus*, called to be Saints, with all that in e-

N O T E S.

1 (a) *St. Paul* in most of his Epistles mentions his being call'd to be an Apostle by the Will of God, which way of speaking being peculiar to him, we may suppose him therein to intimate his extraordinary and miraculous Call, *Acts* 9. and his receiving the Gospel by immediate Revelation, *Gal.* 1. 11, 12. For he doubted not of the Will and Providence of God governing all things.

(b) *Acts* 18. 17.

2 (c) *ἡγιασμένοις ἐν Χριστῷ Ἰησοῦ*, Sanctified in *Christ Jesus*, does not signify here, whose Lives are pure and holy, for there were many amongst those he writ to, who were quite otherwise; but sanctified signifies separate from the common State of Mankind, to be the People of God, and to serve him. The Heathen World had revolted from the true God, to the Service of Idols and false Gods, *Rom.* 1. 18—25. The Jews being separated from this corrupted Mass, to be the peculiar People of God, were called *Holy*, *Exod.* 19. 5, 6. *Numb.* 15. 40. They being cast off, the Professors of Christianity were separated to be the People of God, and so became holy, 1 *Pet.* 11. 9, 10.

by

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

very place call upon the
name of Jesus Christ our
Lord, both theirs and ours :
3 Grace be unto you, and
Peace from God our Fa-
ther, and from the Lord
4 Jesus Christ. I thank my
God always on your be-
half, for the grace of God,
which is given you by Je-
5 sus Christ; That in every
thing ye are enriched by
him in all utterance, and
6 in all knowledge : Even as
the testimony of Christ
7 was confirmed in you. So
that ye come behind in no
Gift; waiting for the co-
ming of our Lord Jesus
8 Christ : Who shall also con-
firm you unto the end, that
ye may be blameless in the
day of our Lord Jesus
9 Christ. God is faithful,
by whom ye were called
unto the fellowship of his
Son Jesus Christ our Lord.

by the Name of *Jesus Christ* (d) their Lord (e) and
ours; Favour and Peace be unto you from God our
Father, and from the Lord *Jesus Christ*.

I thank God always on your Behalf, for the Favour
of God which is bestow'd on you through *Jesus Christ*;
so that by him you are enriched with all Knowledge
and Utterance, and all extraordinary Gifts, as at first
by those miraculous Gifts the Gospel of *Christ* was con-
firmed among you : So that in no spiritual Gift are
of you short or deficient, (f) waiting for the Coming
our Lord *Jesus Christ*, who shall also confirm you unto
the End, that in the Day of the Lord *Jesus Christ*
there may be no Charge against you. For God who
has called you unto the Fellowship of his Son *Jesus*
Christ our Lord, may be relied on for what is to be
done on his Side.

3.

4.

5.

6.

7.

8.

9.

NOTES.

(d) *Επικαλούμενοι ὄνομα Χριστοῦ*, *that are called Christians*; these Greek Words being a Periphrasis for Christians, as is plain from the Design of this Verse. But he that is not satisfied with that, may see more Proofs of it in Dr. Hammond upon the Place.

(e) What the Apostle means by *Lord*, when he attributes it to Christ, *Vid.* 8. 6.

(f) *Vid.* 2 Cor. 12. 12, 13.

SECT. II.

CHAP. I. 10—VI. 20.

CONTENTS.

THere were great Disorders in the Church of *Corinth*, caused chiefly by a Faction raised there against St. Paul: The Partisans of the Faction mightily cried up and gloried in their Leaders, who did all they could to disparage St. Paul, and lessen him in the Esteem of the *Corinthians*. St. Paul makes it his Business in this Section to take off the *Corinthians* from siding with and glorying in this pretended Apostle, whose Followers and Scholars they profess'd themselves to be, and to reduce them into one Body as the Scholars of Christ united in a Belief of the Gospel, which he had preached to them, and in an Obedience to it, without any such Distinction of Masters or Leaders, from whom they denominated themselves. He also here and there intermixes a Justification of himself against the Aspersions which were cast upon him by his Opposers. How much St. Paul was set against their Leaders, may be seen, 2 Cor. 11. 13—15.

The Arguments used by St. Paul to break the opposite Faction, and put an End to all Divisions amongst them being various, we shall take notice of them under their several Heads, as they come in the Order of his Discourse.

I CORINTHIANS.

SECT. II. N. I.

CHAP. I. 10—16.

CONTENTS.

Saint Paul's first Argument is, That in Christianity they all had but one Master, *viz. Christ*; and therefore were not to fall into Parties denominated from distinct Teachers, as they did in their Schools of Philosophy.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

10. **N**OW I beseech you, Brethren, by the Name (g) of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, that ye hold the same Doctrine, and that there be no Divisions among you; but that ye be framed together into one entire Body, with one Mind, and one Affection. For I understand my Brethren, (b) by some of the House of *Chloe*, that there are Quarrels and Dissentions amongst you: So that ye are all fallen into Parties, ranking your selves under different Leaders or Masters, one saying, I am of *Paul*, another, I of *Apollos*, I of *Cephas*, I of *Christ*. Is *Christ*, who is our only Head and Master, divided? Was *Paul* crucified for you? Or were you baptized into (i) the Name of *Paul*? I thank God that I baptized none of you but *Crispus* and *Gaius*; lest any one should say I had baptized into my own Name. I baptized also the Household of *Stephanas*: Farther I know not whether I baptized any other.

Now I beseech you, brethren, by the name of our Lord *Jesus Christ*, that ye all speak the same thing, and that there be no divisions among you; but that ye be perfectly joined together in the same mind, and in the same judgment. For it hath been declared unto me of you, my brethren, by them which are of the house of *Chloe*, that there are contentions among you. Now this I say, that every one of you faith, I am of *Paul*, and I of *Apollos*, and I of *Cephas*, and I of *Christ*. Is *Christ* divided? was *Paul* crucified for you? or were ye baptized in the name of *Paul*? I thank God that I baptized none of you, but *Crispus* and *Gaius*: Lest any should say that I had baptized in mine own name. And I baptized also the household of *Stephanas*: besides, I know not whether I baptized any other.

NOTES.

10. (g) Of whom the whole Family in Heaven and Earth, is and ought to be named. If any one has thought *St. Paul* a loose Writer, it is only because he was a loose Reader. He that takes notice of *St. Paul's* Design, shall find that there is not a Word scarce, or Expression that he makes use of, but with Relation and Tendency to his present main Purpose: As here, intending to abolish the Names of Leaders they distinguish'd themselves by, he beseeches them by the Name of *Christ*, a Form that I do not remember he elsewhere uses.

11. (b) *Brethren*, a Name of Union and Friendship used here twice together by *St. Paul* in the Entrance of his Persuasion to them, to put an End to their Divisions.

13. (i) *Eis* properly signifies *into*, so the *French* translate it here: The Phrase *par son Nom*, is solemnly by that Ceremony to enter himself a Disciple of him into whose Name he is baptized, with Profession to receive his Doctrine and Rules, and submit to his Authority: a very good Argument here why they should be called by no one's Name but *Christ's*.

I CORINTHIANS.

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An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

SECT. II. N. 2.

CHAP. I. 17.—31.

CONTENTS.

THE next Argument of St. Paul to stop their Followers from glorying in these false Apostles, is, that neither any Advantage of Extraction nor Skill in the Learning of the *Jews*, nor in the Philosophy and Eloquence of the *Greeks*, was that for which God chose Men to be Preachers of the Gospel. Those whom he made choice of for overturning the Mighty and the Learned, were mean plain illiterate Men.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

17 For Christ sent me not to baptize, but to preach the gospel: not with wisdom of words, lest the cross of Christ should be made of none effect. For the preaching of the cross is to them that perish, foolishness: but unto us which are saved, it is the power of God. For it is written, I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will bring to nothing the understanding of the prudent. Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world? For after that, in the wisdom of God, the world by wisdom knew not God, it pleased God by the foolishness of preaching to save them that believe. For the Jews require a sign, and the Greeks seek after wisdom:

For *Christ* sent me not to baptize, but to preach the Gospel: not with learned and eloquent Harangues, lest thereby the Virtue and Efficacy of *Christ's* Sufferings and Death should be overlook'd and neglected, if the Stress of our Persuasion should be laid on the Learning and Quaintness of our Preaching. For the plain insisting on the Death of a crucified Saviour is by those, who perish, received as a foolish contemptible thing; though to us, who are saved, it be the Power of God, conformable to what is prophesied by *Isaiah*: I will destroy the Wisdom of the Wise, and I will bring to nothing the Understanding of the Prudent. Where is the Philosopher skill'd in the Wisdom of the Greeks? Where the Scribe (*k*) studied in the Learning of the *Jews*? Where the Professor of humane Arts and Sciences? Hath not God render'd all the Learning and Wisdom of this World foolish and useless for the Discovery of the Truths of the Gospel? For since the World by their natural Parts and Improvements in what with them passed for Wisdom, acknowledged not the one only true God, tho' he had manifested himself to them in the wise Contrivance and admirable Frame of the visible Works of the Creation; it pleased God by the plain, and (as the World esteems it) foolish Doctrine of the Gospel, to save those who receive and believe it. Since (*l*) both the *Jews* de-

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NOTES.

20 (*k*) *Scribe* was the Title of a learned Man amongst the *Jews*; One versed in their Law and Rites, which was the Study of their Doctors and Rabbies. It is likely the false Apostle so much concern'd in these two Epistles to the *Corinthians*, who was a *Jew*, pretended to something of this kind, and magnified himself thereupon, otherwise it is not probable that Saint Paul should name to the *Corinthians*, a Sort of Men not much known or valued amongst the *Greeks*. This therefore may be supposed to be said to take off their glorying in their false Apostle.

22 (*l*) *Exaudi* &c. since both. These Words used here by St. Paul are not certainly idle and insignificant, and therefore I see not how they can be omitted in the Translation.

Exaudi is a Word of Reasoning, and if minded, will lead us into one of St. Paul's Reasonings here, which the Neglect of this Word makes the Reader overlook. St. Paul in ver. 21. argues thus in general. "Since the World by their natural Parts and Improvements did not attain to a right and saving Knowledge of God, God by the preaching of the Gospel, which seems Foolishness to them, was pleased to communicate that Knowledge to those who believed.

In the three following Verses he repeats the same Reasoning a little more expressly applied to the People he had here in his View, viz. *Jews* and *Greeks*: and his Sense seems to be this; "Since the *Jews*, to make any Doctrine go down with them, require extraordinary Signs of
"the

- mand extraordinary Signs and Miracles; and the
 23. *Greeks* seek Wisdom; but I have nothing else to preach
 to them but Christ crucified, a Doctrine offensive to
 the Hopes and Expectations of the *Jews*; and foolish
 24. to the acute Men of Learning, the *Greeks*; but yet it is
 to these, both *Jews* and *Greeks* (when they are converted) *Christ* the Power of God, and *Christ* the Wis-
 25. dom of God: Because that which seems Foolishness
 in those who came from God, surpasses the Wisdom
 of Man; and that which seems Weakness in those sent
 26. by God, surpasses the Power of Men. For reflect up-
 on your selves, Brethren, and you may observe, that
 there are not many of the wise and learned Men, not
 many Men of Power or of Birth among you that are
 27. called. But God hath chosen the foolish Men in the
 Account of the World, to confound the Wise; and
 God hath chosen the weak Men of the World to con-
 28. found the Mighty: The mean Men of the World, and
 contemptible, has God chosen, and those that are of
 no Account, and are nothing, (m) to displace those that
 29. are: That so there might be no Room or Pretence for
 30. any one to glory in his Presence: Natural humane
 Abilities, Parts or Wisdom, could never have reach'd
 this Way to Happiness: 'Tis to his Wisdom alone that
 ye owe the Contrivance of it: To his revealing of it
 that ye owe the Knowledge of it, and 'tis from him
 alone that you are in *Christ Jesus*, whom God has made
 to us *Christians* Wisdom, and Righteousness and San-
 ctification, and Redemption, which is all the Digni-
 ty and Pre-eminence, all that is of any value, amongst
 31. us *Christians*; That, as it is written, He that glorieth
 should glory only in the Lord.

But we preach Christ cru-
 cified, unto the *Jews* a
 stumbling block, and unto
 the *Greeks* foolishness;
 But unto them which are
 called, both *Jews* and
 24. *Greeks*, Christ, the power
 of God, and the wisdom
 of God. Because the fool-
 ishness of God is wiser than
 25. men; and the weakness of
 God is stronger than men.
 For ye see your calling,
 26. brethren, how that not
 many wise men after the
 flesh, not many mighty,
 not many noble are called.
 But God hath chosen the
 27. foolish things of the
 world, to confound the
 wise; and God hath cho-
 sen the weak things of
 the world, to confound the
 things which are mighty;
 And base things of the
 28. world, and things which
 are despised, hath God
 chosen, yea, and things
 which are not, to bring to
 nought things that are:
 That no flesh should glory
 29. in his presence. But of
 him are ye in Christ Je-
 sus, who of God is made
 unto us wisdom, and righ-
 teousness, and sanctifica-
 30. tion, and redemption: That
 according as it is written,
 He that glorieth, let him
 glory in the Lord.

NOTES.

"the Power of God to accompany it, and nothing will please the nice Palates of the learned
 "Greeks but Wisdom, and though our preaching of a crucified Messiah be a Scandal to the Jews,
 "and Foolishness to the Greeks; yet we have what they both seek, for both Jew and Gentile,
 "when they are called, find the Messiah whom we preach to be the Power of God, and the
 "Wisdom of God.

25, 27, 28. He that will read the Context, cannot doubt but that St. Paul, by what he ex-
 presses in these Verses in the Neuter Gender, means Persons, the whole Argument of the Place
 being about Persons, and their Glorifying, and not about things.

28 (m) Τα μὴ ὄντα, Things that are not, I think may well be understood of the Gentiles,
 who were not the People of God, and were counted as nothing by the Jews; and we are
 pointed to this Meaning by the Words καλαροὶ καὶ καλαροὶ, By the foolish and weak things,
 i. e. by simple, illiterate and mean Men, God would make ashamed the learned Philosophers and
 great Men of the Nations: But by the μὴ ὄντα, things that are not, he would abolish the
 things that are, as in effect he did abolish the Jewish Church by the Christian, taking in the
 Gentiles to be his People, in the Place of the rejected Jews, who till then were his People.
 This St. Paul mentions here not by Chance, but pursuant to his main Design to stay their glo-
 rying in their false Apostle, who was a Jew; by shewing that whatever that Head of the Fa-
 ction might claim under that Pretence, as it is plain he did stand upon it (See 2 Cor. 11. 21,
 22.) He had not any the least Title to any Esteem or Respect upon that Account; since the Jew-
 ish Nation was laid aside, and God had chosen the Gentiles to take their Place, and to be his
 Church and People instead of them: Vid. Note on Chap. 2. v. 6. there one may see, who are
 the καλαροί, the abolished, whom God says here, καλαροὶ, he will abolish.

SECT.

SECT. II. N. 3.

CHAP. II. 1—5.

CONTENTS.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

Further to keep them from glorying in their Leaders, he tells them, that as the Preachers of the Gospel of God's choosing were mean and illiterate Men, so the Gospel was not to be propagated, nor Men to be established in the Faith by humane Learning and Eloquence, but by the Evidence it had from the Revelation contain'd in the Old Testament, and from the Power of God accompanying and confirming it with Miracles.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

¹ And I, brethren, when I came to you, came not with excellency of speech, or of wisdom, declaring unto you the testimony of God. For I determined not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified. And I was with you in weakness, and in fear, and in much trembling. ⁴ And my speech, and my preaching was not with enticing words of man's wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit, and

AND I, Brethren, when I came and preach'd the Gospel to you, I did not endeavour to set it off with any Ornaments of Rhetorick, or the Mixture of humane Learning or Philosophy, but plainly declar'd it to you as a Doctrine coming from God, reveal'd and attested (n) by him. For I resolv'd to own or show no other Knowledge among you, but the Knowledge (o) or Doctrine of Jesus Christ, and of him crucified. All my Carriage among you had nothing in it, but the Appearance of Weakness and Humility, and fear of offending you: (p) Neither did I in my Discourses, or Preaching, make use of any humane Art of Persuasion to inveigle you. But the Doctrine of the Gospel which I propos'd, I confirm'd, and enforced by what the Spirit (q) had revealed and demonstrated of it in the Old Testament, and by the Power

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3.

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NOTES.

1 (n) Το μαρτύριον τῷ Θεῷ, *The Testimony of God*, i. e. what God hath revealed and testifies in the Old Testament: The Apostle here declares to the Corinthians, that when he brought the Gospel to them, he made no use of any humane Science, Improvement or Skill, no Insinuations of Eloquence, no philosophical Speculations or Ornaments of humane Learning appear'd in any thing he said to persuade them: All his Arguments were, as he tells them, ver. 4. from the Revelation of the Spirit of God in the Predictions of the Old Testament, and the Miracles which he Paul did among them, that their Faith might be built wholly upon the Spirit of God, and not upon the Abilities and Wisdom of Man: Tho' μαρτύριον τῷ Θεῷ, *The Testimony of God*, agrees very well with so much of St. Paul's Meaning as relates to his founding his Preaching on the Testimony of God, yet those Copies which read μυστήριον, *Mystery*, for μαρτύριον, *Testimony*, seem more perfectly to correspond with St. Paul's Sense in the whole latitude of it. For tho' he owns the Doctrine of the Gospel dictated by the Spirit of God, to be contain'd in the Scriptures of the Old Testament, and builds upon Revelation: yet he every where teaches, that it remain'd a Secret there, not understood till they were led into the hidden Evangelical Meaning of those Passages by the coming of Jesus Christ; and by the Assistance of the Spirit in the Times of the Messiah, and then publish'd to the World by the Preachers of the Gospel: And therefore he calls it, especially that part of it which relates to the Gentiles, almost every where, μυστήριον *Mystery*. See particularly, Rom. 16. 25, 26.

2 (o) St. Paul who was himself a learned Man, especially in the Jewish Knowledge, having in the foregoing Chapter told them, that neither the Jewish Learning, nor Grecian Sciences, give a Man any Advantage, as a Minister of the Gospel; he here reminds them, that he made no Shew or Use of either when he planted the Gospel amongst them; intimating thereby, that those were not things for which their Teachers were to be valued, or followed.

3 (p) St. Paul by thus setting forth his own modest and humble Behaviour amongst them, reflects on the contrary Carriage of their false Apostle, which he describes in words at length, 2 Cor. 11. 20.

4 (q) There were two sorts of Arguments wherewith the Apostle confirm'd the Gospel; The one was the Revelations made concerning our Saviour by Types and Figures, and Prophecies of him under the Law: The other Miracles and miraculous Gifts accompanying the first Preachers

I CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

5. Power of God accompanying it with miraculous Operations, that your Faith might have its Foundation not in the Wisdom and Endowments of Men, but in the Power of God. (r)

of power: That your faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God.

NOTES.

Preachers of the Gospel in the publishing and propagating of it. The latter of these St. Paul here calls *Power*, the former in this Chapter he terms *Spirit*; so ver. 12. 14. *Things of the Spirit of God, and spiritual things*, are things which are revealed by the Spirit of God, and not discoverable by our natural Faculties.

(r) Their Faith being built wholly on Divine Revelation and Miracles, whereby all humane Abilities were shut out, there could be no reason for any of them to boast themselves of their Teachers, or value themselves upon their being the Followers of this or that Preacher, which St. Paul hereby obviates.

SECT. II. N. 3.

CHAP. II. 6—16.

CONTENTS.

THE next Argument the Apostle uses to shew them, that they had no reason to glory in their Teachers, is, that the Knowledge of the Gospel was not attainable by our natural Parts, however they were improved by Arts and Philosophy, but was wholly owing to Revelation.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

6. Howbeit that which we preach is Wisdom, and known to be so among those who are thoroughly instructed in the Christian Religion, and take it upon its true Principles: (s) but not the Wisdom of this World, (t) nor of the Princes (u) or great Men of this World

Howbeit we speak wisdom among them that are perfect: yet not the wisdom of this world; nor of the princes of this world, that come

NOTES.

6 (s) *Perfect* here is the same with *Spiritual*, ver. 15. one that is so perfectly well apprised of the Divine Nature and Original of the Christian Religion, that he sees and acknowledges it to be all a pure Revelation from God; and not in the least the Product of humane Discovery, Parts, or Learning, and so deriving it wholly from what God hath taught by his Spirit in the Sacred Scriptures, allows not the least part of it to be ascribed to the Skill or Abilities of Men, as Authors of it, but received as a Doctrine coming from God alone. And thus *perfect* is opposed to *carnal*, Ch. 3. 1, 3. *i. e.* such *Babes* in Christianity, such weak and mistaken Christians, that they thought the Gospel was to be managed as humane Arts and Sciences amongst Men of the World, and those were better instructed, and were more in the right, who followed this Master or Teacher rather than another, and so glorying in being the Scholars, one of Paul, and another of Apollos, fell into Divisions and Parties about it, and vaunted one over another: Whereas in the School of Christ all was to be built on the Authority of God alone, and the Revelation of his Spirit in the Sacred Scriptures.

6 (t) *Wisdom of this World*, *i. e.* the Knowledge, Arts and Sciences attainable by Man's natural Parts and Faculties; such as Man's Wit could find out, cultivate and improve; or of the *Princes of this World*, *i. e.* such Doctrines, Arts and Sciences, as the Princes of the World approve, encourage, and endeavour to propagate.

6 (u) Tho' by Ἀρχόντες τῆ αἰῶνος τῆς τοῦ κόσμου, may here be understood the *Princes* or Great Men of this World, in the ordinary Sense of these Words, yet he that well considers ver. 28. of the foregoing Chapter, and ver. 8. of this Chapter may find reason to think, that the Apostle here principally designs the Rulers and Great Men of the Jewish Nation. If it be objected, that there is little Ground to think that St. Paul by the Wisdom he disowns, should mean that of his own Nation, which the Greeks of Corinth (whom he was writing to) had little Acquaintance with;

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

7 to nought. But we speak the wisdom of God in a Mystery, even the hidden wisdom which God ordained before the world

World, (w) who will quickly be brought to nought. (x) But we speak the Wisdom of God, (z) contained in the mysterious and the obscure Prophecies of the Old Testament, (a) which has been therein concealed and hid: tho' it be what God predetermin'd in his own

7.

NOTES.

with; and had very little Esteem for; I reply, that to understand this right, and the Pertinency of it, we must remember, that the great Design of St. Paul in writing to the *Corinthians*, was to take them off from the Respect and Esteem that many of them had for a false Apostle that was got in among them, and had there raised a Faction against St. Paul. This pretended Apostle, 'tis plain from 2 Cor. 11. 22. was a Jew, and as it seems, 2 Cor. 5. 16, 17. valued himself upon that Account, and possibly boasted himself to be a Man of Note, either by Birth or Alliance, or Place, or Learning, among that People, who counted themselves the holy and illuminated People of God, and therefore to have a Right to sway among these new Heathen Converts. To obviate this Claim of his to any Authority, St. Paul here tells the *Corinthians*, that the Wisdom and Learning of the Jewish Nation lead them not into the Knowledge of the Wisdom of God, i. e. the Gospel reveal'd in the Old Testament, evident in this, that it was their Rulers and Rabbies, who stiffly adhering to the Notions and Prejudices of their Nation, had crucified Jesus the Lord of Glory, and were now themselves, with their State and Religion, upon the point to be swept away and abolish'd. 'Tis to the same purpose that 2 Cor. 4. 16—19. he tells the *Corinthians*, that he knows no Man after the Flesh, i. e. that he acknowledges no Dignity of Birth or Descent, or outward National Privileges. The old things of the Jewish Constitution are past and gone; whoever is in Christ, and entered into his Kingdom, is in a new Creation, wherein all things are new, all things are from God; no Right, no Claim or Preference derived to any one from any former Institution, but every one's Dignity consists solely in this, that God had reconciled him to himself, not imputing his former Trespasses to him.

6 (w) *Αἰὼν ὅτις*, which we translate *this World*, seems to me to signify commonly, if not constantly, in the New Testament, that State which during the Mosaic Constitution, Men, either Jews or Gentiles, were in, as contra-distinguish'd to the Evangelical State or Constitution, which is commonly called *Αἰὼν μέλλων*, or *ἐρχόμενος*, *The World to come*.

6 (x) *Τὸν καλῶμεναι*, Who are brought to nought, i. e. who are vanishing. If the Wisdom of this World, and of the Princes of this World, be to be understood of the Wisdom and Learning of the World in general, as contra-distinguished to the Doctrine of the Gospel, then the Words are added, to shew what Folly it is for them to glory as they do in their Teachers, when all that worldly Wisdom and Learning, and the Great Men, the Supporters of it, would quickly be gone, whereas all true and lasting Glory came only from Jesus Christ, the Lord of Glory. But if these Words are to be understood of the Jews, as seems most consonant both to the main Design of the Epistle, and to St. Paul's Expressions here; then his telling them that the Princes of the Jewish Nation, are brought to nought, is to take them off from glorying in their Judaizing false Apostle, since the Authority of the Rulers of that Nation, in Matters of Religion, was now at an end, and they with all their Pretences, and their very Constitution it self, were upon the point of being abolish'd and swept away, for having rejected and crucified the Lord of Glory.

7 (z) *Wisdom of God* is used here for the Doctrine of the Gospel coming immediately from God by the Revelation of his Spirit, and in this Chapter is set in Opposition to all Knowledge, Discoveries and Improvements whatsoever attainable by humane Industry, Parts, and Study, all which he calls *the Wisdom of the World*, and *Man's Wisdom*. Thus distinguishing the Knowledge of the Gospel which was derived wholly from Revelation, and could be had no other way, from all other Knowledge whatsoever.

7 (a) What the Spirit of God had revealed of the Gospel, during the times of the Law, was so little understood by the Jews, in whose Sacred Writings it was contained, that it might well be called the *Wisdom of God in a Mystery*, i. e. declared in obscure Prophecies and mysterious Expressions and Types. Though this be undoubtedly so, as appears by what the Jews both thought and did when Jesus the Messiah, exactly answering what was foretold of him, came amongst them, yet by the *Wisdom of God in Mystery wherein it was hid*, though purposed by God before the settling of the Jewish Oeconomy, St. Paul seems more particularly to mean, what the Gentiles, and consequently the *Corinthians*, were more peculiarly concerned in, (viz.) God's purpose of calling the Gentiles to be his People under the Messiah, which tho' revealed in the Old Testament, yet was not in the least understood till the times of the Gospel, and the preaching of St. Paul the Apostle of the Gentiles, which therefore he so frequently calls a *Mystery*. The reading and comparing Rom. 16. 25, 26. Eph. 3. 3—9. ch. 6. 19, 20. Col. 1. 26, 27. & 2. 1—8. & 4. 3, 4. will give Light to this. To which give me leave to observe upon the use of the word *Wisdom* here, that St. Paul speaking of God's calling the Gentiles, cannot in mentioning it forbear Expressions of his Admiration of the great and incomprehensible Wisdom of God therein. See Eph. 3. 8, 10. Rom. 11. 33.

- purpose before the Jewish Constitution, (b) to the Glory of us (c) who understand, receive and preach it: Which none of the Rulers amongst the *Jews* understood: for if they had, they would not have crucified the Lord Christ, who has in his hands the disposing of all true Glory. But they knew it not, as it is written, Eye hath not seen, nor Ear heard, nor have the things that God hath prepared for them that love him, enter'd into the Heart or Thoughts of Man. But these things which are not discoverable by Man's natural Faculties and Powers, God hath revealed to us by his Spirit, which searcheth out all Things, even the deep Counsels of God, which are beyond the Reach of our Abilities to discover. For as no Man knoweth what is in the Mind of another Man, but only the Spirit of the Man himself that is in him; so much less doth any Man know or can discover the Thoughts and Counsels of God, but only the Spirit of God. But we (d) have received not the Spirit of the World, (e) but the Spirit which is of God, that we might know what things are in the purpose of God, out of his free Bounty to bestow upon us, which things we

unto our glory. Which 8 none of the princes of this world knew: for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. But as it is writ-9 ten, Eye hath not seen, nor ear heard, neither have entered into the heart of man, the things which God hath prepared for them that love him. But 10 God hath revealed them unto us by his Spirit: for the Spirit searcheth all things; yea, the deep things of God. For what 11 man knoweth the things of a man, save the spirit of a man which is in him? even so the things of God knoweth no man, but the Spirit of God. Now we 12 have received, not the spirit of the world, but the Spirit which is of God; that we might know the things that are freely gi-

NOTES.

7 (b) Πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, signifies properly *before the Ages*, and I think it may be doubted whether these Words, *before the World*, do exactly render the Sense of the Place, that αἰών or αἰῶνες, should not be translated *the World*, as in many places they are, I shall give one convincing Instance among many that might be brought, viz. Eph. 3. 9. compared with Col. 1. 26. The words in *Colossians* are τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκρυφθέν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων, thus render'd in the English Translation, *which hath been hid from Ages*, but in Eph. 3. 9. a Parallel Place, the same words, τὸ μυστήριον τὸ ἀποκρυφθέν ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων, are translated, *The Mystery which from the beginning of the World hath been hid*. Whereas it is plain from Col. 1. 26. ἀπὸ τῶν αἰώνων, does not signify the Epoch or Commencement of the Concealment, but those from whom it was concealed. 'Tis plain, the Apostle in the Verse immediately preceding, and that following this which we have before us, speaks of the *Jews*; and therefore πρὸ τῶν αἰώνων, here may be well understood to mean, *Before the Ages of the Jews*; and so ἀπ' αἰώνων, from the *Ages of the Jews*, in the other two mentioned Texts. Why αἰῶνες in these and other places, as Luke 1. 70. & Acts 3. 21. and elsewhere, should be appropriated to the *Ages of the Jews*, may be owing to their counting by Ages or Jubilees, Vid. Dr. Burthogge in his Judicious Treatise, *Christianity a revealed Mystery*, c. 2. p. 17.

7 (c) St. Paul opposes here the true *Glory* of a *Christian*, to the *glorying* which was amongst the *Corinthians*, in the Eloquence, Learning, or any other Quality of their factious Leaders; for St. Paul in all his Expressions has an Eye on his main Purpose; as if he should have said, "Why do you make Divisions by glorying as you do, in your distinct Teachers; the Glory that God has ordain'd us *Christian* Teachers and Professors to, is to be Expounders, Preachers, and Believers of those revealed Truths and Purposes of God, which though contained in the Sacred Scriptures of the Old Testament, were not understood in former Ages. This is all the Glory that belongs to us the Disciples of *Christ*, who is the Lord of all Power and Glory, and herein has given us what far excells all that either *Jews* or *Gentiles* had any Expectation of from what they gloried in: Vid. ver. 9." Thus St. Paul takes away all Matter of glorying from the false Apostle, and his factious Followers among the *Corinthians*. The Excellency of the Gospel-Ministration see also, 2 Cor. 3. 6—11.

12 (d) We the true Apostles, or rather I, for tho' he speaks in the plural Number to avoid Ostentation, as it might be interpreted; yet he is here justifying himself, and shewing the *Corinthians*, that none of them had reason to forsake and slight him, to follow and cry up their false Apostle. And that he speaks of himself, is plain from the next Verse, where he saith, *We speak not in the Words which Man's Wisdom teacheth*, the same which he says of himself, Chap. 1. v. 17. *I was sent to preach not with Wisdom of Words*. And Ch. 11. v. 1. *I came to you not with Excellency of Speech, or of Wisdom*.

12 (e) As he puts Princes of the World, ver. 6, 8. for the Rulers of the *Jews*, so here he puts *Spirit of the World*, for the Notions of the *Jews*, that worldly Spirit wherewith they interpreted the Old Testament, and the Prophecies of the *Messiah* and his Kingdom; which Spirit, in Contra-distinction to the Spirit of God, which the *Roman* Converts had received, he calls *the Spirit of Bondage*, Rom. 8. 15.

I CORINTHIANS.

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An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

13 ven to us of God. Which things also we speak, not in the words which man's wisdom teacheth, but which the holy Ghost teacheth; comparing spiritual things with spiritual. 14 But the natural man receiveth not the things of the Spirit of God: for they are foolishness unto him; neither can he know them, because they are spiritually discerned. But he that is spiritual, judgeth all things, yet he himself is judged of no man. 16 For who hath known the mind of the Lord, that he may instruct him? but we have the mind of Christ.

not only know, but declare also; not in the Language and Learning taught by humane Eloquence and Philosophy, but in the Language and Expressions which the Holy Ghost teacheth in the Revelations contained in the Holy Scriptures, comparing one part of Revelation (f) with another. (g) But a Man who hath no other Help but his own natural Faculties, how much soever improved by humane Arts and Sciences, cannot receive the Truths of the Gospel, which are made known by another Principle only, viz. the Spirit of God revealing them, and therefore seem foolish and absurd to such a Man; nor can he by the bare Use of his natural Faculties, and the Principles of humane Reason, ever come to the Knowledge of them: Because it is by the studying of Divine Revelation alone that we can attain the Knowledge of them: But he that lays his Foundation in Divine Revelation,

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14.

15.

16.

can judge what is, and what is not the Doctrine of the Gospel and of Salvation; he can judge who is, and who is not a good Minister and Preacher of the Word of God: But others who are bare Animal (g) Men, that go not beyond the Discoveries made by the natural Faculties of humane Understanding, without the Help and Study of Revelation, cannot judge of such an one, whether he preacheth right and well, or not. For who, by the bare use of his natural Parts, can come to know the Mind of the Lord in the Design of the Gospel, so as to be able to instruct him (b) [the spiritual Man] in it? But I, who renouncing all humane Learning and Knowledge in the Case, take all that I preach from Divine Revelation alone, I am sure that therein I have the Mind of Christ; And therefore there is no Reason why any of you should prefer other Teachers to me, glory in them who oppose and vilifie me; and count it an Honour to go for their Scholars, and be of their Party.

NOTES.

13 (f) 'Tis plain the *spiritual things* he here speaks of, are the unsearchable Councils of God, revealed by the Spirit of God, which therefore he calls *spiritual things*.

14, 15 (g) *ἄλογος*, the *animal Man*, and *πνευμαλικός*, the *spiritual Man*, are opposed by St. Paul in ver. 14, 15. the one signifying a Man that has no higher Principles to build on than those of natural Reason, the other a Man that founds his Faith and Religion on Divine Revelation. This is what appears to be meant by *natural*, or rather *animal* Man and *Spiritual*, as they stand opposed in these two Verses.

16 (b) *ἄλλος*, *him*, refers here to *spiritual Man* in the former Verse, and not to *Lord* in this. For St. Paul is shewing here, not that a *natural Man* and a meer Philosopher cannot instruct Christ, this no body pretending to be a Christian could own; but that a Man by his bare natural Parts, not knowing the Mind of the Lord, could not instruct, could not judge, could not correct a Preacher of the Gospel who built upon Revelation, as he did, and therefore 'twas sure he had the Mind of Christ.

S E C T. II. N. 4.

C H A P. III. 1—IV. 20.

C O N T E N T S.

THE next Matter of boasting which the Faction made use of to give the Pre-eminence and Preference to their Leader above St. Paul, seems to have been this, that their new Teacher had led them farther, and given them a deeper Insight into the Mysteries of the Gospel than St. Paul had done.

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F f 2

To

An. Ch. 57. To take away their glorying on this Account St. Paul tells them, that they were carnal, and not capable of those more advanced Truths, or any thing beyond the first Principles of Christianity which he had taught them; and tho' another had come and watered what he had planted, yet neither Planter, nor Waterer, could assume to himself any Glory from thence, because it was God alone that gave the Increase. But whatever new Doctrines they might pretend to receive from their magnified new Apostle, yet no Man could lay any other Foundation in a Christian Church, but what he St. Paul had laid, viz. that Jesus is the Christ; and therefore there was no reason to glory in their Teachers; because upon this Foundation they possibly might build false or unsound Doctrines, for which they should receive no Thanks from God, tho' continuing in the Faith, they might be saved. Some of the particular Hay and Stubble which this Leader brought into the Church at Corinth, he seems particularly to point at, Ch. 3. 16, 17. viz. their defiling the Church, by retaining, and as it may be suppos'd, patronizing the Fornicator, who should have been turned out, Ch. 5. 7—13. He further adds, that these extolled Heads of their Party were at best but Men; and none of the Church ought to glory in Men: For even Paul, and Apollos, and Peter, and all the other Preachers of the Gospel, were for the Use and Benefit, and Glory of the Church, as the Church was for the Glory of Christ.

Moreover he shews them, that they ought not to be puffed up upon the Account of these their new Teachers, to the undervaluing of him, tho' it should be true, that they had learned more from them than from himself, for these Reasons:

1. Because all the Preachers of the Gospel are but Stewards of the Mysteries of God; and whether they have been faithful in their Stewardship, can not be now known, and therefore they ought not to be some of them magnified and extolled, and others depressed and blamed by their Hearers here, till Christ their Lord came, and then he, knowing how they have behaved themselves in their Ministry, will give them their due Praises. Besides, these Stewards have nothing but what they have received, and therefore no Glory belongs to them for it.

2. Because if these Leaders were (as was pretended) Apostles, Glory, and Honour, and outward Affluence here, was not their Portion, the Apostles being destined to Want, Contempt, and Persecution.

3. They ought not to be honour'd, followed and gloried in as Apostles, because they had not the Power of Miracles, which he intended shortly to come and shew they had not.

P A R A P H R A S E.

T E X T.

R AND I, Brethren, found you so given up to Pride and Vain-Glory, in Affectation of Learning and Philosophical Knowledge, (i) that I could not speak to you as Spiritual, (k) i. e. as to Men not wholly depending on Philosophy, and the Discoveries of natural Reason; as to Men who had resigned themselves up in Matters of Religion to Revelation, and the Knowledge which comes only from the Spirit of

AND I, brethren, could not speak unto you as unto spiritual, but as unto carnal, even as unto babes in Christ.

N O T E S.

(i) Vid. Ch. 1. 22. & 3. 18.

(k) Here *πνευμαλικὸς* Spiritual, is opposed to *σαρκινὸς* Carnal, as Ch. 2. 14. it is to *φύσικος* Natural, or rather Animal; so that here we have three Sorts of Men, 1. Carnal, i. e. such as are sway'd by fleshly Passions and Interests: 2. Animal, such as seek Wisdom, or a way to Happiness only by the Strength and Guidance of their own natural Parts, without any supernatural Light coming from the Spirit of God, i. e. by Reason without Revelation, by Philosophy without Scripture. 3. Spiritual, i. e. such as seek their Direction to Happiness, not in the Dictates of natural Reason and Philosophy, but in the Revelations of the Spirit of God in the Holy Scriptures.

God;

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

Am. Ch. 97.
Neroni. 3.

2 I have fed you with milk, and not with meat: for hitherto ye were not able to bear it, neither yet now are ye able.

3 For ye are yet carnal: for whereas there is among you envying, and strife, and divisions, are ye not carnal, and walk as men?

4 For while one saith, I am of Paul, and another, I am of Apollos, are ye not carnal?

God; But as to Carnal, (l) even as to Babes who yet retain'd a great many childish and wrong Notions about it: This hinder'd me that I could not go so far as I desired in the Mysteries of the *Christian* Religion, but was fain to content myself with instructing you in the first Principles (m) and more obvious and easie Doctrines of it. I could not apply myself to you, as to spiritual Men, (n) that could compare spiritual things with spiritual, one part of Scripture with another, and thereby understand the Truths reveal'd by the Spirit of God, discerning true from false Doctrines, good and useful from evil (o) and vain Opinions. A further Discovery of the Truths and Mysteries of Christianity, depending wholly on Revelation, you were not able to bear then, nor are you yet able to bear; Because you are carnal, full of Envyings and Strife, and Factions, upon the Account of your Knowledge, and the Orthodoxie of your particular Parties. (p) For whilst you say one, I am of *Paul*; and another, I am of *Apollos*, (q) are ye not carnal and manage yourselves in the Conduct both of your Minds and Actions, according to barely humane Principles, and do not as spiritual Men acknowledge all that Information, and all those Gifts wherewith the Ministers of Jesus Christ are furnish'd for the Propagation of the Gospel, to come wholly from the Spirit of

NOTES.

(l) Here *σαρκικός* carnal, is oppos'd to *πνευμαλικός* spiritual, in the same Sense that *ψυχικός* natural or animal, is oppos'd to *πνευμαλικός* spiritual, Ch. 2. 14. as appears by the Explication which St. Paul himself gives here to *σαρκικός* carnal: For he makes the carnal to be all one with Babes in Christ, v. 1. i. e. such as had not their Understandings yet fully opened to the true Grounds of the Christian Religion, but retain'd a great many childish Thoughts about it, as appear'd by their Divisions; one for the Doctrine of his Master *Paul*, another for that of his Master *Apollos*, which if they had been spiritual, i. e. had looked upon the Doctrine of the Gospel to have come solely from the Spirit of God, and to be had only from Revelation, they could not have done. For then all humane Mixtures of any thing deriv'd either from *Paul* or *Apollos*, or any other Man, had been wholly excluded. But they in these Divisions professed to hold their Religion, one from one Man, and another from another; and were thereupon divided into Parties. This he tells them was to be carnal, and *σαρκικὴν τὴν αἰσθησιν*, to be led by Principles purely humane, i. e. to found their Religion upon Men's natural Parts and Discoveries, whereas the Gospel was wholly built upon Divine Revelation, and nothing else, and from thence alone those who were *πνευμαλικοί* took it.

(m) That this is the Meaning of the Apostle's Metaphor of *Milk* and *Babes*, may be seen Heb. 5. 12—14.

(n) Vid. ch. 2. 13.

(o) Vid. Heb. 5. 14.

3 (p) κατ' ἀνθρώπου, speaking according to Man, signifies speaking according to the Principles of natural Reason, in Contra-distinction to Revelation, Vid. 1 Cor. 9. 8. Gal. 1. 11. and so walking according to Man, must here be understood.

4 (q) From this 4th Verse compared with ch. 4. 6. it may be no improbable Conjecture that the Division in this Church was only into two opposite Parties, whereof the one adhered to St. Paul, the other stood up for their Head, a false Apostle, who oppos'd St. Paul. For the *Apollos* whom St. Paul mentions here was one (as he tells us, ver. 6.) who came in and water'd what he had planted, i. e. when St. Paul had planted a Church at *Corinth*, this *Apollos* got into it, and pretended to instruct them farther, and boasted in his Performances amongst them, which St. Paul takes notice of again, 2 Cor. 10. 15, 16. Now the *Apollos* that he here speaks of, he himself tells us, ch. 4. 6. was another Man under that borrow'd Name. 'Tis true St. Paul, in his Epistles to the *Corinthians*, generally speaks of these his Opposers in the plural Number; but it is to be remember'd, that he speaks so of himself too, which as it was the less invidious way in regard of himself; so it was the softer way towards his Opposers, tho' he seems to intimate plainly, that it was one Leader that was set up against him.

God?

5. God? What then are any of the Preachers of the Gospel, that you should glory in them, and divide into Parties under their Names? Who, for Example, is *Paul*, or who *Apollos*? What are they else but bare Ministers, by whose Ministry according to those several Abilities and Gifts which God has bestowed upon each of them, ye have received the Gospel? They are only Servants employ'd to bring unto you a Religion deriv'd entirely from Divine Revelation, wherein humane Abilities, or Wisdom had nothing to do. The Preachers of it are only Instruments by whom this Doctrine is conveyed to you, which whether you look on it in its Original, it is not a thing of humane Invention or Discovery; or whether you look upon the Gifts of the Teachers who instruct you in it, all is entirely from God alone, and affords you not the least
6. Ground to attribute any thing to your Teachers. For Example, I planted it amongst you, and *Apollos* water'd it, but nothing can from thence be ascribed to either of us; there is no Reason for your calling your selves some of *Paul*, and others of *Apollos*. For neither the Planter nor the Waterer have any Power to make it take Root and grow in your Hearts; they are as nothing in that respect, the Growth and Success is owing to God alone. The Planter and the Waterer on this Account are all one, neither of them to be magnified or preferred before the other; they are but Instruments concurring to the same End, and therefore ought not to be distinguish'd, and set in Opposition one to another, or cried up as more deserving
9. one than another. We the Preachers of the Gospel are but Labourers employ'd by God about that which is his Work and from him shall receive Reward hereafter, every one according to his own Labour, and not from Men here, who are liable to make a wrong Estimate of the Labours of their Teachers, preferring those who do not labour together with God, who do not carry on the Design or Work of God in the Gospel, or perhaps do not carry it on equally with others who are undervalued by them.
10. Ye who are the Church of God are God's Building, in which I, according to the Skill and Knowledge which God of his free Bounty has been pleased to give me, and therefore ought not to be to me or any other matter of Glorifying, as a skilful Architect have laid a
11. sure Foundation, which is Jesus the Messiah, the sole and only Foundation of Christianity, besides which no Man can lay any other. But tho' no Man who pretends to be a Preacher of the Gospel can build upon any other Foundation, yet you ought not to cry up your new Instructor (r) (who has come and built upon the Foundation that I laid) for the Doctrines he builds thereon, as if there were no other Minister

Who then is *Paul*, and who is *Apollos*, but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man?

I have planted, *Apollos* watered; but God gave the increase.

So then, neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth: but God that giveth the increase.

Now he that planteth, and he that watereth, are one: and every man shall receive his own reward, according to his own labour.

For we are labourers together with God: ye are God's husbandry, ye are God's building.

According to the grace of God which is given unto me, as a wise master-builder I have laid the foundation, and another buildeth thereon. But let every man take heed how he buildeth thereupon.

For other Foundation can no man lay, than that is laid, which is Jesus Christ.

NOTES.

11 (r) Ch. 4. 15. In this he reflects on the false Apostle, 2 Cor. 10. 15, 16.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 12 Now if any Man build upon this foundation, gold, silver, precious stones, wood, hay, stubble :
- 13 Every man's work shall be made manifest. For the day shall declare it, because it shall be revealed by fire : and the fire shall try every man's work, of what sort it is.
- 14 If a man's work abide which he hath built there-upon, he shall receive a reward.
- 15 If any man's work shall be burnt, he shall suffer loss : but he himself shall be saved ; yet so, as by fire.
- 16 Know ye not that ye are the temple of God, and that the Spirit of God dwelleth in you ?
- 17 If any man defile the temple of God, him shall God destroy : for the temple of God is holy, which temple ye are.
- 18 Let no man deceive himself : if any man among you seemeth to be wise in this world, let him become a fool, that he may be wise.
- 19 For the wisdom of this world is foolishness with God : for it is written, He taketh the wise in their own craftiness.
- 20 And again, The Lord knoweth the thoughts of the wise, that they are vain.
- 21 Therefore let no man glory in men : for all things are yours :
- 22 Whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas, or the

of the Gospel but he : For 'tis possible a Man may build upon that true Foundation Wood, Hay, and Stubble, things that will not bear the Test when the Trial by Fire at the last Day (s) shall come ; at that Day every Man's Work shall be tried and discover'd of what Sort it is, if what he hath taught be sound and good, and will stand the Trial, as Silver and Gold, and precious Stones abide in the Fire, he shall be rewarded for his Labour in the Gospel : But if he hath introduced false or unsound Doctrines into Christianity, he shall be like a Man whose Building being of Wood, Hay, and Stubble, is consumed by the Fire, all his Pains in Building is lost, and his Works destroy'd and gone, tho' he himself should escape and be saved. I told you, that ye are God's Building, (t) yea, more than that, ye are the Temple of God, in which his Spirit dwelleth : If any Man by corrupt Doctrine or Discipline defileth (u) the Temple of God, he shall not be saved with Loss as by Fire, but him will God destroy, for the Temple of God is holy, which Temple ye are. Let no Man deceive himself by his Success in carrying his Point : (w) If any one seemeth to himself or others wise, (x) in worldly Wisdom, so as to pride himself in his Parts and Dexterity, in compassing his Ends, let him renounce all his natural and acquir'd Parts, all his Knowledge and Ability, that he may become truly wise in embracing and owning no other Knowledge but the Simplicity of the Gospel. For all other Wisdom, all the Wisdom of the World is Foolishness with God. For it is written, He taketh the Wise in their own Craftiness. And again, the Lord knoweth the Thoughts of the Wise, that they are vain. Therefore let none of you glory in any of your Teachers, for they are but Men. For all your Teachers, whether Paul, or Apollos, or Peter, even the Apostles themselves, nay all the World, and even the the World to come, all things are your's, for your sake and use ; as you are Christ's, Subjects of his Kingdom for his Glory ; and Christ and his Kingdom for the

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NOTES.

13 (s) When the Day of Trial and Recompense shall be ; see Ch. 4. 5. where he speaks of the same thing.

16 (t) Vide ver. 9.

17 (u) It is not incongruous to think, that by any Man here St. Paul designs one particular Man, viz. the false Apostle, who 'tis probable by the Strength of his Party supporting and retaining the Fornicator mentioned Ch. 5. in the Church, had defiled it, which may be the Reason why St. Paul so often mentions Fornication in this Epistle, and that in some Places with particular Emphasis, as Ch. 5. 9. & 6. 13—20. most of the Disorders in this Church we may look on as owing to this false Apostle, which is the Reason why St. Paul sets himself so much against him in both these Epistles, and makes almost the whole Business of them to draw the Corinthians off from this Leader, judging, as 'tis like, that this Church could not be reformed as long as that Person was in Credit, and had a Party among them.

18 (w) What it was wherein the Craftiness of the Person mentioned had appear'd, it was not necessary for St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, who knew the Matter of Fact, to particularize to us, therefore it is left to guess, and possibly we shall not be much out, if we take it to be the keeping the Fornicator from Censure, so much insisted on by St. Paul, Ch. 5.

(x) That by σοφος here the Apostle means a cunning Man in Business, is plain from his Quotation in the next Verse, where the Wise spoken of are the Crafty.

Glory

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

23. Glory of God. Therefore if all your Teachers, and so many other greater things are for you, and for your sakes, you can have no Reason to make it a Glory to you, that you belong to this or that particular Teacher amongst you; your true Glory is, that you are Christ's, and Christ and all his are God's, and not that you are this or that Man's Scholar or Follower.

world, or life, or death, or things present, or things to come; all are yours:

And ye are Christ's; 23 and Christ is God's.

1. As for me, I pretend not to set up a School amongst you, and as a Master to have my Scholars denominated from me; no, let no Man have higher Thoughts of me than as a Minister of Christ employ'd as his Steward to dispense the Truths and Doctrines of the Gospel, which are the Mysteries which God wrapped up in Types and obscure Predictions, where they have lain hid till by us his Apostles he now reveals them.
2. Now that which is principally required and regarded in a Steward, is, that he be faithful in dispensing what is committed to his Charge. But as for me, I value
3. it not, if I am censured by some of you, or by any Man, as not being a faithful Steward: Nay, as to
4. this, I pass no Judgment on my self. For tho' I can truly say that I know nothing by my self, yet am I not hereby justified to you: But the Lord, whose Steward I am, at the last Day will pronounce Sentence on my Behaviour in my Stewardship, and then you will
5. know what to think of me. Then judge not either me or others before the time, until the Lord come, who will bring to light the dark and secret Counsels of Men's Hearts, in preaching the Gospel: and then shall every one have that Praise, that Estimate set upon him by God himself, which he truly deserves. But Praise ought not to be given them before the time by
6. their Hearers, who are ignorant, fallible Men. On this Occasion I have named *Apollos* and myself, (7) as the magnified and opposed Heads of distinct Factions amongst you; not that we are so, but out of respect to you, that I might offend no body by naming them; and that you might learn by us, of whom I have written, (2) that we are but Planters, Waterers, and Stewards, not to think of the Ministers of the Gospel above what I have written to you of them, that you be not puffed up each Party in the vain Glory of their one extolled Leader, to the crying down and Contempt of any other who is well esteemed of by others.
7. For what maketh one to differ from another? or what Gifts of the Spirit, what Knowledge of the Gospel has any Leader amongst you which he received not as intrusted to him of God, and not acquired by his own
8. Abilities? And if he received it as a Steward, why does he glory in that which is not his own? However you are mightily satisfied with your present State, you now are full, you now are rich, and

Let a man so account of us, as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God.

Moreover it is required, in stewards, that a man be found faithful.

But with me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment: yea, I judge not mine own self.

For I know nothing by my self, yet am I not hereby justified: but he that judgeth me is the Lord.

Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts: and then shall every man have praise of God.

And these things, brethren, I have in a figure transferred to my self, and to *Apollos* for your sakes: that ye might learn in us, not to think of men above that which is written, that no one of you be puffed up for one against another.

For who maketh thee to differ from another? and what hast thou that thou didst not receive? now if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?

Now ye are full, now ye are rich, ye have reigned as kings without us:

NOTES.

6 (7) Vid. ch. 3. 4.

(2) Vid. ch. 3. 6. 9. ch. 4. 1.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

and I would to God ye did reign, that we also might reign with you.

9 For I think that God hath set forth us the apostles last, as it were appointed to death. For we are made a spectacle unto the world, and to angels, and to men.

10 We are fools for Christ's sake, but ye are wise in Christ: we are weak, but ye are strong: ye are honourable, but we are despised.

11 Even unto this present hour we both hunger, and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place;

12 And labour working with our own hands: being reviled, we bless: being persecuted, we suffer it:

13 Being defamed, we intreat: we are made as the filth of the world, and are the off-scouring of all things unto this day.

14 I write not these things to shame you, but as my beloved sons I warn you.

15 For though you have ten thousand instructors in Christ, yet have ye not many fathers: for in Christ Jesus I have begotten you through the gospel.

16 Wherefore I beseech you, be ye followers of me.

17 For this cause have I sent unto you Timotheus, who is my beloved son, and faithful in the Lord, who shall bring you into remembrance of my ways which be in Christ, as I

abound in every thing you desire; you have not need of me, but have reigned like Princes without me; and I wish truly you did reign, that I might come and share in the Protection and Prosperity you enjoy now you are in your Kingdom. For I being made an Apostle last of all, it seems to me as if I were brought last (a) upon the Stage, to be in my Sufferings and Death a Spectacle to the World, and to Angels, and to Men. I am a Fool for Christ's Sake, but you manage your Christian Concerns with Wisdom. I am weak and in a suffering Condition (b); you are strong and flourishing; you are honourable, but I am despised, even to this present Hour I both hunger and thirst, and want Clothes, and am buffeted, wandering without House or Home, and maintain my self with the Labour of my Hands. Being reviled, I bless: Being persecuted, I suffer patiently: Being defamed, I intreat: I am made as the Filth of the World, and the Off-scouring of all things unto this Day. I write not these things to shame you. But as a Father to warn you my Children, that ye be not the devoted zealous Partisans and followers of such whose Carriage is not like this; under whom, however you may flatter your selves, in truth, you do not reign; but on the contrary, ye are domineer'd over, and fleeced by them (c). I warn you, I say, as your Father; For how many Teachers soever you may have, you can have but one Father; It was I that begot you in Christ, i. e. I converted you to Christianity; Wherefore I beseech you be ye Followers of me (d). To this purpose I have sent my beloved Son *Timothy* to you, who may be relied upon; he shall put you in mind, and inform you, how I behave my self every where

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NOTES.

9 (a) The Apostle seems here to allude to the Custom of bringing those last upon the Theater, who were to be destroy'd by wild Beasts.

10 (b) So he uses the word Weakness often, in his Epistles to the *Corinthians*, applied to himself; *Vid.* 2 Cor. 12. 10.

14 (c) *Vid.* 2 Cor. 11. 20. St. Paul here, from v. 8, to 17. by giving an Account of his own Carriage, gently rebukes them for following Men of a different Character, and exhorts them to be followers of himself.

16 (d) This he presses again, *ch.* 11. 1. and 'tis not likely he would have proposed himself over and over again to them, to be followed by them, had the Question and Contest amongst them been only whose Name they should have born, his or their new Teacher's. His proposing himself therefore thus to be followed, must be understood in direct Opposition to the false Apostle, who misled them, and was not to be suffered to have any Credit or Followers amongst them.

18. in the Ministry of the Gospel (e). Some indeed are puffed up, and make their Boasts as if I would not come to you. But I intend, God willing, to come shortly, and then will make Trial, not of the Rhetorick or Talking of those Boasters, but of what miraculous Power of the Holy Ghost is in them. For the Doctrine and Prevalency of the Gospel, the Propagation and Support of Christ's Kingdom, by the Conversion and Establishment of Believers, does not consist in talking, nor in the Fluency of a glib Tongue, and a fine Discourse, but in the miraculous Operations of the Holy Ghost.

teach every where in every church.

Now some are puffed up¹⁸ as though I would not come to you.

But I will come to you¹⁹ shortly, if the Lord will, and will know, not the speech of them which are puffed up, but the power.

For the Kingdom of²⁰ God is not in word, but in power.

NOTES.

¹⁷ (e) This he does to shew that what he taught them, and pressed them to, was not in a pique against his Opposer, but to convince them, that all he did at *Corinth* was the very same, and no other than what he did every where as a faithful Steward and Minister of the Gospel.

SECT. II. N. 5.

CHAP. IV. 21.—VI. 20.

CONTENTS.

A Nother Means which St. Paul makes use of to bring off the *Corinthians* from their false Apostle, and to stop the Veneration of him, and their glorying in him, is by representing to them the Fault and Disorder which was committed in that Church, by not judging and expelling the Fornicator, which Neglect, as may be guess'd, was owing to that Faction.

1. Because it is natural for a Faction to support and protect an Offender that is of their side.

2. From the great Fear St. Paul was in, whether they would obey him in censuring the Offender, as appears by the Second Epistle, which he could not fear but from the opposite Faction. They who had preserv'd their Respect to him, being sure to follow his Orders.

3. From what he says, *Ch. 4. 16.* After he had told them, *ver. 6.* of that Chapter, that they should not be puffed up for any other against him, for so the whole Scope of his Discourse here imports, he beseeches them to be his Followers, *i. e.* leaving their other Guides to follow him in punishing the Offender. For that we may conclude from his immediately insisting on it so earnestly, he had in his View, when he beseeches them to be Followers of him, and consequently that they might joyn with him, and take him for their Leader, *Ch. 5. 3, 4.* he makes himself by his Spirit, as his Proxie, the President of their Assembly, to be convened for the punishing that Criminal.

4. It may further be suspected, from what St. Paul says, *Ch. 6. 1.* that the opposite Party, to stop the Church-Censure, pretended that this was a matter to be judg'd by the Civil Magistrate: nay, possibly from what is said, *ver. 6.* of that Chapter, it may be gathered, that they had got it brought before the Heathen Judge; or at least from *v. 12.* that they pleaded, that what he had done was lawful, and might be justified before the Magistrate. For the Judging spoken of, *Ch. 6.* must be understood to relate to the same matter

matter it does, *ch. 5.* it being a Continuation of the same Discourse and Argument: As is easie to be observed by any one who will read it without regarding the Divisions into Chapters and Verses, whereby ordinary People (not to say others) are often disturbed in reading the Holy Scripture, and hindered from observing the true Sense and Coherence of it. The whole 6th Chapter is spent in prosecuting the Business of the Fornicator begun in the 5th. That this is so, is evident from the latter End, as well as Beginning of the 6th Chapter. And therefore what St. Paul says of *lawful*, *ch. 6. 12.* may without any Violence be supposed to be said, in answer to some, who might have alledg'd in Favour of the Fornicator, that what he had done was *lawful*, and might be justified by the Laws of the Country, which he was under; why else should St. Paul subjoin so many Arguments (wherewith he concludes this 6th Chapter, and this Subject) to prove the Fornication in question to be by the Law of the Gospel a great Sin, and consequently fit for a Christian Church to censure in one of its Members, however it might pass for *lawful* in the Esteem, and by the Laws of Gentiles?

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

There is one Objection which at first sight seems to be a strong Argument against this Supposition, that the Fornication here spoken of was held lawful by the Gentiles of *Corinth*, and that possibly this very Case had been brought before the Magistrate there, and not condemned. The Objection seems to lie in these Words; *ch. 5. 1. There is Fornication heard of amongst you, and such Fornication as is not heard of amongst the Gentiles, that one should have his Father's Wife.* But yet I conceive the Words, duly consider'd, have nothing in them contrary to my Supposition.

To clear this, I take Liberty to say, it cannot be thought that this Man had his Father's Wife whilst by the Laws of the Place she actually was his Father's Wife; for then it had been *μοιχεία* and Adultery, and so the Apostle would have called it, which was a Crime in *Greece*; nor could it be tolerated in any Civil Society, that one Man should have the use of a Woman, whilst she was another Man's Wife, *i. e.* another Man's Right and Possession.

The Case therefore here seems to be this; The Woman had parted from her Husband; which it is plain, from *ch. 7. 10, 11, 13.* at *Corinth* Women could do. For if by the Law of that Country a Woman could not divorce herself from her Husband, the Apostle had there in vain bid her not leave her Husband.

But however known and allow'd a Practice it might be amongst the *Corinthians*, for a Woman to part from her Husband, yet this was the first time it was ever known that her Husband's own Son should marry her. This is that which the Apostle takes notice of in these Words, *Such a Fornication as is not named amongst the Gentiles.* Such a Fornication this was, so little known in practice amongst them, that it was not so much as heard, named, or spoken of by any of them. But whether they held it unlawful that a Woman, so separated, should marry her Husband's Son, when she was looked upon to be at Liberty from her former Husband, and free to marry whom she pleased, that the Apostle says not. This indeed he declares, that by the Law of Christ a Woman's leaving her Husband, and marrying another, is unlawful, *ch. 7. 11.* and this Woman's marrying her Husband's Son, he declares, *ch. 5. 1.* (the place before us) to be Fornication, a peculiar sort of Fornication, whatever the *Corinthians* or their Law might determine in the Case: And therefore a Christian Church might and ought to have censured it within themselves, it being an Offence against the Rule of the Gospel; which is the Law of their Society: And they might and should have expelled this Fornicator out of their Society, for not submitting to the Laws of it; Notwithstanding that the Civil Laws of the Country, and the Judgment of the Heathen Magistrate might acquit him. Suitably hereunto it is very remarkable, that the Arguments that St. Paul uses, in the Close of this Discourse, *ch. 6. 13—20.* to prove Fornication unlawful, are all drawn solely from the Christian Institution, *v. 9.* That our Bodies are made for the Lord, *v. 13.* That our Bodies are Members of Christ, *v. 15.* That our Bodies are the Temples of the Holy Ghost, *v. 19.* That we are not our own, but bought with a Price, *v. 20.* all which Arguments concern Christians only; and

An. Ch. 57. there is not in all this Discourse against Fornication, one word to declare it to be unlawful by the Law of Nature to Mankind in general. That was altogether needless, and besides the Apostle's purpose here, where he was teaching and exhorting Christians what they were to do as Christians, within their own Society, by the Law of Christ; which was to be their Rule, and was sufficient to oblige them, whatever other Laws the rest of Mankind observed, or were under. Those he professes, *ch. 5. 12, 19.* not to meddle with, nor to judge: For having no Authority amongst them, he leaves them to the Judgment of God, under whose Government they are.

These Considerations afford Ground to conjecture, that the Faction which opposed St. Paul, had hinder'd the Church of *Corinth* from censuring the Fornicator, and that St. Paul shewing them their Miscarriage herein, aims thereby to lessen the Credit of their Leader, by whose Influence they were drawn into it. For as soon as they had unanimously shewn their Obedience to St. Paul in this Matter, we see his Severity ceases, and he is all Softness and Gentleness to the Offender; *2 Cor. 11. 5-8.* And he tells them in express Words, *v. 9.* that his end in writing to them of it, was to try their Obedience: To which let me add, that this Supposition, though it had not all the Evidence for it which it has, yet being suited to St. Paul's principal Design in this Epistle, and helping us the better to understand these two Chapters, may deserve to be mentioned.

P A R A P H R A S E.

T E X T.

21. I Purposed to come unto you: But what would you have me do? Shall I come to you with a Rod to chastise you? Or with Kindness, and a peaceable
 18 Disposition of Mind? (f) In short, it is commonly reported, that there is Fornication (g) among you, and such Fornication as is not known (b) ordinarily among the Heathen, that one should have his Father's
 2. Wife, and yet ye remain puffed up, though it would better have become you to have been dejected for this scandalous Fact amongst you, and in a mournful Sense of it, to have removed the Offender out of the
 3. Church. For I truly, though absent in Body, yet as present in Spirit, have thus already judg'd, as if I were personally with you, him that committed this
 4. Fact: When in the Name of the Lord Jesus ye are assembled, and my Spirit, *i. e.* my Vote, as if I were present, making one by the Spirit of the Lord Jesus

What will ye? shall I²¹ come unto you with a rod, or in love, and in the spirit of meekness?

It is reported commonly that there is fornication among you, and such fornication as is not so much as named amongst the Gentiles, that one should have his father's wife.

And ye are puffed up,² and have not rather mourned, that he that hath done this deed, might be taken away from among you.

For I verily as absent in³ body, but present in spirit, have judged already, as though I were present, concerning him that hath so done this deed;

In the name of our⁴ Lord Jesus Christ, when

N O T E S.

21 (f) He that shall carefully read *2 Cor. 1. 20-2. 11.* will easily perceive that this last Verse here of this 4th Chapter is an Introduction to the severe Act of Discipline which St. Paul was going to exercise amongst them, tho' absent, as if he had been present. And therefore this Verse ought not to have been separated from the following Chapter, as if it belonged not to that Discourse.

1 (g) Vid. *ch. 4. 8, 10.* The Writers of the New Testament seem to use the Greek word *πορνεία*, which we translate Fornication, in the same Sense that the Hebrews used *זנות*, which we also translate Fornication, tho' it be certain both these words, in Sacred Scripture, have a larger Sense than the word Fornication has in our Language; for *זנות*, amongst the Hebrews, signified, *Turpitudinem*, or *Rem turpem*, Uncleanness, or any flagitious scandalous Crime, but more especially the Uncleanness of unlawful Copulation and Idolatry; and not precisely Fornication in our Sense of the Word, *i. e.* the unlawful Mixture of an unmarried Couple.

(b) Not known. That the marrying of a Son-in-law and a Mother-in-law, was not prohibited by the Laws of the Roman Empire, may be seen in *Tully*; but yet it was look'd on as so scandalous and infamous, that it never had any Countenance from Practice. His Words in his Oration *pro Cluentio*, §. 4. are so agreeable to the present Case, that it may not be amiss to set them

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronu 3.

- ye are gathered together, and my spirit, with the power of our Lord Jesus Christ,
- 5 To deliver such an one unto Satan for the destruction of the flesh, that the spirit may be saved in the day of the Lord Jesus.
 - 6 Your glorying is not good : know ye not that a little leaven leaveneth the whole lump ?
 - 7 Purge out therefore the old leaven, that ye may be a new lump, as ye are unleavened. For even Christ our passover is sacrificed for us.
 - 8 Therefore let us keep the feast, not with old leaven, neither with the leaven of malice and wickedness ; but with the unleavened bread of sincerity and truth.
 - 9 I wrote unto you in an epistle, not to company with fornicators.
 - 10 Yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolaters ; for then must ye needs go out of the world.
 - 11 But now I have written unto you, not to keep company, if any man that is called a brother be a fornicator, or covetous, or an idolater, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, with such an one, no, not to eat.
 - 12 For what have I to do to judge them also that are without ? do not ye judge them that are within ?
 - 13 But them that are without, God judgeth. Therefore put away from among your selves that wicked person.
 - 14 Dare any of you, having a matter against another, go to law before the

Christ, deliver the Offender up to Satan, that being put thus into the Hands and Power of the Devil, his Body may be afflicted and brought down, that his Soul may be saved when the Lord Jesus comes to judge the World. Your glorying (i) as you do in a Leader, who drew you into this scandalous Indulgence (k) in this Case, is a fault in you, ye that are knowing, know you not that a little Leaven leaveneth the whole (l) Lump ? Therefore laying by that Defe-
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NOTES.

them down : *Nubit genero socrus, nullis auspitiis, nullis auctoribus. O scelus incredibile & præter hanc unam in omni vita inauditum !*

6 (i) Glorying is all along in the beginning of this Epistle spoken of the Preference they gave to their new Leader, in Opposition to St. Paul.

(k) If their Leader had not been guilty of this Miscarriage, it had been out of St. Paul's way here to have reprov'd them for their glorying in him. But St. Paul is a close Writer, and uses not to mention things where they are impertinent to his Subject.

(l) What Reason he had to say this, *Vid. 2 Cor. 12. 21. — Grex totus in agris unius Scabie cadit & porrigine porci.*

7 & 8. (m) In these two Verses he alludes to the Jews cleansing their Houses at the Feast of the Passover, from all Leaven, the Symbol of Corruption and Wickedness.

tried

- tried, and not let it be decided by Christians? (n)
 2. Know ye not that Christians shall judge the World?
 3. and if the World shall be judg'd by you, are ye unworthy
 4. to judge ordinary small Matters? Know ye not that
 5. we Christians have Power over evil Spirits? How
 6. much more over the little things relating to this ani-
 7. mal Life? If then ye have at any time Controversies
 8. amongst you concerning things pertaining to this
 9. Life, let the Parties contending choose Arbitrators
 (o) in the Church, i. e. out of Church-Members. Is
 there not among you, I speak it to your Shame, who
 stand so much upon your Wisdom, one (p) wise Man,
 whom ye can think able enough to refer your Contro-
 versies to? But one Christian goeth to Law with an-
 other, and that before the Unbelievers, in the Hea-
 then Courts of Justice: Nay, verily it is a Failure and
 Defect in you, that you so far contest Matters of
 Right one with another, as to bring them to Trial
 or Judgment: Why do ye not rather suffer Loss and
 Wrong? But it is plain by the Man's having his Fa-
 ther's Wife, that ye are guilty of doing Wrong (q) one
 to another, and stick not to do Injustice even to your
 Christian Brethren. Know ye not that the Trans-
 gressors of the Law of Christ shall not inherit the
 Kingdom of God? Deceive not your selves, neither
 Fornicators, nor Idolaters, nor Adulterers, nor Ef-
 feminate, nor Abusers of themselves with Mankind,

unjust, and not before the
saints?

Do ye not know that²
the saints shall judge the
world? and if the world
shall be judged by you, are
ye unworthy to judge the
smallest matters?

Know ye not that we³
shall judge angels? how
much more things that
pertain to this life?

If then ye have judg-⁴
ments of things pertain-
ing to this life, set them
to judge who are least
esteemed in the church.

I speak to your shame.⁵
Is it so, that there is not
a wise man amongst you?
no not one that shall be a-
ble to judge between his
brethren?

But brother goeth to⁶
law with brother, and that
before the unbelievers.

Now therefore there is⁷
utterly a fault among you,
because ye go to law one
with another: why do ye
not rather take wrong?
why do ye not rather suf-
fer your selves to be de-
frauded?

Nay, you do wrong and⁸
defraud, and that your
brethren.

Know ye not that the⁹
unrighteous shall not in-
herit the kingdom of God?
be not deceived: neither
fornicators, nor idolaters,
nor adulterers, nor effe-
minate, nor abusers of
themselves with mankind,

NOTES.

1 (n) ἄγιοι Saints, is put for Christians; ἀδίκαι Unjust, for Heathens.

4 (o) ἑκκατμήτους, *Judices non Authenticos*. Among the Jews there was *confessus triumviralis authenticus*, who had Authority, and could hear and determine Causes *ex Officio*: there was another *confessus triumviralis*, which were chosen by the Parties, these, tho' they were not *Authenticus*, yet could judge and determine the Causes referred to them; these were those whom St. Paul calls here, ἑκκατμήτους, *Judices non Authenticos*, i. e. Referees chosen by the Parties. See de Dieu: That St. Paul does not mean by ἑκκατμήτους, those who are least esteemed, as our English Translation reads it, is plain from the next Verse.

(5) (p) σοφός, *wise Man*. If St. Paul uses this Word in the Sense of the Synagogue, it signifies one ordained, or a Rabbi, and so capacitated to be a Judge; for such were called *wise Men*. If in the Sense of the Greek Schools, then it signifies a Man of Learning, Study and Parts: If it be taken in the latter Sense, it may seem to be with some Reflection on their pretending to Wisdom.

8 (q) That the Wrong here spoken of, was the Fornicator's taking and keeping his Father's Wife, the words of St. Paul, 2 Cor. 7. 12. instancing this very Wrong, are a sufficient Evidence. And it is not wholly improbable there had been some Hearing of this Matter before a Heathen Judge, or at least talked of, which if suppose, will give a great Light to this whole Passage, and several other in these Chapters. For thus visibly runs St. Paul's Argument, ch. 5. 12, 13. ch. 6. 1, 2, 3, &c. coherent and easy to be understood, if it stood together as it should, and were not chop'd in pieces by a Division into two Chapters. Ye have a Power to judge those who are of your Church, therefore put away from among you that Fornicator: You do ill to let it come before a Heathen Magistrate. Are you, who are to judge the World and Angels, not worthy to judge such a Matter as this?

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 10 Nor thieves, nor covetous, nor drunkards, nor revilers, nor extortioners, shall inherit the kingdom of God.
- 11 And such were some of you: but ye are washed, but ye are sanctified, but ye are justified in the name of the Lord Jesus, and by the Spirit of our God.
- 12 All things are lawful unto me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but I will not be brought under the power of any.
- 13 Meats for the belly, and the belly for meats: but God shall destroy both it and them. Now the body is not for fornication,

nor Thieves, nor Covetous, nor Drunkards, nor Revilers, nor Extortioners, shall inherit the Kingdom of God. And such were some of you; but your past Sins are washed away and forgiven you, upon your receiving of the Gospel by Baptism: But ye are sanctified (r), i. e. ye are Members of Christ's Church, which consists of Saints, and have made some Advances in the Reformation of your Lives (s) by the Doctrine of Christ, confirmed to you by the extraordinary Operations of the Holy Ghost. But (t) supposing Fornication were in it self as lawful as eating promiscuously all Sorts of Meat that are made for the Belly, on purpose to be eaten; yet I would not so far indulge either Custom or my Appetite, as to bring my Body thereby into any disadvantageous State of Subjection: As in Eating and Drinking, though Meat be made purposely for the Belly, and the Belly for Meat; yet because it may not be expedient (u) for me, I will not in so evidently a lawful thing as that, go to the utmost Bounds of my Liberty,

10.

11.

12.

13.

NOTES.

11 (r) ἡγιασμένοι, *sanctified*, i. e. have Remission of your Sins, so *sanctified*, signifies *Heb. 10. 10 & 18.* compared. He that would perfectly comprehend, and be satisfied in the Meaning of this place, let him read *Heb. 9. 10.* particularly *9. 13—23.*

(s) ἐδικαιώσιν, ye are *become just*, i. e. are reformed in your Lives. See it so used, *Rev. 22. 11.*

12 (t) St. Paul having, upon occasion of Injustice amongst them particularly in the matter of the Fornicator, warned them against that and other Sins that exclude Men from Salvation, he here re-assumes his former Argument about Fornication, and by his reasoning here, it looks as if some among them had pleaded that Fornication was lawful. To which he answers, that granting it to be so, yet the Lawfulness of all wholesome Food reach'd not the Case of Fornication, and shews by several Instances (as particularly the degrading the Body, and making what in a Christian is the Member of Christ, the Member of an Harlot) that Fornication upon several accounts might be so unsuitable to the State of a Christian Man, that a Christian Society might have reason to animadvert upon a Fornicator, though Fornication might pass for an indifferent Action in another Man.

(u) *Expedient*, and *brought under Power*, in this Verse seems to refer to the two Parts of the following Verse: The first of them to eating in the first part of the 13th Verse, and the latter of them to Fornication in the latter part of the 13th Verse. To make this the more intelligible, it may be fit to remark, that St. Paul here seems to obviate such a sort of Reasoning as this, in behalf of the Fornicator. "All sorts of Meats are lawful to Christians who are set free from the law of *Moses*, and why are they not so in regard of Women who are at their own Disposals? To which St. Paul replies, Though my Belly was made only for eating, and all sorts of Meat were made to be eaten, and so are lawful for me; yet I will abstain from what is lawful, if it be not convenient for me, though my Belly will be certain to receive no prejudice by it, which will affect it in the other World, since God will there put an end to the Belly, and all use of Food. But as to the Body of a Christian, the Case is quite otherwise; That was not made for the Enjoyment of Women, but for a much nobler End, to be a Member of Christ's Body, and so shall last for ever, and not be destroy'd as the Belly shall be. Therefore supposing Fornication to be lawful in itself, I will not so debase and subject my Body, and do it that prejudice, as to take that which is a Member of Christ, and make it the Member of an Harlot; this ought to be had in Detestation by all Christians." The Context is so plain in the Case, that Interpreters allow St. Paul to discourse here upon a Supposition of the Lawfulness of Fornication. Nor will it appear at all strange, that he does so, if we consider the Argument he is upon. He is here convincing the *Corinthians*, that though Fornication were to them an indifferent thing, and were not condemn'd in their Country more than eating any sort of Meat; yet there might be Reasons why a Christian Society might punish it in their own Members by Church-Censures, and Expulsion of the Guilty. Conformably hereunto we see in what follows here, that all the Arguments used by St. Paul against Fornication, are brought from the Incongruity it hath with the State of a Christian as a Christian, but nothing is said against it as a Fault in a Man as a Man, no Plea used that it is a Sin in all Men by the Law of Nature. A Christian Society, without entering into that Enquiry, or going so far as that, had Reason to condemn and censure it, as not comporting with the Dignity and Principles of that Religion which was the Foundation of their Society.

though

- though there no Danger that I should thereby bring any lasting Damage upon my Belly, since God will speedily put an end both to Belly and Food. But the Case of the Body, in reference to Women, is far different from that of the Belly in reference to Meats. For the Body is not made to be joyn'd to a Woman (*w*), much less to be joyn'd to an Harlot in Fornication, as the Belly is made for Meat, and then to be put an end to when that Use ceases. But the Body is for a much nobler Purpose, and shall subsist when the Belly and Food shall be destroy'd. The Body is for our Lord Christ, to be a Member of him, as our Lord Christ has taken a Body (*x*), that he might partake of our
14. Nature, and be our Head; So that as God has already raised him up, and given him all Power, so he will raise us up likewise who are his Members, to (*y*) the partaking in the Nature of his glorious Body, and
15. the Power he is vested with in it. Know ye not, ye who are so knowing, that our Bodies are the Members of Christ? Will ye then take the Members of Christ, and make them the Members of an
16. Harlot? What! know ye not that he who is joyn'd to an Harlot is one Body with her? For two, saith
17. God, shall be united into one Flesh: But he who is joyn'd to the Lord, is one with him, by that one Spirit that unites the Members to the Head, which is a nearer and stricter Union, whereby what Indignity
18. is done to the one equally affects the other. Flee Fornication: All other Sins that a Man commits debase only the Soul, but are in that respect as if they were done out of the Body, the Body is not debased, suffers no Loss of its Dignity by them: But he who committeth Fornication, sinneth against the end for which his Body was made, degrading his Body from the Dignity and Honour it was designed to, making that the

but for the Lord; and the Lord for the body.

And God hath both raised up the Lord, and will also raise up us by his own power.

Know ye not, that your bodies are the members of Christ? shall I then take the members of Christ, and make them the members of an harlot? God forbid.

What, know ye not that he which is joined to an harlot, is one body? for two (saith he) shall be one flesh.

But he that is joined unto the Lord, is one spirit.

Flee fornication. Every sin that a man doeth, is without the body: but he that committeth fornication, sinneth against his own body.

NOTES.

13 (*w*) *Woman*. I have put in this to make the Apostle's Sense understood the easier. For he arguing here as he does, upon the Supposition that Fornication is in itself lawful, Fornication in these words must mean the supposed lawful Enjoyment of a Woman, otherwise it will not answer the foregoing Instance of the Belly and Eating.

(*x*) *And the Lord for the Body*, see Heb. 2. 5—18.

14 (*y*) *Διὰ τῆς δυνάμεως αὐτοῦ, To his Power*. The Context and Design of St. Paul in this place, strongly incline one to take *διὰ* here to signify as it does, 2 Pet. 1. 3. *to* and not *by*. St. Paul is here making out to the *Corinthian* Converts, that they have a Power to judge. He tells them, that they shall judge the World, v. 2. And that they shall judge Angels, much more than things of this Life, v. 3. And for their not judging he blames them, and tells them, 'tis a lessening to them, not to exercise this Power, v. 7. And for it he gives a Reason in this Verse, viz. That Christ is raised up into the Power of God, and so shall they be. Unless it be taken in this Sense, this Verse seems to stand alone here. For what Connection has the mention of the Resurrection in the ordinary Sense of this Verse, with what the Apostle is saying here, but raising us up with Bodies to be Members of his glorious Body, and to partake in his Power in judging the World? This adds a great Honour and Dignity to our Bodies, and is a Reason why we should not debase them into the Members of an Harlot. These Words also give a Reason of his saying, *he would not be brought under the Power of any thing*, v. 13. (viz.) "Shall I, whose Body is a Member of Christ, and shall be raised to the Power he has now in Heaven, suffer my Body to be a Member, and under the Power of an Harlot, that I will never do, let Fornication in it self be ever so lawful? If this be not the Meaning of St. Paul here, I desire to know to what purpose it is that he so expressly declares that the Belly and Meat shall be destroyed, and does so manifestly put an Opposition between the Body and the Belly? ver. 13.

Member

T E X T.

P A R A P H R A S E.

What know ye not that
19 your body is the temple
of the holy Ghost which
is in you, which ye have
of God, and ye are not
your own?
20 For ye are bought with
a price: therefore glori-
fie God in your body, and
in your spirit, which are
God's.

Member of an Harlot which was made to be a Mem-
ber of Christ. What, know ye not (z) that your Bo-
dy is the Temple of the Holy Ghost that is in you,
which Body you have from God, and so it is not your
own to bestow on Harlots? Besides ye are bought
with a Price, viz. the precious Blood of Christ, and
therefore are not at your own Disposal: But are bound
to glorify God with both Body and Soul. For both
Body and Soul are from him, and are God's.

19.

20.

N O T E S.

19 (z) This Question, *Know ye not?* is repeated six times in this one Chapter, which may
seem to carry with it a just Reproach to the *Corinthians*, who had got a new and better Instruct-
er than himself, in whom they so much gloried, and may not unfitly be thought to set on his
Irony, *ch. 4. 10.* where he tells them they are *wise*.

S E C T. III.

C H A P. VII. I — 40.

C O N T E N T S.

THE chief Business of the foregoing Chapters we have seen to be the
lessening the false Apostle's Credit, and the extinguishing that Faction.
What follows is in Answer to some Questions they had proposed to St. Paul.
This Section contains conjugal Matters, wherein he dissuades from Marriage
those who have the Gift of Continence. But Marriage being appointed as a
Remedy against Fornication, those who cannot forbear should marry, and
render to each other due Benevolence. Next he teaches that Converts ought
not to forsake their unconverted Mates, insomuch as Christianity changes no-
thing in Men's civil Estate, but leaves them under the same Obligations they
were tied by before. And last of all, he gives Directions about marrying, or
not marrying their Daughters.

T E X T.

P A R A P H R A S E.

NOW concerning the
things whereof ye
wrote unto me: it is good
for a man not to touch a
woman.
2 Nevertheless, to avoid
fornication, let every man
have his own wife, and
let every woman have her
own husband.
3 Let the husband render
unto the wife due benevo-
lence: and likewise also
the wife unto the hus-
band.

CONCERNING those things that ye have writ to me
about, I answer, it is most convenient not to
have to do with a Woman: But because every one
cannot forbear, therefore they that cannot contain,
should, both Men and Women, each have their own
peculiar Husband and Wife to avoid Fornication.
And those that are married, for the same Reason are
to regulate themselves by the Disposition and Exigen-
cy of their respective Mates; and therefore let the
Husband render to the Wife that Benevolence (a)
which is her due, and so likewise the Wife to the

1.

2.

3.

N O T E S.

3 (a) *Εὐνοια*, *Benevolence*, signifies here that Complaisance and Compliance which every
married Couple ought to have for each other, when either of them shew an Inclination to
Conjugal Enjoyments.

I CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

4. Husband, & *vice versa*. For the Wife has not Power or Dominion over her own Body, to refuse the Husband when he desires: But this Power and Right to her Body is in the Husband. And on the other side, the Husband has not the Power and Dominion over his own Body, to refuse his Wife when she shews an Inclination; but this Power and Right to his Body, when she has Occasion, is in the Wife
5. (b). Do not in this matter be wanting one to another, unless it be by mutual Consent for a short time, that you may wholly attend to Acts of Devotion, when ye fast upon some solemn Occasion; and when this time of solemn Devotion is over, return to your former Freedom and Conjugal Society, lest the Devil taking Advantage of your Inability to contain, should tempt you to a Violation of your Marriage-Bed.
6. As to marrying in general, I wish that you were all unmarried, as I am; but this I say to you by way of Advice, not of Command. Every one has from God his own proper Gift, some one way, and some another, whereby he must govern himself. To the unmarried and Widows, I say it is my Opinion, that it is best for them to remain unmarried, as I am. But if they have not the Gift of Continency, let them marry, for the Inconveniencies of Marriage are to be preferred to Flames of Lust. But to the married, I say not by way of Counsel from my self, but of Command from the Lord, that a Woman should not leave her Husband: But if she has separated her self from him, let her return and be reconciled to him again, or at least let her remain unmarried. And let not the Husband put away his Wife. But as to others, 'tis my Advice, not a Commandment from the Lord, That if a Christian Man hath an Heathen Wife that is content to live with him, let him not break Company with her, and dissolve the Marriage: And if a Christian Woman hath an Heathen Husband that is content to live with her, let her not break Company with him (c), and dissolve the Marriage. You need have no Scruple concerning this Matter, For the Heathen Husband or Wife, in respect of Conjugal Duty, can be no more refused, than if they were Christian. For

The wife hath not power of her own body, but the husband: and likewise also the husband hath not power of his own body, but the wife.

Defraud you not one the other, except it be with consent for a time, that ye may give your selves to fasting and prayer; and come together again, that Satan tempt you not for your incontinency.

But I speak this by permission, and not of commandment.

For I would that all men were even as I myself: but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, and another after that.

I say therefore to the unmarried and widows, It is good for them if they abide even as I.

But if they cannot contain, let them marry: for it is better to marry than to burn.

And unto the married I command, yet not I, but the Lord, Let not the wife depart from her husband:

But and if she depart, let her remain unmarried, or be reconciled to her husband: and let not the husband put away his wife.

But to the rest speak I, not the Lord, If any brother hath a wife that believeth not, and she be pleased to dwell with him, let him not put her away.

And the woman which hath an husband that believeth not, and if he be pleased to dwell with her, let her not leave him.

For the unbelieving husband is sanctified by the wife, and the unbelieving wife is sanctified by the husband: else were

NOTES.

4 (b) The Woman (who in all other Rights is inferior) has here the same Power given her over the Man's Body, that the Man has over her's. The Reason whereof is plain: Because if she had not her Man, when she had need of him, as well as the Man his Woman, when he had need of her, Marriage would be no Remedy against Fornication.

12 & 13. (c) *Ἀφαιρῶ*, the Greek Word in the Original signifying *put away*, being directed here in these two Verses both to the Man and the Woman, seems to intimate the same Power and the same Act of Dismissing in both; and therefore ought in both places to be translated alike.

I C O R I N T H I A N S.

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An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 30

T E X T.

P A R A P H R A S E.

your children unclean : but now are they holy.

15 But if the unbelieving depart, let him depart. A brother or a sister is not under bondage in such cases : but God hath called us to peace.

16 For what knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband ? or how knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife ?

17 But as God hath distributed to every man, as the Lord hath called every one, so let him walk : and so ordain I in all churches.

18 Is any man called being circumcised ? let him not become uncircumcised : is any called in uncircumcision ? let him not become circumcised.

19 Circumcision is nothing, and uncircumcision is nothing, but the keeping of the commandments of God.

20 Let every man abide in the same calling wherein he was called.

in this case the unbelieving Husband is sanctified (d) or made a Christian, as to his Issue in his Wife, and the Wife sanctified in her Husband. If it were not so, the Children of such Parents would be unclean (d), i. e. in the State of Heathens, but now are they holy (d), i. e. born Members of the Christian Church. But if the unbelieving Party will separate, let them separate. A Christian Man or Woman is not enslaved in such a Case, only it is to be remember'd, that it is incumbent on us whom God in the Gospel has call'd to be Christians, to live peaceably with all Men, as much as in us lieth, and therefore the Christian Husband or Wife is not to make a Breach in the Family, by leaving the unbelieving Party, who is content to stay. For what knowest thou, O Woman, but thou mayst be the Means of converting, and so saving thy unbelieving Husband, if thou continuest peaceably as a loving Wife with him ? Or what knowest thou, O Man, but after the same manner thou mayst save thy Wife ? On this Occasion let me give you this general Rule, whatever Condition God has allotted to any of you, let him continue and go on contentedly in the same (e) State wherein he was called, not looking on himself as set free from it by his Conversion to Christianity. And this is no more than what I order in all the Churches. For example, was any one converted to Christianity being circumcised, let him not become uncircumcised : Was any one called being uncircumcised, let him not be circumcised. Circumcision or Uncircumcision are nothing in the Sight of God, but that which he has a regard to, is an obedience to his Commands. Christianity gives not any one any new Privilege to change the State, or put off (f) the Obligations of Civil Life, which he was in before.

Wert

N O T E S.

14 (d) *ἁγιασμοῦ* sanctified, *ἁγία* holy, & *ἀκαθάρτα* unclean, are used here by the Apostle in the Jewish Sense. The Jews called all that were Jews, *holy* ; and all others they called *unclean*. Thus, *proles genita extra sanctitatem*, was a Child begot by Parents whilst they were yet Heathens ; *genita intra sanctitatem*, was a Child begot by Parents after they were Proselytes. This way of speaking St. Paul transfers from the Jewish into the Christian Church, calling all that are of the Christian Church *Saints*, or *holy*, by which Reason all that were out of it were *unclean*. See Note, Ch. 1. 2.

17 (e) *ὡς* signifies here not the Manner of his Calling, but the State and Condition of Life he was in when called ; and therefore *ἅτως* must signify the same too, as the next Verse shews.

20 (f) *Μεμείρω*, Let him abide. 'Tis plain from what immediately follows, that this is not an absolute Command ; but only signifies that a Man should not think himself discharg'd by the Privilege of his Christian State, and the Franchises of the Kingdom of Christ, which he was entered into, from any Ties or Obligations he was in as a Member of the Civil Society. And therefore for the settling a true Notion thereof in the Mind of the Reader, it has been thought convenient to give that which is the Apostle's Sense to Ver. 17, 20, & 24. of this Chapter, in words somewhat different from the Apostle's. The thinking themselves freed by Christianity from the Ties of Civil Society and Government, was a Fault, it seems, that those Christians were very apt to run into. For St. Paul, for their preventing their Thoughts of any Change of any thing of their Civil State upon their embracing Christianity, thinks it necessary to warn them against it three times in the Compass of seven Verses, and that in the Form of a direct Command not to change their Condition or State of Life. Whereby he intends that they should not change upon a Presumption that Christianity gave them a new or peculiar Liberty so to do. For, notwithstanding the Apostle's positively bidding them remain in the

I CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

21. Wert thou called being a Slave, think thy self not the less a Christian for being a Slave, but yet prefer Freedom to Slavery, if thou canst obtain it.
22. For he that is converted to Christianity, being a Bond-man, is Christ's Freed-man (g). And he that is converted being a Free-man is Christ's Bond-man, under his Command and Dominion. Ye are bought with a Price (h), and so belong to Christ; be not, if you can avoid it, Slaves to any body. In whatsoever State a Man is call'd, in the same he is to remain, notwithstanding any Privileges of the Gospel, which gives him no Dispensation or Exemption from any Obligation he was in before to the Laws of his Country. Now concerning Virgins (i) I have no express Command from Christ to give you; but I tell you my Opinion, as one whom the Lord has been graciously pleased to make credible (k), and so you may trust and rely on in this Matter. I tell you therefore that I judge a single Life to be convenient, because of the present Streights of the Church; and that it is best for a Man to be unmarried. Art thou in the Bonds of Wedlock? Seek not to be loosed: Art thou loosed from a Wife? Seek not a Wife. But if thou marriest thou sinnest not: Or if a Virgin marry, she sins not: But those that are married shall have wordly Troubles: But I spare you, by not representing to you, how little Enjoyment Christians are like to have from a married Life in the present State of things, and so I leave you to the Liberty of marrying. But give me leave to tell you, that the time for enjoying Husbands and Wives is but short (l). But be that as it will, this is certain, that those who have Wives, should be as if they had them not, and not set their Hearts upon them: And they that weep as if they wept not; and they that rejoyce, as if they rejoyced not; and they that buy, as if they possessed not: All these things
- 23.
- 24.
- 25.
- 26.
- 27.
- 28.
- 29.
- 30.

Art thou called, being a 21 servant? care not for it; but if thou mayst be made free, use it rather.

For he that is called in 22 the Lord, being a servant, is the Lord's free-man: likewise also he that is called being free, is Christ's servant.

Ye are bought with a 23 price, be not ye the servants of men.

Brethren, let every man 24 wherein he is called, therein abide with God.

Now concerning vir- 25 gins, I have no commandment of the Lord: yet I give my judgment as one that hath obtained mercy of the Lord to be faithful.

I suppose therefore, that 26 this is good for the present distress, I say, that it is good for a man so to be.

Art thou bound unto a 27 wife? seek not to be loosed. Art thou loosed from a wife? seek not a wife.

But and if thou marry, 28 thou hast not sinned; and if a virgin marry, she hath not sinned: nevertheless, such shall have trouble in the flesh; but I spare you.

But this I say, brethren, 29 the time is short. It remaineth, that both they that have wives, be as though they had none;

And they that weep, as 30 though they wept not; and they that rejoice, as though they rejoiced not;

NOTES.

same Condition in which they were at their Conversion; Yet it is certain it was lawful for them, as well as the others, to change, where it was lawful for them to change without being Christians.

22 (g) Ἀπελευθερωμένος, in Latin *Libertus*, signifies not simply a *Free-man*, but one who having been a Slave, has had his Freedom given him by his Master.

23 (h) Slaves were bought and sold in the Market, as Cattle are, and so by the Price paid, there was a Propriety acquired in them. This therefore here is a Reason for what he advised, ver. 21. that they should not be Slaves to Men, because Christ had paid a Price for them, and they belonged to him. The Slavery he speaks of is Civil Slavery, which he makes use of here to convince the Corinthians, that the Civil Ties of Marriage were not dissolved by a Man's becoming a Christian, since Slavery itself was not; and in general in the next Verse he tells them, that nothing in any Man's Civil Estate or Rights, is alter'd by his becoming a Christian.

25 (i) By *Virgins* 'tis plain St. Paul here means those of both Sexes, who are in a celibate State. 'Tis probable he had formerly dissuaded them from Marriage in the present State of the Church. This it seems they were uneasy under, ver. 28 & 35. and therefore sent some Questions to St. Paul about it, and particularly, What then should Men do with their Daughters? Upon which Occasion, ver. 25—37. he gives Directions to the Unmarried about their marrying or not marrying, and in the Close, ver. 38. answers to the Parents about marrying their Daughters; and then, ver. 39 & 40. he speaks of Widows.

(k) In this Sense he uses πεισὶς ἀνθρώπων, & πεισὶς λόγος, 2 Tim. 2. 2.

29 (l) Said possibly out of a prophetic Forefight of the approaching Persecution under Nero.

should

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- and they that buy, as tho' they possessed not ;
- 31 And they that use this world, as not abusing it : for the fashion of this world passeth away.
- 32 But I would have you without carefulness. He that is unmarried, careth for the things that belong to the Lord, how he may please the Lord :
- 33 But he that is married, careth for the things that are of the world, how he may please his wife.
- 34 There is difference also between a wife and a virgin: the unmarried woman careth for the things of the Lord, that she may be holy, both in body and in spirit: but she that is married, careth for the things of the world, how she may please her husband.
- 35 And this I speak for your own profit, not that I may cast a snare upon you, but for that which is comely, and that you may attend upon the Lord without distraction.
- 36 But if any man think that he behaveth himself uncomely toward his virgin, if she pass the flower of her age, and need so require, let him do what he will, he sinneth not: let them marry.
- 37 Nevertheless, he that standeth stedfast in his heart, having no necessity, but hath power over

should be done with Resignation and a Christian Indifferency. And those who use this World, should use it without an Over-relish of it (m), without giving themselves up to the Enjoyment of it. For the Scene of things is always changing in this World, and nothing can be relied on in it (n). All the Reason why I dissuade you from Marriage, is, that I would have you free from anxious Cares: He that is unmarried, has time and liberty to mind things of Religion, how he may please the Lord: But he that is married is taken up with the Cares of the World, how he may please his Wife. The like Difference there is between a married Woman and a Maid: She that is unmarried, has Opportunity to mind the things of Religion, that she may be holy in Mind and Body; but the married Woman is taken up with the Cares of the World, how to please her Husband. This I say to you for your particular Advantage, not to lay any Constraint upon you (o), but to put you in a way wherein you may most suitably, and as best becomes Christianity, apply your selves to the Study and Duties of the Gospel, without Distraction. But if any one thinks that he carries not himself as becomes him to his Virgin, if he lets her pass the Flower of her Age unmarried, and need so requires, let him do as he thinks fit, he sins not if he marry her. But whoever is settled in a firm Resolution of Mind, and finds himself under no Necessity of marrying, and is Master of his own Will, or is at his own Disposal, and has so determined in his Thoughts, that he will keep his Virginity, (p) he chooses the better

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NOTES.

31 (m) Καταχρησμενοι does not here signify *abusing*, in our English Sense of the word, but *intently using*.

(n) All from the beginning of ver. 28, to the end of ver. 31. I think may be looked on as a Parenthesis.

35 (o) Βέζυξ, which we translate a *Snare*, signifies a *Cord*, which possibly the Apostle might, according to the Language of the Hebrew School, use here for binding, and then his Discourse runs thus. Though I have declared it my Opinion, that it is best for a Virgin to remain unmarried, yet I bind it not, i. e. I do not declare it to be unlawful to marry.

37 (p) Παρθένον seems used here for the Virgin State, and not the Person of a Virgin; whether there be Examples of the like use of it, I know not, and therefore I propose it as my Conjecture upon these Grounds. 1. Because the Resolution of the Mind here spoken of, must be in the Person to be marry'd, and not in the Father that has the Power over the Person concerned: For how will the Firmness of Mind of the Father hinder Fornication in the Child, who has not that Firmness? 2. The Necessity of Marriage can only be judg'd of by the Persons themselves. A Father cannot feel the Child's Flames which make the Need of Marriage. The Persons themselves only know whether they burn, or have the Gift of Continence. 3. Ἐξουσίαν ἔχει ἐν τῇ ἰδίᾳ θελήματι, hath the Power over his own Will, must either signifie, *can govern his own Desires, is Master of his own Will*: But this cannot be meant here, because it is sufficiently expressed before by ἰσχυρῶς τῇ καρδίᾳ, *stedfast in Heart*; and afterwards too by κειμένη ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ, *decreed in Heart*: or must signifie, *has the Disposal of himself*, i. e. is free from the Father's Power of disposing their Children in Marriage. For I think the words should be translated, *hath a Power concerning his own Will*, i. e. concerning what he willeth. For if by it St. Paul meant a Power over his own Will, one might think he would have expressed that Thought

38. ter (g) side. So then he that marrieth doth well, but
 39. he that marrieth (r) not doth better. It is unlawful
 for a Woman to leave her Husband as long as he lives;
 but when he is dead, she is at liberty to marry or not
 marry, as she pleases, and to whom she pleases;
 which Virgins cannot do being under the Disposal of
 their Parents; only she must take care to marry as a
 40. Christian fearing God. But in my Opinion, she is
 happier if she remain a Widow; and permit me to
 say, that whatever any among you may think or say
 of me, I have the Spirit of God, so that I may be re-
 lied on in this my Advice, that I do not mislead you.

his own will, and hath so
 decreed in his heart, that
 he will keep his virgin,
 doth well.

So then, he that giveth³⁸
 her in marriage, doth
 well: but he that giveth
 her not in marriage doth
 better.

The wife is bound by³⁹
 the law as long as her hus-
 band liveth: but if her
 husband be dead, she is at
 liberty to be married to
 whom she will; only in
 the Lord.

But she is happier if she⁴⁰
 so abide, after my judg-
 ment: and I think also
 that I have the Spirit of
 God.

NOTES.

Thought as he does, *ch. 9. 12. & Rom. 9. 21.* without *εἰς*, or by the Preposition *ἐπὶ*, as it is, *Luke 9. 1. 4.* Because, if *keep his Virgin*, had here signified keep his Children from marry-
 ing, the Expression had been more natural to have used the word *τινα*, which signifies both
 Sexes, than *παρθένος*, which belongs only to the Female. If therefore *παρθένος* be taken
 abstractly for Virginitie, the precedent Verse must be understood thus: *But if any one think it a
 shame to pass the Flower of his Age unmarried, and he finds it necessary to marry, let him do as he
 pleases, he sins not; Let such marry.* I confess it is hard to bring these two Verses to the
 same Sense, and both of them to the Design of the Apostle here, without taking the Words in
 one or both of them very figuratively. St. Paul here seems to obviate an Objection that might
 be made against his Dissuasion from Marriage, *viz.* that it might be an Indecency one should
 be guilty of, if one should live unmarried past one's prime, and afterwards be forced to marry.
 To which he answers, That no body should abstain upon the account of being a Christian, but
 those who are of steady Resolutions, are at their own Disposal, and have fully determin'd it in
 their own Minds.

(g) *καλῶς* here, as in *ver. 1. 8, & 26.* signifies not simply good, but preferable.

38 (r) *παρθένος* being taken in the Sense before-mentioned, it is necessary in this Verse to
 follow the Copies which read *γαμίζων* *marrying*, for *ἐξγαμίζων*, *giving in Marriage*.

S E C T. IV.

C H A P. VIII. 1—13.

C O N T E N T S.

THIS Section is concerning the Eating things offered to Idols, wherein
 one may guess by St. Paul's Answer, that they had writ to him, that
 they knew their Christian Liberty herein, that they knew that an Idol was
 nothing, and therefore that they did well to shew their Knowledge of the
 Nullity of the Heathen Gods, and their Disregard of them, by eating pro-
 miscuously, and without Scruple, things offered to them. Upon which, the
 Design of the Apostle here seems to be, to take down their Opinion of their
 Knowledge, by shewing them, that notwithstanding all the Knowledge they
 presumed on, and were puffed up with, yet the eating of those Sacrifices did
 not recommend them to God: *Vid. ver. 8.* and that they might sin in their
 Want of Charity by offending their weak Brother. This seems plainly from
ver. 1—3, & 11, 12. to be the Design of the Apostle's Answer here, and not
 to resolve the Case of eating things offered to Idols in its full Latitude. For
 then he would have prosecuted it more at large here, and not have defer'd
 the

the Doing of it to Chap. 10. where under another Head he treats of it more particularly. An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

¹ NOW as touching things offered unto idols, we know that we all have knowledge. Knowledge puffeth up, but Charity edifieth.

² And if any man think that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet as he ought to know.

³ But if any man love God, the same is known of him.

⁴ As concerning therefore the eating of those things that are offered in sacrifice unto idols, we know that an idol is nothing in the world, and that there is none other God but one.

⁵ For though there be that are called gods, whether in heaven or in earth, (as there be gods many, and lords many)

⁶ But to us there is but one God, the Father, of whom are all things, and we in him; and one Lord Jesus Christ, by whom are all things, and we by him.

⁷ Howbeit there is not in every man that knowledge: for some with conscience of the idol unto this hour, eat it as a thing offered unto an idol; and their conscience being weak, is defiled.

AS for things offered up unto Idols, it must not be questioned but that every one of you, who stand so much upon your Knowledge, know that the imaginary Gods, to whom the Gentiles sacrifice, are not in reality Gods, but meer Fictions; but with this pray remember, that such a Knowledge, or Opinion of their Knowledge, swells Men with Pride and Vanity. But Charity it is that improves and advances Men in Christianity (1). But if any one be conceited of his own Knowledge, as if Christianity were a Science for Speculation and Dispute, he knows nothing yet of Christianity as he ought to know it. But if any one love God, and consequently his Neighbour for God's sake, such an one is made to know (2), or has got true Knowledge from God himself. To the Question then of eating things offered to Idols, I know as well as you, that an Idol, i. e. that the fictitious Gods, whose Images are in the Heathen Temples, are no real Beings in the World; and there is in Truth no other but one God. For tho' there be many imaginary nominal Gods, both in Heaven and Earth (3), as are indeed all their many Gods, and many Lords, which are merely titular; yet to us Christians, there is but one God, the Father and Author of all things, to whom alone we address all our Worship and Service, and but one Lord, viz. Jesus Christ, by whom all things come from God to us, and by whom we have Access to the Father. For notwithstanding all the great Pretences to Knowledge that are amongst you, every one doth not know that the Gods of the Heathens are but Imaginations of the Phantasie, mere nothing. Some, to this day, conscious to themselves that they think those Idols to be real Deities, eat things sacrificed to them, as sacrificed to real Deities, whereby doing that which they in their Consciences, not yet sufficiently enlighten'd, think to be unlawful,

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NOTES.

1 (1) To continue the Thread of the Apostle's Discourse, the 7th Verse must be read as joyn'd on to the 1st, and all between looked on as a Parenthesis.

3 (1) *Εγνωσεν, is made to know, or is taught.* The Apostle, tho' writing in Greek, yet often uses the Greek Verbs according to the Hebrew Conjugations. So ch. 13. 12. *ἐπιγινώσκουσιν*, which according to the Greek Propriety, signifies, *I shall be known*, is used for *I shall be made to know*; and so Gal. 4. 9. *γινώσκουσιν* is put to signify *being taught*.

5 (u) *In Heaven and Earth.* The Heathen had supreme Sovereign Gods, whom they supposed eternal, remaining always in the Heavens, these were called *θεοὶ Gods*: They had besides another Order of inferior Gods: *Gods upon Earth*, who by the Will and Direction of the heavenly Gods governed terrestrial things, and were the Mediators between the Supreme Heavenly Gods and Men, without whom there could be no Communication between them. These were called in Scripture, *Baalim*, i. e. *Lords*; and by the Greeks *δαίμονες*. To this the Apostle alludes here, saying, though there be in the Opinion of the Heathens, *Gods many*, i. e. many Celestial Sovereign Gods in Heaven: And *Lords many*, i. e. many *Baalim* or *Lords Agents*, and Presidents over earthly things; yet to us Christians there is but one Sovereign God the Father, of whom are all things, and to whom as Supreme we are to direct all our Services: And but one Lord-Agent Jesus Christ, by whom are all things that come from the Father to us, and through whom alone we find Access unto him. *Mede Disc. on 2 Pet. 2. 1.*

lawful,

8. lawful, are guilty of Sin. Food, of what kind soever makes not God regard us (*w*). For neither if in Knowledge and full Persuasion, that an Idol is nothing, we eat things offered to Idols, do we thereby add any thing to Christianity: Or if not being so well informed, we are scrupulous and forbear, are we the worse Christians, or are lessened by it (*x*). But this you knowing Men ought to take special Care of: That the Power of Freedom you have to eat, be not made such an use of as to become a Stumbling-block to weaker Christians who are not convinced of that Liberty. For if such an one shall see thee, who hast this Knowledge of thy Liberty, sit feasting in an Idol-Temple, shall not his weak Conscience, not thoroughly instructed in the matter of Idols, be drawn in by thy Example to eat what is offered to Idols, tho' he in his
11. Conscience doubt of its Lawfulness? And thus thy weak Brother, for whom Christ died, is destroy'd by thy Knowledge, wherewith thou justifiest thy eating.
12. But when you sin thus against your Brethren, and wound their weak Consciences, you sin against Christ.
13. Wherefore if Meat make my Brother offend, I will never more eat Flesh, to avoid making my Brother offend.

But meat commendeth⁸ us not to God: for neither if we eat, are we the better; neither if we eat not are we the worse.

But take heed lest by⁹ any means this liberty of yours become a stumbling block to them that are weak.

For if any man see thee¹⁰ which hast knowledge, sit at meat in the idols temple, shall not the conscience of him which is weak be emboldened to eat those things which are offered to idols?

And through thy know-¹¹ ledge shall the weak brother perish, for whom Christ died:

But when ye sin so a-¹² gainst the brethren, and wound their weak conscience, ye sin against Christ.

Wherefore if meat make¹³ my brother to offend, I will eat no flesh while the world standeth, lest I make my brother to offend.

NOTES.

8 (*w*) ὁ ὑπομνησθεῖς, sets us not before God, i. e. to be taken Notice of by him.

(*x*) It cannot be supposed that St. Paul, in answer to a Letter of the *Corinthians*, should tell them, that if they ate things offer'd to Idols, they were not the better; or if they ate not, were not the worse, unless they had express'd some Opinion of Good in Eating.

SECT. V.

CHAP. IX. 1—27.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul had preached the Gospel at *Corinth* about two Years, in all which time he had taken nothing of them, 2 Cor. 11. 7—9. This by some of the opposite Faction, and particularly as we may suppose by their Leader, was made use of to call in question his Apostleship, 2 Cor. 11. 5, 6. For why, if he were an Apostle, should he not use the Power of an Apostle, to demand Maintenance where he preached? In this Section St. Paul vindicates his Apostleship: And in answer to these Enquirers, gives the Reason why, tho' he had a Right to Maintenance, yet he preached *gratis* to the *Corinthians*. My Answer, says he, to these Inquisitors, is, that tho' as being an Apostle, I know that I have a Right to Maintenance, as well as Peter, or any other of the Apostles, who all have a Right, as is evident from Reason and from Scripture; yet I never have, nor shall make use of my Privilege amongst you, for fear that if it cost you any thing, that should hinder the Effect of my Preaching: I would neglect nothing that might promote the Gospel. For I do not content my self with doing barely what is my Duty, for by my extraordinary Call and Commission, it is now incumbent on me to preach the Gospel;

Gospel ; But I endeavour to excel in my Ministry, and not to execute my Commission overtly, and just enough to serve the turn. For if those who in the Agonistick Games aiming at Victory to obtain only a corruptible Crown, deny themselves in eating and drinking, and other Pleasures, how much more does the eternal Crown of Glory deserve that we should do our utmost to obtain it ? To be as careful in not indulging our Bodies, in denying our Pleasures, in doing every thing we could in order to get it, as if there were but one that should have it ? Wonder not therefore if I, having this in view, neglect my Body, and those outward Conveniencies that I, as an Apostle, sent to preach the Gospel, might claim, and make use of : Wonder not that I prefer the propagating of the Gospel, and making of Converts, to all Care and Regard of my self. This seems the Design of the Apostle, and will give light to the following Discourse, which we shall now take in the Order St. Paul writ it.

T E X T.

P A R A P H R A S E.

- 1 **A** M I not an apostle ?
am I not free ? have
I not seen Jesus Christ our
Lord ? are not you my
work in the Lord ?
- 2 If I be not an apostle
unto others, yet doubtless
I am to you : for the seal
of mine apostleship are ye
in the Lord.
- 3 Mine answer to them
that do examine me, is
this,
- 4 Have we not power to
eat and to drink ?
- 5 Have we not power to
lead about a sister a wife
as well as other apostles,
and as the brethren of the
Lord, and Cephas ?
- 6 Or I only and Barna-
bas, have not we power
to forbear working ?
- 7 Who goeth a warfare
any time at his own char-
ges ? who planteth a
vineyard, and eateth not
of the fruit thereof ? or
who feedeth a flock, and
eateth not of the milk of
the flock ?
- 8 Say I these things as a
man ? or saith not the
law the same also ?
- 9 For it is written in the
law of Moses, Thou shalt
not muzzle the mouth of
the ox that treadeth out
the corn. Doth God take
care for oxen ?
- 10 Or saith he it altoge-
ther for our sakes ? for
our sakes, no doubt, this
is written : that he that
ploweth should plow in

A M I not an Apostle ? And am I not at liberty
(a) as much as any other of the Apostles, to
make use of the Privilege due to that Office ? Have I
not had the Favour to see Jesus Christ our Lord after
an extraordinary manner ? And are not you your
selves, whom I have converted, an Evidence of the
Success of my Employment in the Gospel ? If others
should question my being an Apostle, you at least can-
not doubt of it : Your Conversion to Christianity
is, as it were, a Seal set to it, to make good the
Truth of my Apostleship. This then is my Answer
to those who set up an Inquisition upon me : Have
not I a right to Meat and Drink where I preach ?
Have not I and Barnabas a Power to take along with
us in our Travelling, to propagate the Gospel, a
Christian Woman (b) to provide our Conveniencies,
and be serviceable to us, as well as Peter, and the
Brethren of the Lord, and the rest of the Apostles ?
Or is it I only and Barnabas who are excluded from
the Privilege of being maintained without Working ?
Who goes to the War any where, and serves as a
Soldier at his own Charges ? Who planteth a Vine-
yard, and eateth not of the Fruit thereof ? Who feed-
eth a Flock, and eateth not of the Milk ? This is al-
lowed to be Reason, that those who are so employ'd,
should be maintain'd by their Employments ; and so
likewise a Preacher of the Gospel. But I say not this
barely upon the Principles of humane Reason, Reve-
lation teaches the same thing in the Law of Moses :
Where it is said, Thou shalt not muzzle the Mouth of
the Ox that treadeth out the Corn. Doth God take
care to provide so particularly for Oxen by a Law ?
No certainly, it is said particularly for our sakes, and
not for Oxen, that he who sows may sow in hope of
enjoying the Fruits of his Labour at Harvest, and may
then thresh out and eat the Corn he hoped for.

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- 2.
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- 8.
- 9.
- 10.

N O T E S.

- 1 (a) It was a Law amongst the Jews, not to receive Alms from the Gentiles.
- 5 (b) There were not in those Parts, as among us, Inns, where Travellers might have their Conveniencies : and Strangers could not be accommodated with Necessaries, unless they had some body with them to take that care, and provide for them. They who would make it their Business to preach, and neglect this, must needs suffer great Hardships.

I CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

11. If we have sowed to you spiritual things, in preaching the Gospel to you, is it unreasonable that we should expect a little Meat and Drink from you, a little Share of your carnal Things? If any partake of this Power over you (c), why not we much rather? But I made no use of it, but bear with any thing that I may avoid all Hindrance to the Progress of the Gospel.
12. Do ye not know that they who in the Temple serve about holy things, live upon those holy things? And they who wait at the Altar, are Partakers with the Altar? So has the Lord ordained, that they who preach the Gospel, should live of the Gospel. But though as an Apostle and Preacher of the Gospel, I have, as you see, a Right to Maintenance, yet I have not taken it: Neither have I written this to demand it. For I had rather perish for Want, than be deprived of what I glory in, viz. preaching the Gospel freely.
13. For if I preach the Gospel, I do barely my Duty, but have nothing to glory in, for I am under an Obligation and Command to preach (d); And would be to me, if I preach not the Gospel; which if I do willingly, I shall have a Reward: If unwillingly, the Dispensation is nevertheless intrusted to me, and ye ought to hear me as an Apostle. How therefore do I make it turn to account to my self? Even thus; If I preach the Gospel of Christ of free Cost, so that I exact not the Maintenance I have a Right to by the Gospel. For being under no Obligation to any Man, I yet subject my self to every one, to the end that I may make the more Converts to Christ. To the Jews and those under the Law of Moses, I became as a Jew, and one under that Law, that I might gain the

hope; and that he that thresheth in hope, should be partaker of his hope.

If we have sown unto you spiritual things, is it a great thing if we shall reap your carnal things?

If others be partakers of this power over you, are not we rather? Nevertheless, we have not used this power; but suffer all things, lest we should hinder the gospel of Christ.

Do ye not know that they which minister about holy things, live of the things of the temple? and they which wait at the altar, are partakers with the altar?

Even so hath the Lord ordained, that they which preach the gospel, should live of the gospel.

But I have used none of these things. Neither have I written these things that it should be so done unto me: for it were better for me to die, than that any man should make my glorying void.

For though I preach the gospel, I have nothing to glory of: for necessity is laid upon me; yea, wo is unto me, if I preach not the gospel.

For if I do this thing willingly, I have a reward: but if against my will, a dispensation of the gospel is committed unto me:

What is my reward then? verily that when I preach the gospel, I may make the gospel of Christ without charge, that I abuse not my power in the gospel.

For though I be free from all men, yet have I made my self servant unto all, that I might gain the more.

And unto the Jews, I became as a Jew, that I might gain the Jews; to

NOTES.

12 (c) For τῶν ἐσθλας, I should encline to read, τῶν δολας, if there be, as Vossius says, any MSS. to authorize it: and then the words will run thus; *If any partake of your Substance.* This better suits the foregoing Words, and needs not the Addition of the word *this*, to be inserted in the Translation, which with Difficulty enough makes it refer to a Power which he was not here speaking of, but stands eight Verses off: Besides in these Words St. Paul seems to glance at what they suffered from the false Apostle, who did not only pretend to Power of Maintenance; but did actually devour them: *Vid.* 2 Cor. 11. 20.

16 (d) *Vid.* Acts 22. 15—21.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- them that are under the law, as under the law, that I might gain them that are under the law;
- 21 To them that are without law, as without law, (being not without law to God, but under the law to Christ) that I might gain them that are without law.
- 22 To the weak became I as weak, that I might gain the weak: I am made all things to all men, that I might by all means save some.
- 23 And this I do for the gospel's sake, that I might be partaker thereof with you.
- 24 Know ye not that they which run in a race, run all, but one receiveth the prize? so run that ye may obtain.
- 25 And every man that striveth for the mastery, is temperate in all things: now, they do it to obtain a corruptible crown, but we an incorruptible.
- 26 I therefore so run, not as uncertainly: so fight I, not as one that beateth the air:
- 27 But I keep under my body, and bring it into subjection: lest that by any means when I have preached to others, I myself should be a cast-away.
- Jews, and those under the Law: To those without the Law of *Moses* I applied myself as one not under that Law (not indeed as if I were under no Law to God, but as obeying and following the Law of Christ) that I might gain those who were without the Law. To the weak I became as weak, that I might gain the weak. I became all things to all Men, that I might leave no lawful thing untried, whereby I might save People of all sorts. And this I do for the Gospel's sake, that I myself may share in the Benefits of the Gospel. Know ye not that they who run a Race, run not lazily, but with their utmost Force: they all endeavour to be first, because there is but one that gets the Prize? It is not enough for you to run, but so to run, that ye may obtain; which they cannot do, who running only because they are bid, do not run with all their Might. They who propose to themselves the getting the Garland in your Games, readily submit themselves to severe Rules of Exercise and Abstinence; and yet their's is but a fading transitory Crown; that which we propose to our selves is everlasting, and therefore deserves that we should endure greater Hardships for it; I therefore so run, as not to leave it to Uncertainty. I do what I do, not as one who fences for Exercise or Ostentation; but I really and in earnest keep under my Body, and entirely inflame it to the Service of the Gospel, without allowing any thing to the Exigences of this animal Life, which may be the least Hindrance to the Propagation of the Gospel, lest that I, who preach to bring others into the Kingdom of Heaven, should be disapproved of, and rejected myself.

S E C T. VI. N. I.

C H A P. X. 1.—22.

C O N T E N T S.

IT seems by what he here says, as if the *Corinthians* had told St. *Paul*, that the Temptations and Constraints they were under, of going to their Heathen Neighbours Feasts upon their Sacrifices, were so many and so great, that there was no avoiding it: And therefore they thought they might go to them without any Offence to God, or Danger to themselves; since they were the People of God, purged from Sin by Baptism, and fenced against it by partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper. To which St. *Paul* answers, that notwithstanding their Baptism, and partaking of that spiritual Meat and Drink, yet they, as well as the Jews of old did, might sin and draw on themselves Destruction from the Hand of God; That eating of things that were known and owned to be offered to Idols, was partaking in

An. Ch. 57. the Idolatrous Worship, and therefore they were to prefer even the Danger of Persecution before such a Compliance; for God would find a way for them to escape.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

1. I Would not have you ignorant, Brethren, that all our Fathers, the whole Congregation of the Children of *Israel*, at their coming out of *Egypt*, were all to a Man under the Cloud, and all passed through the Sea; And
2. were all by this Baptism (e) in the Cloud; And passing through the Water, initiated into the Mosaical Institution and Government, by these two Miracles of the Cloud and the Sea. And they all ate the same Meat, which had a typical and spiritual Signification.
3. And they all drank the same spiritual typical Drink, which came out of the Rock, and followed them, which Rock typified Christ: All which were typical Representations of Christ, as well as the Bread and Wine which we eat and drink in the Lord's Supper,
4. are typical Representations of him. But yet tho' every one of the Children of *Israel* that came out of *Egypt* were thus solemnly separated from the rest of the profane idolatrous World, and were made God's peculiar People, sanctified and holy, every one of them to himself, and Members of his Church: Nay, tho' they did all (f) partake of the same Meat, and the same Drink which did typically represent Christ, yet they were not thereby privileged from Sin, but great Numbers of them provoked God, and were destroy'd
5. in the Wilderness, for their Disobedience. Now these things were set as Patterns to us, that we, warned by these Examples, should not set our Minds a-longing as they did after Meats (g) that would be safer let alone: Neither be ye Idolaters, as were some of them;
6. as it is written, The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play (b). Neither let us commit Fornication, as some of them committed, and fell in one day Three and twenty thousand. Neither let us provoke Christ, as some of them provoked, and were destroyed of Serpents. Neither murmur ye, as some of them murmured, and were destroyed of the

Moreover, brethren, I would not that ye should be ignorant, how that all our fathers were under the cloud, and all passed through the sea;

And were all baptized² unto Moses in the cloud, and in the sea;

And all did eat the same³ spiritual meat;

And did drink all the⁴ same spiritual drink: (for they drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them: and that Rock was Christ)

But with many of them⁵ God was not well pleased; for they were overthrown in the wilderness.

Now these things were⁶ our examples to the intent we should not lust after evil things, as they also lusted.

Neither be ye idolat⁷ ers, as were some of them; as it is written, The people sat down to eat and drink, and rose up to play.

Neither let us commit⁸ fornication, as some of them committed; and fell in one day three and twenty thousand.

Neither let us tempt⁹ Christ, as some of them also tempted, and were destroyed of serpents.

Neither murmur ye, as¹⁰ some of them also murmured, and were destroyed of the destroyer.

NOTES.

2 (e) The Apostle calls it Baptism, which is the initiating Ceremony into both the Jewish and Christian Church: And the Cloud and Sea both being nothing but Water, are well suited to that typical Representation; and that the Children of *Israel* were washed with Rain from the Cloud, may be collected from *Psal.* 68. 9.

5 (f) It may be observed here, that St. Paul speaking of the *Israelites*, uses the word *πάρις* all, five times in the four foregoing Verses, besides that he carefully says, *τὸ αὐτὸ βρώμα*, the same Meat, and *τὸ αὐτὸ πομα*, the same Drink, which we cannot suppose to come by Chance, but emphatically to signify to the *Corinthians*, who probably presumed too much upon their Baptism, and eating the Lord's Supper, as if that were enough to keep them right in the Sight of God; that tho' the *Israelites* all to a Man ate the very same spiritual Food, and all to a Man drank the very same spiritual Drink; yet they were not all to a Man preserv'd, but many of them, for all that, sinned and fell under the avenging Hand of God in the Wilderness.

6 (g) *κακῶν*, evil things: The Fault of the *Israelites* which this place refers to, seems to be their longing for Flesh, *Numb.* 11. which cost many of them their Lives: And that which he warns the *Corinthians* of here, is, their great Propension to the Pagan Sacrifice-Feasts.

7 (b) Play, i. e. Dance; Feasting and Dancing usually accompanied the Heathen Sacrifices.

Destroyer

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 11 Now all these things happened unto them for ensamples: and they are written for our admonition, upon whom the ends of the world are come.
- 12 Wherefore let him that thinketh he standeth, take heed lest he fall.
- 13 There hath no temptation taken you, but such as is common to man: but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it.
- 14 Wherefore my dearly beloved, flee from idolatry.
- 15 I speak as to wise men: judge ye what I say.
- 16 The cup of blessing which we bless, is it not the communion of the blood of Christ? The bread which we break, is it not the communion of the body of Christ?
- 17 For we being many are one bread, and one body: for we are all partakers of that one bread.
- 18 Behold Israel after the flesh: are not they which eat of the sacrifices, partakers of the altar?
- 19 What say I then? that the idol is any thing, or that which is offered in sa-

Destroyer (i). Now all these things (k) happened to the Jews for Examples, and are written for our Admonition, upon whom the Ends of the Ages are come (l). Wherefore, taught by these Examples, let him that thinks himself safe by being in the Church, and partaking of the Christian Sacraments, take heed lest he fall into Sin, and so Destruction from God overtake him. Hitherto the Temptations you have met with have been but light and ordinary: If you should come to be pressed harder, God, who is faithful, and never forsakes those who forsake not him, will not suffer you to be tempted above your Strength, but will either enable you to bear the Persecution, or open you a way out of it. Therefore my Beloved, take care to keep off from Idolatry, and be not drawn to any Approaches near it by any Temptation or Persecution whatsoever. You are satisfied that you want not Knowledge (m). And therefore as to knowing Men I appeal to you, and make you Judges of what I am going to say in the Case. They who drink of the Cup of Blessing (n) which we bless in the Lord's Supper, do they not thereby partake of the Benefits purchased by Christ's Blood shed for them upon the Cross, which they here symbolically drink? And they who eat of the Bread broken (o) there, do they not partake in the Sacrifice of the Body of Christ, and profess to be Members of him: For by eating of that Bread we, though many in Number, are all united, and make but one Body, as many Grains of Corn are united into one Loaf. See how it is among the Jews, who are outwardly, according to the Flesh, by Circumcision the People of God. Among them they who eat of the Sacrifice, are Partakers of God's Table the Altar, have Fellowship with him, and share in the Benefit of the Sacrifice, as if it were offered for them. Do not mistake me, as if I hereby said, that the Idols of the Gentiles are Gods in reality; or that the things

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NOTES.

10 (i) Ὁλοφρευτής, Destroyer, was an Angel that had the Power to destroy, mentioned Exod. 12. 23. Hab. 11. 28.

11 (k) It is to be observed, that all these Instances, mentioned by the Apostle, of Destruction, which came upon the *Israelites*, who were in Covenant with God, and Partakers in those typical Sacraments above mentioned, were occasion'd by their luxurious Appetites about Meat and Drink, by Fornication, and by Idolatry, Sins which the *Corinthians* were inclined to, and which he here warns them against.

(l) So I think τὰ τέλη τῶν αἰώνων, should be render'd, and not contrary to Grammar, *the End of the World*; because it is certain that τέλη and συνέλευσις τῶν αἰώνων, or τῶν αἰώνων cannot signify every where, as we render it, *the End of the World*; which denotes but one certain period of Time, for the World can have but one End, whereas those words signify in different Places, different Periods of Time, as will be manifest to any one who will compare these Texts where they occur, viz. Mat. 13. 39, 40. and 24. 3. & 28. 20. 1 Cor. 10. 11. Heb. 9. 26. It may be worth while therefore to consider whether αἰών hath not ordinarily a more natural Signification in the New Testament, by standing for a considerable length of time, passing under some one remarkable Dispensation.

15 (m) Vid. ch. 8. 1.

16 (n) Cup of Blessing, was a Name given by the Jews to a Cup of Wine, which they solemnly drank in the Passover, with Thanksgiving.

(o) This was also taken from the Custom of the Jews in the Passover, to break a Cake of Unleavened Bread.

offered

I CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

20. offered to them change their Nature, and are any thing really different from what they were before, so as to affect us in our use of them (p): No, but this I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devils, and not to God; and I would not that you should have Fellowship, and be in League with Devils, as they who by eating of the things offered to them, enter into Covenant, Alliance and Friendship with them. You cannot eat and drink with God as Friends at his Table in the Eucharist, and entertain Familiarity and Friendship with Devils, by eating with them, and partaking of the Sacrifices offered to them (q): You cannot be Christians and Idolaters too: Nor if you should endeavour to join these inconsistent Rites, will it avail you any thing. For your partaking in the Sacraments of the Christian Church, will no more exempt you from the Anger of God, and Punishment due to your Idolatry, than the eating of the spiritual Food, and drinking of the spiritual Rock, kept the baptized *Israelites*, who offended God by their Idolatry, or other Sins, from being destroy'd in the Wilderness. Dare you, then, being espoused to Christ, provoke the Lord to Jealousie by Idolatry, which is spiritual Whoredom? Are you stronger than he, and able to resist him when he lets loose his Fury against you?
21. 22.

sacrifice to idols is any thing?

But I say, that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to devils, and not to God: and I would not that ye should have fellowship with devils.

Ye cannot drink the cup of the Lord, and the cup of devils: ye cannot be partakers of the Lord's table, and of the table of devils.

Do we provoke the Lord to jealousy? are we stronger than he?

NOTES.

19 (p) This is evident from what he says, v. 25, 27. that things offered to Idols may be eaten as well as any other Meat, so it be without partaking in the Sacrifice, and without Scandal.

21 (q) 'Tis plain by what the Apostle says, that the thing he speaks against here, is, their assisting at the Heathen Sacrifices, or at least at the Feasts in their Temples, upon the Sacrifice, which was a federal Right.

SECT. VI. N. 2.

CHAP. X. 23—XI. 1.

CONTENTS.

WE have here another of his Arguments against things offered to Idols, wherein he shews the Danger might be in it, from the Scandal it might give: supposing it a thing lawful in itself. He had formerly treated of this Subject, *ch.* 8. so far as to let them see, that there was no Good nor Virtue in eating things offered to Idols, notwithstanding they knew that Idols were nothing, and they might think that their free eating without Scruple, shew'd that they knew their Freedom in the Gospel, that they knew that Idols were in reality nothing, and therefore they slighted and disregarded them and their Worship as nothing; but that there might be evil in eating, by the Offence it might give to weak Christians, who had not that Knowledge; He here takes up the Argument of Scandal again, and extends it to Jews and Gentiles; *Vid.* ver. 32. and shews, that it is not enough to justify them in any Action, that the thing they do is in it self lawful, unless they seek in it the Glory of God, and the Good of others.

Farther,

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 23 All things are lawful for me, but all things are not expedient: all things are lawful for me, but all things edifie not.
- 24 Let no man seek his own: but every man another's wealth.
- 25 Whatsoever is sold in the shambles, that eat, asking no question for conscience sake.
- 26 For the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.
- 27 If any of them that believe not, bid you to a feast, and ye be disposed to go; whatsoever is set before you, eat, asking no question for conscience sake.
- 28 But if any man say unto you, This is offered in sacrifice unto idols, eat not, for his sake that shewed it, and for conscience sake. For the earth is the Lord's, and the fulness thereof.
- 29 Conscience I say, not thine own, but of the others: for why is my liberty judged of another man's conscience?
- 30 For, if I by grace be a partaker, why am I evil spoken of for that for which I give thanks?
- 31 Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatsoever ye do, do all to the glory of God.
- 32 Give none offence, neither to the Jews, nor to the Gentiles, nor to the church of God:
- 33 Even as I please all men in all things, not seeking mine own profit, but the profit of many, that they may be saved.
- Be ye followers of me, even as I also am of Christ.

FArther, supposing it lawful to eat things offered to Idols, yet all things that are lawful are not expedient. Things that in themselves are lawful for me, may not tend to the Edification of others, and so may be fit to be forborn. No one must seek barely his own private particular Interest alone, but let every one seek the Good of others also. Eat whatever is sold in the Shambles, without any Enquiry or Scruple, whether it had been offered to any Idol or no: For the Earth and all therein are the good Creatures of the true God, given by him to Men for their Use. If an Heathen invite you to an Entertainment, and you go, eat whatever is set before you, without making any Question or Scruple about it, whether it had been offered in Sacrifice, or no. But if any one say to you, this was offered in Sacrifice to an Idol, eat it not for his sake that mentioned it, and for Conscience sake (r). Conscience, I say, not thine own (for thou knowest thy Liberty, and that an Idol is nothing) but the Conscience of the other. For why should I use my Liberty, so that another Man should in Conscience think I offended? And if I with Thanksgiving partake of what is lawful for me to eat, why do I order the Matter so, that I am ill spoken of for that which I bless God for? Whether therefore ye eat or drink, or whatever you do, let your Care and Aim be the Glory of God. Give no Offence to the Jews, by giving them Occasion to think that Christians are permitted to worship Heathen Idols; Nor to the Gentiles, by giving them occasion to think that you allow their Idolatry, by partaking of their Sacrifices; Nor to weak Members of the Church of God, by drawing them by your Example to eat of things offered to Idols, of the Lawfulness whereof they are not fully satisfied. As I my self do, who abridge my self of many Conveniencies of Life, to comply with the different Judgments of Men, and gain the good Opinion of others, that I may be instrumental to the Salvation of as many as is possible. Imitate herein my Example, as I do that of our Lord Christ, who neglected himself for the Salvation of others (s).

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NOTES.

28 (r) The Repetition of these words, *The Earth is the Lord's and the Fulness thereof*, does so manifestly disturb the Sense, that the Syriac, Arabick, Vulgar and French Translations have omitted them, and are justified in it by the Alexandrian, and some other Greek Copies.

1 (s) *Rom. 15. 3.* This Verse seems to belong to the precedent, wherein he had proposed himself as an Example, and therefore this Verse should not be cut off from the former Chapter. In what St. Paul says in this and the preceding Verse, taken together, we may suppose he makes some Reflection on the false Apostle, whom many of the Corinthians followed as their Leader. At least it is for St. Paul's Justification, that he proposes himself to be followed no farther than as he sought the Good of others, and not his own, and had Christ for his Pattern. *Vid. Ch. 4. 16.*

SECT.

I CORINTHIANS.

S E C T. VII.

C H A P. XI. 2—16.

C O N T E N T S.

ST. Paul commends them for observing the Orders he had left with them, and uses Arguments to justify the Rule he had given them, that Women should not pray or prophesie in their Assemblies uncovered, which it seems there was some Contention about, and they had writ to him to be resolved in it.

P A R A P H R A S E.

T E X T.

2. **I** Commend you, Brethren, for remembring all my
3. Orders, and for retaining those Rules I delivered
to you when I was with you. But, for your better understanding what concerns Women (†) in your Assemblies, you are to take notice, that Christ is the Head

NOW I praise you, brethren, that you remember me in all things, and keep the ordinances, as I delivered them to you.
But I would have you know, that the head of

N O T E S:

3 (†) This about Women seeming as difficult a Passage as most in St. Paul's Epistles, I crave leave to premise some few Considerations which I hope may conduce to the clearing of it.

(1.) It is to be observed, that it was the Custom for Women who appeared in publick, to be veiled, ver. 13—15. Therefore it could be no Question at all, whether they ought to be veiled when they assisted at the Prayers and Praises in the Publick Assemblies; or if that were the thing intended by the Apostle, it had been much easier, shorter, and plainer for him to have said, that Women should be covered in the Assemblies.

(2.) It is plain that this covering the Head in Women, is restrained to some particular Actions which they performed in the Assembly, expressed by the words, *Praying and Propheying*, ver. 4, and 5. which, whatever they signifie, must have the same Meaning, when apply'd to the Women, in the 5th Verse, that they have when apply'd to the Men in the 4th Verse.

It will possibly be objected, If Women were to be veiled in the Assemblies, let those Actions be what they will, the Women joyning in them were still to be veiled.

Ans. This would be plainly so, if their Interpretation were to be followed, who are of Opinion, that by *Praying and Propheying* here, was meant to be present in the Assembly, and joyning with the Congregation in the Prayers that were made, or Hymns that were sung, or in hearing the Reading and Exposition of the Holy Scriptures there. But against this, that the hearing of Preaching or Propheying was never called *Preaching* or *Propheying*, is so unanswerable an Objection, that I think there can be no Reply to it.

The Case in short seems to be this: The Men prayed and prophesied in the Assemblies, and did it with their Heads uncovered: The Women also sometimes prayed and prophesied too in the Assemblies, which when they did, they thought, during the performing that Action, they were excused from being veiled, and might be bare-headed, or at least open-faced, as well as the Men. This was that which the Apostle restrains in them, and directs, that tho' they pray'd or prophesied, they were still to remain veiled.

(3.) The next thing to be considered, is, what is here to be understood by *Praying and Propheying*. And that seems to me to be the performing of some particular publick Action in the Assembly by some one Person, which was for that time peculiar to that Person, and whilst it lasted, the rest of the Assembly silently assisted. For it cannot be supposed, that when the Apostle says, a Man praying or propheying, that he means an Action perform'd in common by the whole Congregation; or if he did, what Pretence could that give the Woman to be unveiled more during the Performance of such an Action, than at any other time? A Woman must be veiled in the Assembly, what Pretence then or Claim could it give her to be unveiled, that she joyn'd with the rest of the Assembly, in the Prayer that some one Person made? Such a Praying as this could give no more Ground for her being unveiled, than her being in the Assembly could be thought a Reason for her being unveil'd. The same may be said of Propheying, when understood to signify a Woman's joyning with the Congregation in singing the Praises of God. But if the Woman prayed as the Mouth of the Assembly, &c. then it was like she might think she might have the Privilege to be unveiled.

Praying and Propheying, as hath been shewn, signifying here the doing some peculiar Action in the Assembly, whilst the rest of the Congregation only assisted, let us in the next place examine what that Action was. As to *Propheying*, the Apostle in express Words tells us, Ch. 4. 3, & 12. that it was speaking in the Assembly. The same is evident as to *Praying*, that the Apostle means by it praying publicly with an audible Voice in the Congregation, *vid.* Ch. 14. 14—19.

(4.) It

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An. Ch. 573
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

every man is Christ; and the head of the woman, is to which every Man is subjected, and the Man is the Head to which every Woman is subjected; and that the

NOTES.

(4.) It is to be observ'd, that whether any one pray'd or prophesied, they did it alone, the rest remaining silent, *ch. 14. 27—33.* So that even in these extraordinary Praises which any one sung to God by the immediate Motion and Impulse of the Holy Ghost, which was one of the Actions called Prophefying, they sung alone. And indeed how could it be otherwise? For who could joyn with the Person so prophefying in things dictated to him alone by the Holy Ghost, which the others could not know, till the Person prophefying uttered them?

(5.) Prophefying, as *St. Paul* tells, *ch. 14. 3.* was speaking unto others to Edification, Exhortation and Comfort: But every speaking to others to any of these Ends, was not Prophefying, but only then when such Speaking was a spiritual Gift perform'd by the immediate and extraordinary Motion of the Holy Ghost, *Vid. ch. 14. 1, 12, 24, 30.* For example, singing Praises to God was called Prophefying; but we see when *Saul* prophefied, the Spirit of God fell upon him, and he was turn'd into another Man, *1 Sam. 10. 6.* Nor do I think any Place in the New Testament can be produced wherein prophefying signifies bare reading of the Scripture, or any other Action perform'd without a supernatural Impulse and Assistance of the Spirit of God. This we are sure, that Prophefying which *St. Paul* here speaks of, is one of the extraordinary Gifts given by the Spirit of God, *Vid. ch. 12. 10.* Now that the Spirit of God, and the Gift of Prophecy should be poured out upon Women as well as Men, in the time of the Gospel, is plain from *ABs 11. 17.* and then where could be a fitter place for them to utter their Prophecies in than the Assemblies?

It is not unlikely what one of the most learned and sagacious of our Interpreters of Scripture suggests upon this place, *viz.* That Christian Women might, out of a Vanity incident to Discr. 16. that Sex, propose to themselves and affect an Imitation of the Priests and Prophetesses of the Gentiles, who had their Faces uncovered when they utter'd their Oracles, or officiated in their Sacrifices: But I cannot but wonder that that very acute Writer should not see that the bare being in the Assembly could not give a Christian Woman any Pretence to that Freedom. None of the *Bacchai* or *Pythia* quitted their ordinary modest Guise, but when she was, as the Poets express it, *Rapta* or *plena Deo*, possess'd and hurried by the Spirit she served. And so, possibly, a Christian Woman, when she found the Spirit of God poured out upon her, as *Joel* expresses it, exciting her to pray or sing Praises to God, or discover any Truth immediately revealed to her, might think it convenient for her better uttering of it to be uncovered, or at least to be no more restrain'd in her Liberty of shewing herself, than the Female Priests of the Heathens were when they delivered their Oracles: But yet even in these Actions the Apostle forbids the Women to unveil themselves.

St. Paul's forbidding Women to speak in the Assemblies, will probably seem a strong Argument against this: But when well consider'd, will perhaps prove none. There be two places wherein the Apostle forbids Women to speak in the Church, *1 Cor. 14. 34, 35. & 1 Tim. 2. 11, 12.* He that shall attentively read and compare these together, may observe that the Silence enjoyn'd the Women, is for a Mark of their Subjection to the Male Sex: And therefore what in the one is expressed by *keeping Silence, and not speaking, but being under Obedience*, in the other is call'd, *being in Silence with all Subjection, not teaching or usurping Authority over the Man.* The Women in the Churches were not to assume the Personage of Doctors, or speak there as Teachers; this carried with it the Appearance of Superiority, and was forbidden. Nay, they were not so much as to ask Questions there, or to enter into any sort of Conference. This shews a kind of Equality, and was also forbidden: But yet tho' they were not to speak in the Church in their own Names, or as if they were raised by the Franchises of Christianity, to such an Equality with the Men, that where Knowledge or Presumption of their own Abilities embolden'd them to it, they might take upon them to be Teachers and Instructors of the Congregation, or might at least enter into Questionings and Debates there. This would have had too great an Air of standing upon even Ground with the Men, and would not have well comported with the Subordination of the Sex. But yet this Subordination which God, for Order's sake, had instituted in the World, hinder'd not, but that by the supernatural Gifts of the Spirit he might make use of the weaker Sex, to any extraordinary Function when ever he thought fit, as well as he did of the Men. But yet when they thus either pray'd or prophefied by the Motion and Impulse of the Holy Ghost, Care was taken that whilst they were obeying God, who was pleas'd by his Spirit to set them a speaking, the Subjection of their Sex should not be forgotten, but owned and preserved by their being covered. The Christian Religion was not to give Offence by any Appearance or Suspicion that it took away the Subordination of the Sexes, and set the Women at Liberty from their natural Subjection to the Man. And therefore we see that in both these Cases, the Aim was to maintain and secure the confessed Superiority and Dominion of the Man, and not permit it to be invaded so much as in appearance. Hence the Arguments in the one Case for Covering, and in the other for Silence, are all drawn from the natural Superiority of the Man, and the Subjection of the Woman. In the one, the Woman, without an extraordinary Call, was to keep silent, as a Mark of her Subjection: In the other, where she was to speak by an extraordinary Call and Commis-

4. the Head or Superior to Christ himself, is God. Every Man that prayeth or prophesieth, *i. e.* by the Gift of the Spirit of God, speaketh in the Church for the edifying, exhorting and comforting of the Congregation, having his Head covered, dishonoureth Christ his Head, by appearing in a Garb not becoming the Authority and Dominion which God thro' Christ has given him over all the things of this World, the covering of the Head being a Mark of Subjection:
5. But on the contrary, a Woman praying or prophesying in the Church with her Head uncovered, dishonoureth the Man, who is her Head, by appearing in a Garb that disowns her Subjection to him. For to appear bare-headed in publick, is all one as to have her Hair cut off, which is the Garb and Dress of the
6. other Sex, and not of a Woman. If therefore it be unsuitable to the Female Sex, to have their Hair shorn or shaved off, let her for the same Reason be covered.
7. A Man indeed ought not to be veiled, because he is the Image and Representative of God in his Dominion over the rest of the World, which is one
8. part of the Glory of God: But the Woman who was made out of the Man, made for him, and in Subjection to him, is Matter of Glory to the Man. But the
9. Man not being made out of the Woman, nor for her, but the Woman made out of, and for the Man, she ought for this Reason to have a Veil on her Head, in token of her Subjection, because of the Angels (*u*).
11. Nevertheless the Sexes have not a Being one without the other, neither the Man without the Woman, or the Woman without the Man, the Lord so ordering it. For as the first Woman was made out of the Man, so the Race of Men ever since is continued and propagated by the Female Sex: But they and all other
13. things had their Being and Original from God. Be you your selves Judges, whether it be decent for a Woman to make a Prayer to God in the Church uncovered? Does not even Nature, that has made and would have the Distinction of Sexes preserved, teach you, that if a Man wear his long Hair, and dressed up after the Manner of Women, it is misbecoming
15. and dishonourable to him? But to a Woman, if she be curious about her Hair, in having it long, and dressing herself with it, it is a Grace and Commendation, since her Hair is given her for a Covering. But if any shew himself to be a Lover of Contention (*w*) we the Apostles have no such Custom, nor any of the Churches of God.

the man; and the head of Christ, is God.

Every man praying or prophesying, having his head covered, dishonoureth his head.

But every woman that prayeth, or prophesieth with her head uncovered, dishonoureth her head: for that is even all one as if she were shaven.

For if the woman be not covered, let her also be shorn: but if it be a shame for a woman to be shorn or shaven, let her be covered.

For a man indeed ought not to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God: but the woman is the glory of the man.

For the man is not of the woman: but the woman of the man.

Neither was the man created for the woman: but the woman for the man.

For this cause ought the woman to have power on her head, because of the angels.

Nevertheless, neither is the man without the woman, neither the woman without the man in the Lord.

For as the woman is of the man, even so is the man also by the woman: but all things of God.

Judge in your selves: is it comely that a woman pray unto God uncovered?

Doth not even nature itself teach you, that if a man have long hair, it is a shame unto him?

But if a woman have long hair, it is a glory to her, for her hair is given her for a covering.

But if any man seem to be contentious, we have no such custom, neither the churches of God.

NOTES.

sion from God, she was yet to continue in the Profession of her Subjection in keeping herself covered. Here by the way it is to be observed, that there was extraordinary praying to God by the Impulse of the Spirit, as well as speaking unto Men for their Edification, Exhortation and Comfort: *Vid.* ch. 14. 15. *Rom.* 8. 26. *Jude* 20. These things being premised, let us follow the Thread of St. Paul's Discourse.

10 (*u*) What the meaning of these Words is, I confess I do not understand.

16 (*w*) Why may not this *any one* be understood of the false Apostle here glanced at?

S E C T. VIII.

C H A P. XI. 17—34.

C O N T E N T S.

ONE may observe from several Passages in this Epistle, that several Judaical Customs were crept into the Corinthian Church. This Church being of St. Paul's own planting, who spent two Years at Corinth in forming it; it is evident these Abuses had their Rise from some other Teacher, who came to them after his leaving them, which was about five Years before his writing this Epistle. These Disorders therefore may with Reason be ascribed to the Head of the Faction that opposed St. Paul, who, as has been remarked, was a Jew, and probably Judaized. And that 'tis like was the Foundation of the great Opposition between him and St. Paul, and the Reason why St. Paul labours so earnestly to destroy his Credit amongst the Corinthians; this sort of Men being very busy, very troublesome, and very dangerous to the Gospel, as may be seen in other of St. Paul's Epistles, particularly that to the Galatians.

The celebrating the Passover amongst the Jews, was plainly the eating of a Meat distinguished from other ordinary Meals by several peculiar Ceremonies. Two of these Ceremonies were eating of Bread solemnly broken, and drinking a Cup of Wine called the Cup of Blessing. These two our Saviour transferr'd into the Christian Church, to be used in their Assemblies for a Commemoration of his Death and Sufferings. In celebrating this Institution of our Saviour, the Judaizing Corinthians followed the Jewish Custom of eating their Passover: They ate the Lord's Supper as a part of their Meat, bringing their Provisions into the Assembly, where they ate divided into distinct Companies, some Feasting to Excess, whilst others, ill provided, were in Want. This eating thus in the publick Assembly, and mixing the Lord's Supper with their ordinary Meal, as a part of it, with other Disorders and Indecencies accompanying it, is the Matter of this Section. These Innovations he tells them here he as much blames, as in the Beginning of this Chapter he commends them for keeping to his Directions in some other things.

T E X T.

P A R A P H R A S E.

- 17 **N**OW in this that I declare unto you, I praise you not, that ye come together not for the better, but for the worse.
- 18 For first of all, when ye come together in the church, I hear that there be divisions among you; and I partly believe it.
- 19 For there must be also heresies among you, that they which are approved, may be made manifest among you.
- 20 When ye come together therefore into one place, this is not to eat the Lord's supper.
- 21 For in eating every one taketh before other, his own supper: and one is hungry, and another is drunken.

THOW what I said to you concerning Womens Behaviour in the Church was not without Commendation of you, yet this that I am now going to speak to you of, is without praising you, because you so order your Meetings in your Assemblies, that they are not to your Advantage but Harm. For first I hear, that when you come together in the Church, you fall into Parties, and I partly believe it; Because there must be Divisions and Factions amongst you, that those who stand firm upon Trial may be made manifest among you. You come together it's true in one place, and there you eat, but yet this makes it not to be the eating of the Lord's Supper. For in eating you eat not together, but every one takes his own Supper

17.

18.

19.

20.

21.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

22. one before another (x). Have ye not Houses to eat and drink in at home for satisfying your Hunger and Thirst? Or have ye a Contempt for the Church of God, and take a Pleasure to put those out of Countenance, who have not wherewithal to feast there as you do? What is it I said to you, that I praise you (y) for retaining what I delivered to you? In this
23. Occasion indeed I praise you not for it. For what I received concerning this Institution from the Lord himself, that I delivered unto you when I was with you; and it was this, viz. That the Lord Jesus, in the
24. Night wherein he was betray'd, took Bread, and having given Thanks brake it, and said, Take, eat, this is my Body which is broken for you, this do in
25. Remembrance of me. So likewise he took the Cup also when he had supped, saying, This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood, this do ye as often as
26. ye do it in Remembrance of Me. So that the eating of this Bread, and the drinking of this Cup of the Lord's Supper, is not to satisfy Hunger and Thirst, but to shew forth the Lord's Death till he comes. In-
27. somuch that he who eats this Bread, and drinks this Cup of the Lord in an unworthy manner (z), not suitable to that End, shall be guilty of a Mis-use of the

What, have ye not houses to eat and to drink in? Or despise ye the church of God, and shame them that have not? what shall I say to you? shall I praise you in this? I praise you not.

For I have received of the Lord, that which also I delivered unto you, that the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread:

And when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body, which is broken for you: this do in remembrance of me.

After the same manner also he took the cup, when he had supped, saying, This cup is the new testament in my blood: this do ye, as oft as ye drink it, in remembrance of me.

For as often as ye eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye do shew the Lord's death till he come.

Wherefore, whosoever shall eat this bread, and drink this cup of the Lord unworthily, shall be guilty

NOTES.

21 (x) To understand this we must observe,

(1.) That they had sometimes Meetings on purpose only for eating the Lord's Supper, ver. 33.

(2.) That to those Meetings they brought their own Supper, ver. 21.

(3.) That tho' every one's Supper were brought into the common Assembly, yet it was not to eat in common, but every one fell to his own Supper apart, as soon as he and his Supper were there ready for one another, without staying for the rest of the Company, or communicating with them in eating, ver. 21, 23.

In this St. Paul blames three things especially;

1st, That they ate their common Food in the Assembly, which was to be eaten at home in their Houses, ver. 22, 34.

2^{dly}, That tho' they ate in the common Meeting-place, yet they ate separately every one his own Supper apart. So that the Plenty and Excess of some, shamed the Want and Penury of others, ver. 22. Hereby also the Divisions amongst them were kept up, ver. 18. they being as so many separated and divided Societies, not as one united Body of Christians commemorating their common Head, as they shou'd have been in celebrating the Lord's Supper, ch. 10. 16, 17.

3^{dly}, That they mixed the Lord's Supper with their own, eating it as a part of their ordinary Meal, where they made not that Discrimination between it and their common Food, as they should have done, ver. 29.

22 (y) He here plainly refers to what he said to them, ver. 2. where he praised them for remembering him in all things, and for retaining τὰς παραδόσεις καὶ τὸς παράδοξα, what he had delivered to them. This Commendation he here retracts, for in this matter of Eating the Lord's Supper, they did not retain τὸ παράδοξα, ver. 23. what he had delivered to them, which therefore in the immediately following words he repeats to them again.

27 (z) ἄναξίως, unworthily. Our Saviour in the Institution of the Lord's Supper tells the Apostles, that the Bread and the Cup were Sacramentally his Body and Blood, and that they were to be eaten and drunk in remembrance of him, which as St. Paul interprets it, ver. 26. was to shew forth his Death till he came. Whoever therefore ate and drank them, so as not solemnly to shew forth his Death, followed not Christ's Institution, but used them unworthily, i. e. not to the end to which they were instituted. This makes St. Paul tell them, ver. 20. that their coming together to eat it as they did, viz. the Sacramental Bread and Wine promiscuously with their other Food, as a part of their Meal, and that tho' in the same place, yet not altogether at one time, and in one Company, was not the eating of the Lord's Supper.

Body

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

of the body and blood of the Lord.
28 But let a man examine himself, and so let him eat of that bread, and drink of that cup.
29 For he that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eateth and drinketh damnation to himself, not discerning the Lord's body.

Body and Blood of the Lord (a). By this Institution therefore of Christ, let a Man examine himself (b), and according to that (c) let him eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup. For he who eats and drinks after an unworthy manner, without a due respect had to the Lord's Body in a discriminating (d) and purely Sacramental Use of the Bread and Wine that represent

28.

29.

NOTES.

(a) *Ἐν ὧ* shall be liable to the Punishment due to one who makes a wrong use of the Sacramental Body and Blood of Christ in the Lord's Supper. What that Punishment was, *Vid.* ver. 30.

28 (b) *St. Paul*, as we have observ'd, tells the Corinthians, *ver.* 20. That to eat it after the manner they did, was not to eat the Lord's Supper. He tells them also, *ver.* 29. That to eat it without a due and direct imitating Regard had to the Lord's Body (for so he calls the Sacramental Bread and Wine, as our Saviour did in the Institution) by separating the Bread and Wine from the common use of Eating and Drinking for Hunger and Thirst, was to eat unworthily. To remedy their Disorders herein, he sets before them Christ's own Institution of this Sacrament; that in it they might see the Manner and End of its Institution, and by that every one might examine his own Comportment herein, whether it were conformable to that Institution, and suited to that End. In the Account he gives of Christ's Institution, we may observe that he particularly remarks to them, that this Eating and Drinking was no part of common Eating and Drinking for Hunger and Thirst; but was instituted in a very solemn manner, after they had supped, and for another end, *viz.* to represent Christ's Body and Blood, and to be eaten and drunk in remembrance of him: or as *St. Paul* expounds it, to shew forth his Death. Another thing which they might observe in the Institution was, that this was done by all who were present united together in one Company at the same time. All which put together, shews us what the Examination here propos'd is. For the Design of the Apostle here being to reform what he found fault with in their celebrating the Lord's Supper, 'tis by that alone we must understand the Directions he gives them about it, if we will suppose he talked pertinently to this captious and touchy People, whom he was very desirous to reduce from the Irregularities they were run into in this Matter, as well as several others. And if the Account of Christ's Institution be not for their examining their Carriage by it, and adjusting it to it, to what purpose is it here? The Examination therefore propos'd was no other but an Examination of their manner of eating the Lord's Supper by Christ's Institution, to see how their Behaviour herein comported with the Institution, and the end for which it was instituted. Which farther appears to be so by the Punishment annexed to their Miscarriages herein, which was Infirmities, Sickness and temporal Death, with which God chastened them, that they might not be condemned with the unbelieving World, *ver.* 30, 32. For if the Unworthiness here spoke of were either Unbelief, or any of those Sins which are usually made the Matter of Examination, 'tis to be presumed the Apostle would not wholly have passed them over in Silence: This at least is certain, that the Punishment of these Sins is infinitely greater than that which God here inflicts on unworthy Receivers, whether they who are guilty of them received the Sacrament or no.

(c) *Καὶ ἑαυτὸν* These words as to the Letter, are rightly translated *and so*. But that Translation, I imagine, leaves generally a wrong Sense of the Place in the Mind of an English Reader. For in ordinary speaking, these Words, *Let a Man examine, and so let him eat*, are understood to import the same with these: *Let a Man examine, and then let him eat*; as if they signified no more, but that Examination should precede, and Eating follow, which I take to be quite different from the Meaning of the Apostle here, whose Sense the whole Design of the Context shews to be this: *I here set before you the Institution of Christ, by that let a Man examine his Carriage, &c. and according to that let him eat: Let him conform the manner of his eating to that.*

(d) 29 *Μὴ διακρίνων*, not discriminating, not putting a Difference between the Sacramental Bread and Wine (which *St. Paul*, with our Saviour, calls Christ's Body) and other Bread and Wine in the solemn and separate use of them. The Corinthians, as has been remark'd, ate the Lord's Supper in, and with their own ordinary Supper, whereby it came not to be sufficiently distinguish'd (as became a religious and Christian Observance so solemnly instituted) from common Eating for bodily Refreshment, nor from the Jewish Paschal Supper, and the Bread broken, and the Cup of Blessing used in that; nor did it in this way of eating it in separate Companies, as it were in private Families, shew forth the Lord's Death, as it was designed to do by the Concurrence and Communion of the whole Assembly of Christians, jointly united in the partaking of Bread and Wine in a way peculiar to them, with reference solely to Jesus Christ. This was that, as appears by this place, which *St. Paul*, as we have already explained, calls *eating unworthily*.

it

- it, draws Punishment (e) on himself by so doing.
30. And hence it is that many among you are weak and sick, and a good Number are gone to their Graves.
31. But if we would discriminate (f) our selves, i. e. by our discriminating use of the Lord's Supper, we should
32. not be judged, i. e. (g) punished by God. But being punished by the Lord, we are corrected (b), that we may not be condemned hereafter with the unbelieving World. Wherefore, my Brethren, when you have
33. a Meeting for celebrating the Lord's Supper, stay for one another, that you may eat it all together, as Partakers all in common of the Lord's Table, without
34. Division or Distinction. But if any one be hungry, let him eat at home to satisfy his Hunger, that so the Disorder in these Meetings may not draw on you the Punishment above-mentioned: What else remains to be rectified in this matter, I will set in order when I come.

For this cause many are³⁰ weak and sickly among you, and many sleep.

For if we would judge³¹ our selves, we should not be judged.

But when we are judg-³² ed, we are chastened of the Lord, that we should not be condemned with the world.

Wherefore, my brethren,³³ when ye come together, to eat, tarry one for another.

And if any man hun-³⁴ ger, let him eat at home; that ye come not together unto condemnation. And the rest will I set in order when I come.

NOTES.

(e) *Damnation*, by which our Translation renders *κρίμα*, is vulgarly taken for eternal Damnation in the other World, whereas *κρίμα* here signifies Punishment of another nature, as appears by ver. 30, 32.

(f) *Διακρίνειν* does no where, that I know, signify to judge, as it is here translated, but always signifies to distinguish or discriminate, and in this place has the same Signification, and means the same thing that it does, ver. 29. He is little versed in St. Paul's Writings, who has not observ'd how apt he is to repeat the same word he had used before to the same purpose, tho' in a different, and sometimes a pretty hard Construction; as here he applies *διακρίνειν*, to the Persons discriminating, as in the 29th Verse, to the thing to be discriminated, tho' in both places it be put to denote the same Action.

(g) *Ἐπιτιμώμεθα* here signifies the same that *κρίμα* does, ver. 29.

32 (b) *Παιδεύομεθα* properly signifies to be corrected, as Scholars are by their Master for their good.

SECT. IX.

CHAP. XII. 1—XIV. 40.

CONTENTS.

THE Corinthians seem to have enquired of St. Paul, what Order of Precedency and Preference Men were to have in their Assemblies, in regard of their Spiritual Gifts. Nay, if we may guess by his Answer, the Question they seem more particularly to have propos'd, was, whether those who had the Gift of Tongues, ought not to take place, and speak first, and be first heard in their Meetings. Concerning this there seems to have been some Strife, Maligning and Disorder amongst them, as may be collected from Ch. 12. 21—25. & 13. 4, 5. & 14. 40.

To this St. Paul answers in these three Chapters as followeth.

1. That they had all been Heathen Idolaters, and so being Deniers of Christ, were in that State none of them *Spiritual*: But that now being Christians, and owning Jesus to be the Lord (which could not be done without the Spirit of God) they were all *πνευματικοί*, *Spiritual*; and so there was no reason for one to undervalue another, as if he were not Spiritual as well as himself, Ch. 12. 1—3.

2. That

2. That tho' there be diversity of Gifts, yet they are all by the same Spirit, from the same Lord, and the same God working them all in every one, according to his good Pleasure. So that in this respect also there is no Difference or Precedency; no occasion for any one's being puffed up, or affecting Priority, upon account of his Gifts, *Ch. 12. 4.* — *11. 10.*

3. That the Diversity of Gifts is for the Use and Benefit of the Church, which is Christ's Body, wherein the Members (as in the natural Body) of meaner Functions are as much Parts, and as necessary in their Use to the good of the whole, and therefore to be honour'd as much as any other. The Union they have as Members in the same Body, makes them all equally share in one another's Good and Evil, gives them a mutual Esteem and Concern one for another, and leaves no room for Contests or Divisions amongst them, about their Gifts, or the Honour and Place due to them upon that account, *Ch. 12. 12.* — *41.*

4. That tho' Gifts have their Excellency and Use, and those who have them may be zealous in the Use of them; yet the true and sure way for a Man to get an Excellency and Preference above others, is the enlarging himself in Charity, and excelling in that, without which a Christian, with all his spiritual Gifts, is nothing.

5. In the comparison of spiritual Gifts, he gives those the Precedency which edify most, and in particular prefers Prophefying to Tongues, *Ch. 14. 1.* — *40.*

SECTION IX. N. I.

CHAPTER XII. 1—3.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

¹ NOW concerning spiritual gifts, brethren, I would not have you ignorant.

² Ye know that ye were Gentiles, carried away unto these dumb idols, even as ye were led.

³ Wherefore I give you to understand, that no man speaking by the Spirit of God, calleth Jesus accursed: and that no man can say that Jesus is

AS to spiritual Men, or Men assisted and acted by the Spirit (i), I shall inform you, for I would not have you be ignorant. You your selves know that you were Heathens ingaged in the Worship of Stocks and Stones, dumb senseless Idols, by those who were then your Leaders. Whereupon let me tell you, that no one who opposes Jesus Christ, or his Religion, has the Spirit of God (k). And whoever is brought to own Jesus to be the Messiah, the Lord (l), does it by the Holy Ghost. And therefore upon account of having the Spirit, you can none of you lay any Claim to Superiority; or have any Pretence to slight any of your Brethren, as not having the Spirit of God as well as you. For all that own our Lord Jesus Christ,

1.

2.

3.

NOTES.

1 (i) Πνευματικῶν *Spiritual*. We are warranted by a like use of the word in several places of St. Paul's Epistles, as *ch. 2. 15.* & *14. 37.* of this Epistle; & *Gal. 6. 1.* to take it here in the Masculine Gender, standing for Persons and not Gifts. And the Context obliges us to understand it so. For if we will have it stand for Gifts, and not Persons, the Sense and Coherence of these three first Verses will be very hard to be made out. Besides there is Evidence enough in several Parts of it, that the Subject of St. Paul's Discourse here is *πνευματικοί*, Persons endowed with spiritual Gifts, contending for Precedency in consideration of their Gifts. See *ver. 13.* &c. of this Chapter; and to what purpose else, says he, *ch. 14. 5.* *Greater is he that prophesieth than he that speaketh with Tongues?*

3 (k) This is spoken against the Jews, who pretended to the Holy Ghost, and yet spoke against Jesus Christ, and denied that the Holy Ghost was ever given to the Gentiles. *Vid. Acts 10. 45.* whether their Judaizing false Apostle were at all glanced at in this, may be considered.

(l) Lord. What is meant by Lord, see Note, *ch. 8. 6.*

and

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

and believe in him, do it by the Spirit of God, *i. e.* the Lord, but by the holy Ghost.
can do it upon no other Ground, but Revelation coming from the Spirit of God.

S E C T. IX. N. 2.

C H A P. XII. 4—II.

C O N T E N T S.

AN other Consideration which St. Paul offers against any Contention for Superiority, or Pretence to Precedency, upon account of any spiritual Gift, is, that those distinct Gifts are all of one and the same Spirit, by the same Lord, wrought in every one by God alone, and all for the Profit of the Church.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

4. **B**E not mistaken by the Diversity of Gifts; for tho' there be Diversity of Gifts amongst Christians, yet there is no Diversity of Spirits, they all come from one and the same Spirit: Tho' there be Diversities of Offices in the Church, yet all the Officers
5. (*m*) have but one Lord. And tho' there be various
6. Influxes whereby Christians are enabled to do extraordinary things (*n*), yet it is the same God that works
7. (*o*) all these extraordinary Gifts in every one that has them. But the way or Gift wherein every one, who has the Spirit, is to shew it, is given him not for his private Advantage or Honour (*p*), but for the Good
8. and Advantages of the Church. For instance, to one is given by the Spirit the word of Wisdom (*q*), or the Revelation of the Gospel of Jesus Christ in the full Latitude of it. Such as was given to the Apostles; to another by the same Spirit the Knowledge (*r*) of the true Sense and true Meaning of the holy Scriptures of the Old Testament, for the explaining and confirmation of the Gospel: To another by the same
- N**OW there are diversities of gifts, but the same Spirit.
- And there are differences of administrations, but the same Lord.
- And there are diversities of operations, but it is the same God which worketh all in all.
- But the manifestation of the Spirit is given to every man to profit withal.
- For to one is given by the Spirit, the word of wisdom; to another the word of knowledge by the same Spirit;
- To another faith by the same Spirit; to another the gifts of healing by the same Spirit;

N O T E S.

5 (*m*) These different Offices are reckon'd up, ver. 28, &c.

6 (*n*) What these *ἐνέργημα* were, see ver. 8—11.

(*o*) They were very properly called *ἐνέργημα*—*In-workings*, because they were above all humane Power: Men of themselves could do nothing of them at all, but it was God, as the Apostle tells us here, who in these extraordinary Gifts of the Holy Ghost, did all that was done, it was the Effect of his immediate Operation, as St. Paul assures us in that parallel place, *Phil.* 11. 13. In which Chapter, ver. 3, & 14. we find that the Philippians stood a little in need of the same Advice which St. Paul so at large presses here upon the Corinthians.

7 (*p*) Vid. *Rom.* 12. 3—8.

8 (*q*) *Σοφία*, The Doctrine of the Gospel is more than once in the beginning of this Epistle called the *Wisdom of God*.

(*r*) *Γνωσις* is used by St. Paul for such a *Knowledge* of the Law and the Prophets.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

10 To another the working of miracles; to another prophesie; to another discerning of spirits; to another divers kinds of tongues; to another the interpretation of tongues.
11 But all these worketh that one and the self same Spirit, dividing to every man severally as he will.

Spirit is given an undoubting Persuasion (s) and steadfast Confidence of performing what he is going about; To another the Gift of curing Diseases by the same Spirit; To another the working of Miracles; To another Prophesie (t); To another the discerning by what Spirit Men did any extraordinary Operation; To another Diversity of Languages; To another the Interpretation of Languages. All which Gifts are wrought in Believers by one and the same Spirit, distributing to every one in particular as he thinks fit.

10.

11.

NOTES.

9 (s) In this Sense *πίστις Faith*, is sometimes taken in the New Testament, particularly *ch.* 13. 2. It is difficult, I confess, to define the precise meaning of each Word which the Apostle uses in the 8th, 9th, and 10th Verses here. But if the Order which St. Paul observes in enumerating by 1st, 2d, 3d, the three first Officers set down, *ver.* 28. viz. *First, Apostles; Secondly, Prophets; Thirdly, Teachers*, have any relation, or may give any Light to these three Gifts which are set down in the first place here, viz. *Wisdom, Knowledge, and Faith*; we may then properly understand by *σοφία, Wisdom*, the whole Doctrine of the Gospel, as communicated to the Apostles: By *γνῶσις, Knowledge*, the Gift of understanding the mystical Sense of the Law and the Prophets, and by *πίστις, Faith*, the Assurance and Confidence in delivering and confirming the Doctrine of the Gospel, which became *διδασκαλίας, Doctors* or *Teachers*. This at least I think may be presumed, that since *σοφία* and *γνῶσις* have *λόγῳ* joyned to them, and it is said the *Word of Wisdom*, and the *Word of Knowledge*; *Wisdom* and *Knowledge* here signifie such Gifts of the Mind as are to be employ'd in preaching.

10 (t) Prophesie comprehends these three things, Prediction, Singing by the Dictate of the Spirit, and Understanding and Explaining the mysterious hidden Sense of Scripture by an immediate Illumination and Motion of the Spirit, as we have already shewn. And that the Prophecy here spoken of was by immediate Revelation, *Vid.* Chap. 14. 29—31.

S E C T. IX. N. 3.

C H A P. XII. 12—31.

C O N T E N T S.

FROM the necessarily different Functions in the Body, and the strict Union, nevertheless, of the Members adapted to those different Functions, in a mutual Sympathy and Concern one for another, St. Paul here farther shews, that there ought not to be any Strife or Division amongst them about Precedency and Preference upon account of their distinct Gifts.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

12 FOR as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body: so also is Christ.
13 For by one Spirit are we all baptized into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free; and have

FOR as the Body being but one, hath many Members, and all the Members of the Body, though many, yet make but one Body; so is Christ in respect of his mystical Body the Church. For by one Spirit we are all baptized into one Church, and are thereby made one Body, without any Pre-eminence

12.

13.

I CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

- to the Jew (*u*) above the Gentile, to the Free above the Bond-man: And the Blood of Christ which we all partake of in the Lord's Supper, makes us all have one Life, one Spirit, as the same Blood diffused through the whole Body communicates the same Life and Spirit to all the Members.
14. For the Body is not one sole Member, but consists of many Members, all vitally united in one
15. common Sympathy and Usefulness. If any one have not that Function or Dignity in the Church
16. which he desires, he must not therefore declare that he is not of the Church, he does not thereby cease to be a Member of the Church. There is as much need of
17. several and distinct Gifts and Functions in the Church, as there is of different Senses and Members in the Body, and the meanest and least honourable would be missed if it were wanting, and the whole Body would
18. suffer by it: Accordingly, God hath fitted several Persons, as it were so many distinct Members, to several Offices and Functions in the Church, by proper and peculiar Gifts and Abilities, which he has bestowed on them according to his good Pleasure. But
19. if all were but one Member, what would become of the Body? There would be no such thing as a humane Body; no more could the Church be edified and framed into a growing lasting Society, if the
20. Gifts of the Spirit were all reduced to one. But now by the various Gifts of the Spirit bestowed on its several Members, it is as a well organized Body, wherein the most eminent Member cannot despise the meanest.
21. The Eye cannot say to the Hand, I have no need of thee; nor the Head to the Feet, I have no need of
22. you. It is so far from being so, that the Parts of the Body that seem in themselves weak, are nevertheless
23. of absolute necessity. And those Parts which are thought least honourable, we take care always to cover with the more Respect; and our least graceful
24. Parts have thereby a more studied and adventitious Comeliness. For our comely Parts have no need of any borrowed Helps or Ornaments. But God hath so contrived the Symmetry of the Body, that he hath added Honour to those Parts that might seem naturally
25. to want it; that there might be no Dis-union, no Schism in the Body, but that the Members should all
26. have the same Care and Concern one for another,

been all made to drink into one Spirit.

For the body is not one member, but many.

If the foot shall say, Because I am not the hand, I am not of the body: is it therefore not of the body?

And if the ear shall say, Because I am not the eye, I am not of the body: is it therefore not of the body?

If the whole body were an eye, where were the hearing? If the whole were hearing, where were the smelling?

But now hath God set the members, every one of them in the body, as it hath pleased him.

And if they were all one member, where were the body?

But now are they many members, yet but one body.

And the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee: nor again, the head to the feet, I have no need of you.

Nay, much more those members of the body, which seem to be more feeble are necessary.

And those members of the body, which we think to be less honourable, upon these we bestow more abundant honour, and our uncomely parts have more abundant comeliness.

For our comely parts have no need: but God hath tempered the body together, having given more abundant honour to that part which lacked:

That there should be no schism in the body; but that the members should have the same care one for another.

And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all

NOTES.

13 (*u*) The naming of the Jews here with Gentiles, and setting both on the same Level when converted to Christianity, may probably be done here by St. Paul, with reference to the false Apostle, who was a Jew, and seems to have claimed some Pre-eminence as due to him upon that account. Whereas among the Members of Christ, which all make but one Body, there is no Superiority or other Distinction, but as by the several Gifts bestowed on them by God, they contribute more or less to the Edification of the Church.

I C O R I N T H I A N S.

195

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

T E X T.

P A R A P H R A S E.

- the members rejoyce with it.
- 27 Now ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular. 27.
- 28 And God hath set some in the church, first apostles, secondarily prophets, thirdly teachers, after that miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, diversities of tongues. 28.
- 29 Are all apostles? are all prophets? are all teachers? are all workers of miracles? 29.
- 30 Have all the gifts of healing? do all speak with tongues? do all interpret? 30.
- 31 But covet earnestly the best gifts: And yet shew I unto you a more excellent way. 31.
- and all equally partake and share in the Harm or Honour that is done to any one of them in particular. Now in like manner you are, by your particular Gifts, each of you in his peculiar Station and Aptitude, Members of the Body of Christ, which is the Church, wherein God hath set first some Apostles, secondly Prophets, thirdly Teachers, next Workers of Miracles, then those who have the Gift of Healing, Helpers (w), Governours (x), and such as are able to speak diversity of Tongues. Are all Apostles? Are all Prophets? Are all Teachers? Are all Workers of Miracles? Have all the Gift of Healing? Do all speak diversity of Tongues? Are all Interpreters of Tongues? But ye contest one with another, whose particular Gift is best, and most preferable (y); but I will shew you a more excellent way, viz. Mutual Good-will, Affection and Charity.

N O T E S.

28 (w) Ἀντιλήψεις, *Helps*, Dr. *Lightfoot* takes to be those who accompany'd the Apostles, were sent up and down by them in the Service of the Gospel, and baptized those that were converted by them.

(x) Κυβερνήσεις, to be the same with discerning of Spirits, ver. 10.

31 (y) That this is the Apostle's Meaning here, is plain, in that there was an Emulation amongst them, and a Strife for Precedency, on account of the several Gifts they had (as we have already observed from several Passages in this Section) which made them in their Assemblies desire to be heard first. This was the Fault the Apostle was here correcting, and 'tis not likely he should exhort them all promiscuously to seek the principal and most eminent Gifts at the End of a Discourse, wherein he had been demonstrating to them by the Example of the humane Body, that there ought to be diversity of Gifts and Functions in the Church, but that there ought to be no Schism, Emulation, or Contest amongst them, upon the account of the Exercise of those Gifts. That they were all useful in their places, and no Member was at all to be the less honoured or valued for the Gift he had, though it were not one of the first Rank. And in this Sense the word ζήλῳ is taken in the next Chapter, ver. 4. where St. Paul, pursuing the same Argument, exhorts them to mutual Charity, good Will and Affection, which he assures them is preferable to any Gifts whatsoever. Besides, to what purpose should he exhort them to covet earnestly the best Gifts, when the obtaining of this or that Gift did not at all lie in their Desires or Endeavours, the Apostle having just before told them, ver. 11. that the Spirit divides those Gifts to every Man severally as he will, and those he writ to had their Allotment already? He might as reasonably, according to his own Doctrine, in this very Chapter, bid the Foot covet to be the Hand, or the Ear to be the Eye. Let it be remember'd therefore to rectifie this, that St. Paul says, ver. 17. of this Chapter; If the whole Body were the Eye, where were the Hearing? &c. St. Paul does not use to cross his own Design, nor contradict his own Reasoning.

S E C T. IX. N. 4.

C H A P. XIII. 1—13.

C O N T E N T S.

ST. Paul having told the *Corinthians* in the last Words of the precedent Chapter, that he would shew them a more excellent way than the emulous producing of their Gifts in the Assembly, he in this Chapter tells them, that

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this

An. Ch. 57. this more excellent way is Charity, which he at large explains, and shews
Neronis 3. the Excellency of.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

1. **I** F I speak all the Languages of Men and Angels, (z), and yet have not Charity to make use of them entirely for the Good and Benefit of others, I am no better than a sounding Brass or noisy Cymbal, (a), which fills the Ears of others without any Advantage to its self by the Sound it makes : And if I have the Gift of Propheſie, and ſee in the Law and the Prophets all the Myſteries (b) contained in them, and comprehend all the Knowledge they teach ; And if I have Faith to the higheſt degree, and power of Miracles, ſo as to be able to remove Mountains (c), and have not Charity, I am nothing ; I am of no value :
2. And if I beſtow all I have in relief of the Poor, and give my ſelf to be burnt, and have not Charity, it profits me nothing. Charity is long-ſuffering, is gentle and Benign, without Emulation, Inſolence, or being puffed up, is not ambitious, nor at all ſelf-intereſted, is not ſharp upon others Failings, or inclined to ill Interpretations : Charity rejoices with others when they do well, and when any thing is amiſs, is troubled, and covers their Failings : Charity believes well, hopes well of every one, and patiently bears with every thing (d) : Charity will never ceaſe as a thing out of uſe, but the Gifts of Propheſie and Tongues, and the Knowledge whereby Men look into, and explain the Meaning of the Scriptures, the time will be when they will be laid aſide, as no longer of any uſe, for the Knowledge we have now in this State, and the Explication we give of Scripture is ſhort, partial and defective. But when hereafter we ſhall be got into the State of Accompliſhment and Perfection, wherein we are to remain in the other World, there will no longer be any need of theſe imperfecter ways of Information, whereby we arrive at but a partial Knowledge here. Thus when I was in the imperfect State of Childhood, I talk'd, I underſtood, I reaſoned after
- 3.
- 4.
- 5.
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- 10.
- 11.

T Hough I ſpeak with the tongues of men and of angels, and have not charity, I am become as ſounding braſs, or a tinkling cymbal.

And though I have the gift of propheſie, and underſtand all myſteries, and all knowledge : and tho' I have all faith, ſo that I could remove mountains, and have no charity, I am nothing.

And though I beſtow all my goods to feed the poor, and though I give my body to be burned, and have not charity, it profiteth me nothing.

Charity ſuffereth long, and is kind ; charity envieth not ; charity vaunteth not it ſelf, is not puffed up,

Doth not behave it ſelf unſeemly, ſeeketh not her own, is not eaſily provoked, thinketh no evil,

Rejoiceth not in iniquity, but rejoiceth in the truth :

Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things, endureth all things.

Charity never faileth : but whether there be propheſies, they ſhall fail ; whether there be tongues, they ſhall ceaſe ; whether there be knowledge, it ſhall vaniſh away.

For we know in part, and we propheſie in part.

But when that which is perfect is come, then that which is in part ſhall be done away.

When I was a child, I ſpoke as a child, I under-

NOTES.

1 (z) *Tongues of Angels* are mention'd here according to the Conception of the Jews.

(a) A Cymbal conſiſted of two large hollowed Plates of Braſs, with broad Brims, which were ſtruck one againſt another, to fill up the Symphony in great Conſorts of Muſick ; they made a great deep Sound, but had ſcarce any Variety of muſical Notes.

2 (b) Any Predictions relating to our Saviour, or his Doctrine, or the times of the Goſpel, contained in the Old Teſtament, in Types, or figurative and obſcure Expreſſions, not underſtood before his coming, and being revealed to the World, St. Paul calls *Myſtery*, as may be ſeen all through his Writings. So that *Myſtery* and *Knowledge* are Terms here uſed by St. Paul to ſignify Truths concerning Chriſt to come, contained in the Old Teſtament ; and *Propheſie*, the underſtanding of the Types and Propheſies containing thoſe Truths, ſo as to be able to explain them to others.

(c) *To remove Mountains*, is to do what is next to impoſſible.

7 (d) May we not ſuppoſe that in this Deſcription of Charity, St. Paul intimates, and tacitly reproves their contrary Carriage, in their Emulation and Conteſts about the Dignity and Preference of their ſpiritual Gifts ?

the

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

stood as a child, I thought as a child : but when I became a man, I put away childish things.
12 For now we see through a glass darkly ; but then face to face : now I know in part ; but then shall I know even as also I am known.

13 And now abideth faith, hope, charity, these three ; but the greatest of these is charity.

the imperfect manner of a Child : but when I came to the State and Perfection of Manhood, I laid aside those childish ways. Now we see but by Reflection the dim, and as it were enigmatical Representation of things : but then we shall see things directly, and as they are in themselves, as a Man sees another when they are Face to Face. Now I have but a superficial partial Knowledge of things, but then I shall have an intuitive comprehensive Knowledge of them, as I myself am known, and lie open to the View of superiour Seraphick Beings, not by the obscure and imperfect way of Deductions and Reasoning. But then even in that State, Faith, Hope, and Charity will remain : But the greatest of the three is Charity.

S E C T. IX. N. 5.

C H A P. XIV. 1—40.

C O N T E N T S.

ST. Paul in this Chapter concludes his Answer to the *Corinthians*, concerning spiritual Men and their Gifts ; and having told them that those were most preferable that tended most to Edification, and particularly shewn that Prophecie was to be preferred to Tongues, he gives them Directions for the decent, orderly and profitable Exercise of their Gifts in their Assemblies.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

1 Follow after charity, and desire spiritual gifts, but rather that ye may prophesie.

LET your Endeavours, let your Pursuit therefore be after Charity, not that you should neglect the use of your spiritual Gifts (e), especially the Gift of Prophecie : For he that speaks in an un-

N O T E S.

1. (e) Ζητετε τα πνευματικά. That ζητεν does not signifie to *covet* or *desire*, nor can be understood to be so used by St. Paul in this Section ; I have already shewn, *ch. 12. 31.* That it has here the Sense that I have given it, is plain from the same Direction concerning spiritual Gifts, repeated *ver. 39.* in these words, ζητετε το προφητεν & το λαλιν γλωσσαις μη καλύετε, the Meaning in both places being evidently this ; That they should not neglect the Use of their spiritual Gifts, especially they should in the first place cultivate and exercise the Gift of Propheying, but yet should not wholly lay aside the speaking with Variety of Tongues in their Assemblies. It will perhaps be wonder'd why St. Paul should imploy the word ζητεν in so unusual a Sense, but that will easily be accounted for, if what I have remark'd, *Ch. 14. 15.* concerning St. Paul's Custom of repeating words, be remember'd. But besides, what is familiar in St. Paul's way of Writing, we may find a particular Reason for his repeating the word ζητεν here, tho' in a somewhat unusual Signification. He having by way of Reproof told them, that they did ζητεν τα χαρίσματα τα χρειτονα, had an Emulation, or made a Stir about whose Gifts were best, and were therefore to take place in their Assemblies : To prevent their thinking that ζητεν might have too harsh a Meaning, (for he is in all this Epistle very tender of offending them, and therefore sweetens all his Reproofs as much as possible) he here takes it up again, and uses it more than once in a way that approves and advises that they should ζητεν πνευματικά, whereby yet he means no more but that they should not neglect their spiritual Gifts : He would have them use them in their Assemblies, but yet in such Method and Order as he directs.

known

2. known Tongue (f), speaks to God alone, but not to men, for no body understands him; the things he utters by the Spirit in an unknown Tongue, are Mysteries, things not understood by those who hear them.
3. But he that prophesieth (g), speaks to Men who are exhorted and comforted thereby, and helped forwards in Religion and Piety. He that speaks in an unknown
4. Tongue (b) edifies himself alone, but he that prophesieth, edifieth the Church. I wish that ye had all the
5. Gift of Tongues, but rather that ye all prophesied, for greater is he that prophesieth, than he that speaks with Tongues, unless he interprets what he delivers in an unknown Tongue, that the Church may be edified by it. For example, should I apply my self to
6. you in a Tongue you knew not, what Good should I do you, unless I interpreted to you what I said, that you might understand the Revelation, or Knowledge, or Prophecie, or Doctrine (i) contained in it? Even

For he that speaketh in² an unknown tongue, speaketh not unto men, but unto God: for no man understandeth him; howbeit in the spirit he speaketh mysteries.

But he that prophesieth,³ speaketh unto men to edification, and exhortation, and comfort.

He that speaketh in an⁴ unknown tongue, edifieth himself: but he that prophesieth, edifieth the church.

I would that ye all spake⁵ with tongues, but rather that ye prophesied: for greater is he that prophesieth, than he that speaketh with tongues, except he interpret, that the church may receive edifying.

Now, brethren, if I come⁶ unto you speaking with tongues, what shall I profit you, except I shall speak to you either by revelation, or by knowledge, or

NOTES.

2 (f) He who attentively reads this Section about spiritual Men and their Gifts, may find reason to imagine that it was those who had the Gift of Tongues, who caused the Disorder in the Church at *Corinth*, by their Forwardness to speak, and striving to be heard first, and so taking up too much of the time in their Assemblies, in speaking in unknown Tongues. For the remedying this Disorder, and better regulating of this Matter amongst other things, they had recourse to St. Paul: He will not easily avoid thinking so, who considers,

1st, That the first Gift which St. Paul compares with Charity, Ch. 13. and extremely undervalues, in comparison of that Divine Vertue, is the Gift of Tongues. As if that were the Gift they most affected to shew, and most valued themselves upon; as indeed it was in it self most fitted for Ostentation in their Assemblies of any other, if any one were inclined that way: And that the *Corinthians* in their present State were not exempt from Emulation, Vanity and Ostentation, is very evident.

2dly, That Ch. 14. when St. Paul compares their spiritual Gifts one with another, the first, nay and only one, that he debases and deprecates in comparison of others, is the Gift of Tongues, which he discourses of for above 20 Verses together, in a way fit to abate a too high Esteem, and a too excessive Use of it in their Assemblies, which we cannot suppose he would have done, had they not been guilty of some such Miscarriages in the Case whereof the 24th Verse is not without an Intimation.

3dly, When he comes to give Direction about the Exercise of their Gifts in their Meetings, this of Tongues is the only one that he restrains and limits, ver. 27, 28.

3 (e) What is meant by Propheying, see Ch. 12. 10.

4 (b) By γλῶσση, *unknown Tongue*, Dr. Lightfoot in this Chapter understands the Hebrew Tongue, which, as he observes, was used in the Synagogue in reading the Sacred Scripture, in praying and preaching, if that be the meaning of *Tongue* here, it suits well the Apostle's Design, which was to take them off from their Jewish false Apostle, who probably might have encouraged and promoted this speaking of Hebrew in their Assemblies.

6 (i) 'Tis not to be doubted but these four distinct Terms used here by the Apostle, had each his distinct Signification in his Mind and Intention: Whether what may be collected from these Epistles, may sufficiently warrant us to understand them in the following Significations, I leave to the Judgment of others. 1st. Ἀποκάλυψις, *Revelation*, something revealed by God immediately to the Person; Vid. v. 30. 2dly. γνώσις, *Knowledge*. The understanding the Mystical and Evangelical Sense of Passages in the Old Testament, relating to our Saviour and the Gospel. 3dly. ᾠδὴ ψαλμὸς, *Prophecie*, an inspired Hymn, vid. v. 26. 4thly. Διδασκαλία, *Doctrine*. Any Truth of the Gospel concerning Faith or Manners. But whether this or any other precise meaning of these Words can be certainly made out now, it is perhaps of no great necessity to be over-curious; it being enough for the understanding the Sense and Argument of the Apostle here, to know that these Terms stand for some intelligible Discourse tending to the Edification of the Church, though of what kind each of them was in particular we certainly know not.

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TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- by prophesying, or by doctrine?
- 7 And even things without life giving sound, whether pipe or harp, except they give a distinction in the sounds, how shall it be known what is piped or harped?
- 8 For if the trumpet give an uncertain sound, who shall prepare himself to the battel?
- 9 So likewise you, except ye utter by the tongue words easie to be understood, how shall it be known what is spoken? for ye shall speak into the air.
- 10 There are, it may be, so many kinds of voices in the world, and none of them is without signification.
- 11 Therefore if I know not the meaning of the voice, I shall be unto him that speaketh, a barbarian; and he that speaketh shall be a barbarian unto me.
- 12 Even so ye, forasmuch as ye are zealous of spiritual gifts, seek that ye may excel to the edifying of the church.
- 13 Wherefore let him that speaketh in an unknown tongue, pray that he may interpret.
- 14 For if I pray in an unknown tongue, my spirit prayeth, but my understanding is unfruitful.
- 15 What is it then? I will pray with the spirit, and I will pray with the understanding also: I will
- inanimate Instruments of Sound, as Pipe, or Harp, are not made use of to make an insignificant Noise, but distinct Notes expressing Mirth or Mourning, or the like, are play'd upon them, whereby the Tune and Composure is understood. And if the Trumpet found not some Point of War that is understood, the Soldier is not thereby instructed what to do. So likewise ye, unless with the Tongue which you use, utter Words of a clear and known Signification to your Hearers, you talk to the Wind, for your Auditors understand nothing that you say. There is a great Number of significant Languages in the World, I know not how many, every Nation has its own; if then I understand not another's Language, and the Force of his Words, I am to him when he speaks, a Barbarian, and whatever he says is all Gibberish to me: And so is it with you, ye are Barbarians to one another, as far as ye speak to one another in unknown Tongues. But since there is Emulation amongst you concerning spiritual Gifts, seek to abound in the Exercise of those which tend most to the Edification of the Church. Wherefore let him that speaks an unknown Tongue, pray that he may interpret what he says. For if I pray in the Congregation in an unknown Tongue, my Spirit it is true accompanies my Words which I understand, and so my Spirit prays (*k*), but my meaning is unprofitable to others who understand not my Words. What then is to be done in the Case? Why, I will, when moved to it by the Spirit, pray in an unknown Tongue, but so that my meaning (*l*) may be understood by others, *i. e.* I will not do it but when there is some body by to interpret (*m*): And so I will do also in Singing (*n*), I will sing by the

NOTES.

14 (*k*) This is evident from *ver. 4.* where it is said, *He that speaketh with a Tongue, edifies himself.*

15 (*l*) I will not pretend to justify this Interpretation of *πρὸς τοῖς*, by the exact Rules of the Greek Idiom; but the Sense of the place will, I think, bear me out in it. And, as there is occasion often to remark, he must be little versed in the Writing of *St. Paul*, who does not observe, that when he has used a Term, he is apt to repeat it again in the same Discourse in a way peculiar to himself, and somewhat varied from its ordinary Signification. So, having here in the foregoing Verse used *πρὸς* for the Sentiment of his own Mind, which was unprofitable to others when he pray'd in a Tongue unknown to them, and opposed it to *πνεῦμα*, which he used there for his own Sense, accompanying his own Words, intelligible to himself, when by the Impulse of the Spirit he pray'd in a Foreign Tongue; he here in this Verse continues to use praying, *πρὸς πνεύματι*, and *πρὸς τοῖς*, in the same Opposition, the one for praying in a strange Tongue, which alone his own Mind understood and accompanied: The other for praying so as that the Meaning of his Mind in those Words he utter'd, was made known to others so that they were also benefited. This use of *πνεῦματι* is farther confirmed in the next Verse: and what he means by *τοῖς* here, he expresses by *ὑμῖν*, *ver. 19.* and there explains the meaning of it.

(*m*) For so he orders in the use of an unknown Tongue, *ver. 27.*

(*n*) Here it may be observ'd, that as in their publick Prayer one pray'd, and the others held their Peace; so it was in their Singing, at least in that Singing which was of extempory Hymns by the Impulse of the Spirit.

Spirit

- Spirit in an unknown Tongue, but I will take care that the Meaning of what I sing shall be understood by the Assistants. And thus ye should all do in all like Cases. For if thou by the Impulse of the Spirit givest Thanks to God in an unknown Tongue, which all understand not, how shall the Hearer who in this respect is unlearned, and being ignorant in that Tongue, knows not what thou sayest, how shall he say Amen? How shall he joyn in the Thanks which he understands not? Thou indeed givest Thanks well; But the other is not at all edified by it. I thank God I speak with Tongues more than you all, but I had rather speak in the Church five Words that are understood, than I might instruct others also, than in an unknown Tongue ten thousand that others understand not. My Brethren, be not in Understanding Children, who are apt to be taken with the Novelty or Strangeness of things: In Temper and Disposition be as Children void of Malice (o), but in Matters of Understanding be ye perfect Men, and use your Understandings (p). Be not so zealous for the Use of unknown Tongues in the Church, they are not so proper there: It is written in the Law (q), With Men of other Tongues and other Lips will I speak unto this People: And yet for all that will they not hear me, saith the Lord. So that you see the speaking of strange Tongues miraculously is not for those who are already converted, but for a Sign to those who are Unbelievers: But Prophecie is for Believers, and not for Unbelievers; and therefore fitter for your Assemblies. If therefore when the Church is all come together you should all speak in unknown Tongues, and Men Unlearned or Unbelievers should come in, would they not say that you are mad? But if ye all prophesie, and an Unbeliever or ignorant Man come in, the Discourses he hears from you reaching his Conscience, and the secret Thoughts of his Heart, he is convinced, and wrought upon, and so falling down worships God, and declares that God is certainly

sing with the spirit, and I will sing with the understanding also.

Else when thou shalt be blest with the spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen at the giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?

For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.

I thank my God, I speak with tongues more than you all:

Yet in the church I had rather speak five words with my understanding, than by my voice I might teach others also, than ten thousand words in an unknown tongue.

Brethren, be not children in understanding: howbeit, in malice be ye children, but in understanding be men.

In the law it is written, With men of other tongues, and other lips will I speak unto this people: and yet for all that will they not hear me, saith the Lord.

Wherefore tongues are for a sign, not to them that believe, but to them that believe not: but prophesying serveth not for them that believe not, but for them which believe.

If therefore the whole church be come together into one place, and all speak with tongues, and there come in those that are unlearned, or unbelievers, will they not say that ye are mad?

But if all prophesie, and there come in one that believeth not, or one unlearned, he is convinced of all, he is judged of all:

And thus are the secrets of his heart made manifest; and so falling down on his face he will worship

NOTES.

20 (o) By *κακία*, Malice, I think is here to be understood all sorts of ill temper of Mind, contrary to the Gentleness and Innocence of Childhood, and in particular their Emulation and Strife about the Exercise of their Gifts in their Assemblies.

(p) Vid. Rom. 16. 19. Eph. 4. 13—15.

21 (q) The Books of Sacred Scripture deliver'd to the Jews by divine Revelation under the Law, before the time of the Gospel, which we now call the Old Testament, are in the Writings of the New Testament call'd sometimes, *the Law, the Prophets, and the Psalms*, as Luke 24. 44. sometimes *the Law and the Prophets*, as Acts 24. 14. And sometimes they are all comprehended under this one Name, *the Law*, as here, for the Passage cited is in *Ishaiab*.

amongst

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- God, and report that God is in you of a truth.
- 26 How is it then, brethren? when ye come together, every one of you hath a psalm, hath a doctrine, hath a tongue, hath a revelation, hath an interpretation. Let all things be done to edifying.
- 27 If any man speak in an unknown tongue, let it be by two, or at the most by three, and that by course; and let one interpret.
- 28 But if there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the church; and let him speak to himself, and to God.
- 29 Let the prophets speak two or three, and let the other judge.
- 30 If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first hold his peace.
- 31 For ye may all prophesie one by one, that all may learn, and all may be comforted.
- 32 And the spirits of the prophets are subject to the prophets.
- 33 For God is not the author of confusion, but of peace, as in all churches of the saints.
- 34 Let your women keep silence in the churches: for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law.

amongst you. What then is to be done, Brethren? When ye come together, every one is ready (r), one with a Psalm, another with a Doctrine, another with a strange Tongue, another with a Revelation, another with Interpretation. Let all things be done to Edification, even though (s) any one speak in an unknown Tongue, which is a Gift that seems least intended for Edification (t); let but two or three at most, at any one Meeting, speak in an unknown Tongue, and that separately one after another, and let there be but one Interpreter (u). But if there be no body present that can interpret, let not any one use his Gift of Tongues in the Congregation, but let him silently within himself speak to himself, and to God. Of those who have the Gift of Prophecie, let but two or three speak at the same meeting, and let the others examine and discuss it. But if during their Debate, the meaning of it be revealed to one that sits by, let him that was discoursing of it before give off. For ye may all prophesie one after another, that all may in their Turns be Hearers, and receive Exhortation and Instruction. For the Gifts of the Holy Ghost are not like the Possession of the Heathen Priests, who are not Masters of the Spirit that possesses them. But Christians, however filled with the Holy Ghost, are Masters of their own Actions, can speak or hold their Peace as they see Occasion, and are not hurried away by any Compulsion. It is therefore no reason for you to speak more than one at once, or to interrupt one another, because you find your selves inspired and moved by the Spirit of God. For God is not the Author of Confusion and Disorder, but of Quietness and Peace. And this is what is observed in all the Churches of God. As to your Women, let them keep Silence in your Assemblies, for it is not permitted them to discourse there, or pretend to teach, that

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NOTES.

26 (r) 'Tis plain by this whole Discourse of the Apostle's, that there were Contentions and Emulations amongst them for Precedency of their Gifts, and therefore I think *ἕκαστος ἕως*, may be render'd *every one is ready*, as impatient to be first heard. If there were no such Disorder amongst them, there would have been no need for the Regulations given in the end of this Verse, and the 7 Verses following, especially *ver. 31, 32.* where he tells them, they all may prophesie one by one, and that the Motions of the Spirit were not so ungovernable, as not to leave a Man Master of himself. He must not think himself under a necessity of speaking, as soon as he found any Impulse of the Spirit upon his Mind.

27 (s) St. Paul has said in this Chapter as much as conveniently could be said to restrain their speaking in unknown Tongues in their Assemblies, which seems to be that wherein the Vanity and Ostentation of the *Corinthians* was most forward to shew it self. It is not, says he, a Gift intended for the Edification of Believers; however since you will be exercising it in your Meetings, let it always be so order'd, that it may be for Edification; *ἅτε* I have render'd, *alibet*. So I think it is sometimes used, but no where, as I remember, simply for *if*, as in our Translation; nor will the Sense here bear *whether*, which is the common Signification of *ἅτε*. And therefore I take the Apostle's Sense to be this: You must do nothing but to Edification, tho' you speak in an unknown Tongue, even an unknown Tongue must be made use of in your Assemblies only to Edification.

(t) Vid. *ver. 2, & 4.*

(u) The Rule of the Synagogue was; In the Law let one read and one interpret: In the Prophets let one read and two interpret. In *Esther* ten may read, and ten interpret. 'Tis not improbable that some such Disorder had been introduced into the Church of *Corinth* by their Judaizing false Apostle, which St. Paul would here put an end to.

An Cb. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

35. does no way suit their State of Subjection appointed them in the Law. But if they have a mind to have any thing explained to them that passes in the Church, let them for their Information ask their Husbands at home, for it is a shame for Women to discourse and debate with Men publickly in the Congregation (w).
36. What, do you pretend to give Laws to the Church of God, or to a Right to do what you please amongst your selves, as if the Gospel began at *Corinth*, and issuing from you, was communicated to the rest of the World, or as if it were communicated to you alone
37. of all the World? If any Man amongst you think that he hath the Gift of Prophecies, and would pass for a Man knowing in the revealed Will of God (x), let him acknowledge that these Rules which I have here given, are the Commandments of the Lord. But if any Man (y) be ignorant that they are so, I have no more to say to him: I leave him to his Ignorance.
38. To conclude, Brethren, let Prophecie have the Preference in the Exercise of it (z): But yet forbid not the speaking unknown Tongues. But whether a Man prophesies or speaks with Tongues, whatever spiritual Gift he exercises in your Assemblies, let it be done without any Indecorum or Disorder.

And if they will learn³⁵ any thing, let them ask their husbands at home: for it is a shame for women to speak in the church.

What? came the word³⁶ of God out from you? or came it unto you only?

If any man think him-³⁷ self to be a prophet, or spiritual, let him acknowledge that the things that I write unto you, are the commandments of the Lord.

But if any man be igno-³⁸ rant, let him be ignorant.

Wherefore, brethren,³⁹ covet to prophesie, and forbid not to speak with tongues.

Let all things be done⁴⁰ decently, and in order.

NOTES.

34, 35. (w) Why I apply this Prohibition of speaking only to reasoning and purely voluntary Discourse, but suppose a Liberty left Women to speak, where they had an immediate Impulse and Revelation from the Spirit of God, *Vid.* ch. 11. 3. In the Synagogue it was usual for any Man that had a mind to demand of the Teacher a farther Explication of what he had said: but this was not permitted to the Women.

37 (x) Πνευματικός, a *spiritual Man*, in the Sense of St. Paul, is one who founds his Knowledge in what is revealed by the Spirit of God, and not in the bare Discoveries of his natural Reason and Parts: *Vid.* ch. 11. 15.

38 (y) By the *any Man* mention'd in this, and the foregoing Verse, St. Paul seems to intimate the false Apostle, who pretended to give Laws amongst them, and, as we have observed, may well be supposed to be the Author of these Disorders, whom therefore St. Paul reflects on, and presses in these three Verses.

39 (z) Ζηλέν, in this whole Discourse of St. Paul, taken to refer to the Exercise, and not to the obtaining the Gifts to which it is joyn'd, will direct us right in understanding St. Paul, and make his Meaning very easie and intelligible.

SECT. X.

CHAP. XV. 1—58.

CONTENTS.

After St. Paul (who had taught them another Doctrine) had left *Corinth*, some among them denied the Resurrection of the Dead. This he confutes by Christ's Resurrection, which the number of Witnesses yet remaining, that had seen him, put past Question, besides the constant inculcating of it by all the Apostles every where. From the Resurrection of Christ thus establish'd, he infers the Resurrection of the Dead; shews the Order they shall rise in, and what sort of Bodies they shall have.

I CORINTHIANS.

203

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 34.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 1 Moreover, brethren, I declare unto you the gospel which I preached unto you, which also you have received, and wherein ye stand;
- 2 By which also ye are saved, if ye keep in memory what I preached unto you, unless ye have believed in vain.
- 3 For I delivered unto you first of all, that which I also received, how that Christ died for our sins according to the scriptures:
- 4 And that he was buried, and that he rose again the third day according to the scriptures:
- 5 And that he was seen of Cephas, then of the twelve.
- 6 After that, he was seen of above five hundred brethren at once: of whom the greater part remain unto this present, but some are fallen asleep:
- 7 After that, he was seen of James; then of all the apostles.
- 8 And last of all he was seen of me, also, as of one born out of due time.
- 9 For I am the least of the apostles, that am not meet to be called an apostle, because I persecuted the church of God.
- 10 But by the grace of God, I am what I am: and his grace which was bestowed upon me, was not in vain; but I laboured more abundantly than they all: yet not I, but the grace of God which was with me.
- 12 Therefore whether it were I or they, so we preach, and so ye believed.
- 13 Now if Christ be preached that he rose from the

IN what I am now going to say to you Brethren, I make known to you no other Gospel than what I formerly preached to you, and you received and have hitherto professed, and by which alone you are to be saved. This you will find to be so, if you retain in your Memories what it was that I preached to you, which you certainly do, unless you have taken up the Christian Name and Profession to no purpose. For I delivered to you, and particularly insisted on this which I had received, viz. that Christ died for our Sins, according to the Scriptures; and that he was buried, and that he was raised again the third Day according to the Scriptures; and that he was seen by Peter; afterwards by the twelve Apostles, and after that by above Five hundred Christians at once, of whom the greatest Part remain alive to this Day, but some of them are deceased: Afterwards he was seen by James; and after that by all the Apostles. Last of all he was seen by me also, as by one born before my Time. (a) For I am the least of the Apostles, not worthy the Name of an Apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God. But by the free Bounty of God I am what it hath pleased him to make me: And this Favour which he hath bestowed on me, hath not been altogether fruitless, for I have labour'd in preaching of the Gospel more than all the other Apostles, (b) which yet I do not ascribe to any thing of myself, but to the Favour of God which accompanied me. But whether I or the other Apostles preached, this was that which we preached, and this was the Faith ye were baptized into, viz. that Christ died, and rose again the third day. If therefore this be so, if this be that which has been preached to you, viz. that Christ has been raised from the dead, how comes it that some (c) amongst you say as they do,

- 1.
- 2.
- 3.
- 4.
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- 6.
- 7.
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- 9.
- 10.
- 11.
- 12.

NOTES.

8 (a) An abortive Birth that comes before its Time, which is the Name St. Paul gives himself here, is usually sudden and at unawares, and is also weak and feeble, scarce deserving to be called or counted a Man. The former Part agrees to St. Paul's being made a Christian and an Apostle, tho' it be in regard of the latter that in the following Verie St. Paul calls himself abortive.

10 (b) St. Paul drops in this Commendation of himself to keep up his Credit in the Church of Corinth, where there was a Faction labouring to discredit him.

12 (c) This may well be understood of the Head of the contrary Faction, and some of his Scholars. 1st, Because St. Paul introduces this Confutation by asserting his Mission, which these his Opposers would bring in Question. 2dly, Because he is so careful to let the Corinthians see he maintains not the Doctrine of the Resurrection, in Opposition to these their new Leaders, it being the Doctrine he had preached to them at their first Conversion, before any such false Apostle appear'd among them, and misled them about the Resurrection. Their false Apostle was a Jew, and in all Appearance Judaized, may he not also be suspected of Sacerdotalism? For 'tis plain he with all his Might opposed St. Paul, which must be from some main Difference in Opinion at the Bottom. For there are no Footsteps of any personal Provocation.

I CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

13. that there is no Resurrection of the Dead? And if
 14. there be no Resurrection of the Dead, then even
 15. Christ himself is not risen: And if Christ be not risen,
 16. our Preaching is idle Talk, and your believing it is
 17. to no purpose: And we who pretend to be Witnesses
 18. for God and his Truth, shall be found Liars, bearing
 19. Witness against God and his Truth, affirming that he
 20. raised Christ, whom in Truth he did not raise, if it
 21. be so that the Dead are not raised. For if the Dead
 22. shall not be raised, neither is Christ raised. And if
 23. Christ be not risen, your Faith is to no purpose, your
 24. Sins are not forgiven, but you are still liable to the
 25. Punishment due to them. And they also who died in
 26. the Belief of the Gospel are perished and lost. If the
 27. Advantages we expect from Christ are confined to this
 Life, and we have no Hope of any Benefit from him
 in another Life hereafter, we Christians are the most
 miserable of all Men. But in truth Christ is actually
 risen from the Dead, and become the first Fruits (d)
 of those who were dead. For since by Man came
 Death, by Man came also the Resurrection of the
 Dead, or Restoration to Life. For as the Death that
 all Men suffer is owing to Adam; so the Life that all
 shall be restored to again, is procured them by Christ.
 But they shall return to Life again, not all at once,
 but in their proper Order, Christ the first Fruits is al-
 ready risen: Next after him shall rise those who are
 his People, his Church, and this shall be at his second
 Coming. After that shall be the Day of Judgment,
 which shall bring to a Conclusion, and finish the
 whole Dispensation to the Race and Posterity of
 Adam in this World: When Christ shall have delivered
 up the Kingdom to God the Father, which he
 shall not do till he hath destroy'd all Empire, Power
 and Authority that shall be in the World besides. For
 he must reign till he has totally subdued and brought
 all his Enemies into Subjection to his Kingdom. The
 last Enemy that shall be destroyed, is Death. For
 God hath subjected all Things to Christ; but when it
 is said all Things are subjected, it is plain that he is to
 be excepted who did subject all Things to him. But

dead, how say some among
 you, that there is no re-
 surrection of the dead?

But if there be no re-
 surrection of the dead,
 then is Christ not risen.

And if Christ be not ri-
 sen, then is our preaching
 vain, and your faith is also
 vain.

Yea, and we are found
 false witnesses of God;
 because we have testified
 of God, that he raised up
 Christ: whom he raised
 not up, if so be that the
 dead rise not.

For if the dead rise not,
 then is not Christ raised:

And if Christ be not
 raised, your faith is vain;
 ye are yet in your sins.

Then they also which
 are fallen asleep in Christ,
 are perished.

If in this life only we
 have hope in Christ, we
 are of all men most mis-
 erable.

But now is Christ risen
 from the dead, and be-
 come the first fruits of
 them that slept.

For since by man came
 death, by man came also
 the resurrection of the
 dead.

For as in Adam all die,
 even so in Christ shall all
 be made alive.

But every man in his
 own order: Christ the
 first fruits, afterward they
 that are Christ's, at his
 coming.

Then cometh the end,
 when he shall have deli-
 vered up the kingdom to
 God, even the Father;
 when he shall have put
 down all rule, and all au-
 thority and power.

For he must reign till
 he hath put all enemies
 under his feet.

The last Enemy that
 shall be destroyed, is
 death.

For he hath put all
 things under his feet, But
 when he saith all things
 are put under him, it is
 manifest that he is except-
 ed which did put all
 things under him.

NOTES.

20 (d) The first Fruits were a small Part which was first taken and offered to God, and sanctified the whole Mass which was to follow.

when

I CORINTHIANS.

205

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 28 And when all things shall be subdued unto him, then shall the Son also himself be subject unto him that put all things under him, that God may be all in all.
- 29 Else what shall they do which are baptized for the dead, if the dead rise not at all? why are they then baptized for the dead?
- 30 And why stand we in jeopardy every hour? I protest by your rejoicing which I have in Christ Jesus our Lord, I die daily.
- 32 If after the manner of men I have fought with beasts at Ephesus, what advantageth it me, if the dead rise not? let us eat and drink, for to morrow we die.
- 33 Be not deceived: Evil communications corrupt good manners.
- 34 Awake to righteousness, and sin not; for some have not the knowledge of God: I speak this to your shame.
- 35 But some man will say, How are the dead raised up? and with what body do they come?
- 36 Thou fool, that which thou sowest is not quickened except it die.
- 37 And that which thou sowest, thou sowest not that body that shall be, but bare grain, it may chance of wheat, or of some other grain.

when all Things shall be actually reduced under Subjection to him, then even the Son himself, *i. e.* Christ and his whole Kingdom, he and all his Subjects and Members, shall be subjected to him that gave him this Kingdom and universal Dominion, that God may immediately govern and influence all. Else (*e*) what shall they do who are baptized for the Dead? (*f*) And why do we venture our Lives continually? As to myself, I am exposed, vilified, treated so that I die daily; and for this I call to witness your glorying against me, in which I really glory, as coming on me for our Lord Jesus Christ's Sake: And particularly to what Purpose did I suffer myself to be exposed to wild Beasts at *Ephesus*, if the Dead rise not? If there be no Resurrection, 'tis wiser a great deal to preserve our selves as long as we can in a free Enjoyment of all the Pleasures of this Life, for when Death comes, as it shortly will, there is an End of us for ever. Take heed that you be not misled by such Discourses, for evil Communication is apt to corrupt even good Minds. Awake from such Dreams, as 'tis fit you should, and give not your selves up sinfully to the Enjoyments of this Life. For there are some (*g*) atheistical People among you: This I say to make you ashamed. But possibly it will be asked; How comes it to pass that dead Men are raised, and with what kind of Bodies do they come? (*b*) Shall they have at the Resurrection such Bodies as they have now? Thou Fool, does not daily Experience teach thee, that the Seed which thou sowest, corrupts and dies, before it springs up and lives again. That which thou sowest is the bare Grain of Wheat or Barley, or the like, but the Body which it has when it rises up, is different from the Seed that is sown.

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NOTES.

29 (*e*) Else here relates to *ver.* 20. where it is said, *Christ is risen*: St. Paul, having in that Verse mentioned Christ being the first Fruits from the Dead, takes Occasion from thence now that he is upon the Resurrection, to inform the *Corinthians* of several Particularities relating to the Resurrection, which might enlighten them about it, and could not be known but by Revelation. Having made this Excursion in the eight preceding Verses, he here in the 29th re-assumes the Thread of his Discourse, and goes on with his Arguments for believing the Resurrection.

(*f*) What this baptizing for the Dead was, I confess I know not: But it seems by the following Verses to be something wherein they exposed themselves to the Danger of Death.

34 (*g*) May not this probably be said to make them ashamed of their Leader, whom they were so forward to glory in? For 'tis not unlikely that their questioning and denying the Resurrection came from their new Apostle, who raised such Opposition against St. Paul.

35 (*b*) If we will allow St. Paul to know what he says, it is plain from what he answers, that he understands these Words to contain two Questions. 1st. How comes it to pass that dead Men are raised to Life again, would it not be better they should live on? Why do they die to live again? 2^{dly}. With what Bodies shall they return to Life? To both these he distinctly answers, *viz.* That those who are raised to an heavenly State, shall have other Bodies: And next that it is so that Men should die, Death being no improper Way to the attaining other Bodies. This he shews there is so plain and common an Instance of in the sowing of all Seeds, that he thinks it a foolish thing to make a Difficulty of it; and then proceeds to declare, That as they shall have other; so they shall have better Bodies than they had before, *viz.* spiritual and incorruptible.

For

38. For it is not the Seed that rises up again, but a quite Different Body, such as God has thought fit to give it, viz. a Plant of a particular Shape and Size, which God has appointed to each Sort of Seed. And so
39. likewise it is in Animals, there are different Kinds of Flesh, (i) for the Flesh of Men is of one Kind; the Flesh of Cattle is of another Kind; that of Fish is different from them both; and the Flesh of Birds is of a peculiar Sort different from them all. To look yet farther into the Difference of Bodies, there be both heavenly and earthly Bodies, but the Beauty and Excellency of the heavenly Bodies is of one Kind, and that of earthly Bodies of another. The Sun,
40. Moon and Stars have each of them their particular Beauty and Brightness, and one Star differs from another in Glory. And so shall the Resurrection of
41. the Dead (k) be: That which is sown in this World
- 42.

But God giveth it a³⁸ body as it hath pleased him, and to every seed his own body.

All flesh is not the same³⁹ flesh: but there is one kind of flesh of men, another flesh of beasts, another of fishes, and another of birds.

There are also celestial⁴⁰ bodies, and bodies terrestrial: but the glory of the celestial is one, and the glory of the terrestrial is another.

There is one glory of⁴¹ the sun, and another glory of the moon, and another glory of the stars; for one star differeth from another star in glory.

So also is the resurrection⁴² of the dead. It is sown in corruption, it is raised in incorruption:

NOTES.

39 (i) The Scope of the Place makes it evident, that by *Flesh* St. Paul here means Bodies, viz. That God has given to the several Sorts of Animals Bodies in Shape, Texture and Organization very different one from another, as he hath thought good, and so he can give to Men at the Resurrection Bodies of very different Constitutions and Qualities from those they had before.

42 (k) *The Resurrection of the Dead* here spoken of, is not the Resurrection of all Mankind in common, but only the Resurrection of the Just. This will be evident to any one who observes that St. Paul, having, ver. 22. declared that all Men shall be made alive again, tells the *Corinthians*, ver. 23. That it shall not be all at once, but at several Distances of Time. First of all Christ rose, afterwards next in order to him the Saints should all be raised, which Resurrection of the Just is that which he treats, and gives an Account of to the End of this Discourse and Chapter, and so never comes to the Resurrection of the Wicked, which was to be the third and last in order: So that from the 23d Verse to the End of this Chapter, all that he says of the Resurrection, is a Description only of the Resurrection of the Just, tho' he calls it here by the general Name of the Resurrection of the Dead. That this is so, there is so much Evidence, that there is scarce a Verse from the 41st to the End, that does not evince it.

1st. What in this Resurrection is raised, St. Paul assures us, ver. 43. is raised in Glory, but the Wicked are not raised in Glory.

2dly. He says *we* (speaking in the Name of all that shall be then raised) shall bear the Image of the heavenly *Adam*, ver. 49. which cannot belong to the Wicked. *We* shall all be chang'd, that by putting on Incorruptibility and Immortality, Death may be swallowed up of Victory, which God giveth us through our Lord Jesus Christ, ver. 51, 52, 53, 54, 57. which cannot likewise belong to the Damned. And therefore *we* and *us* must be understood to be spoken in the Name of the Dead that are Christ's, who are to be raised by themselves before the rest of Mankind.

3dly. He says, ver. 52. That when the Dead are raised, they who are alive shall be chang'd in the twinkling of an Eye. Now that these dead are only the dead in Christ which shall rise first, and shall be caught up in the Clouds to meet the Lord in the Air, is plain from 1 *Thess.* 4. 16, 17.

4thly. He teaches, ver. 54. That by this Corruptible's putting on Incorruption, is brought to pass the Saying, that Death is swallowed up of Victory. But I think no body will say, that the Wicked have Victory over Death; yet that according to the Apostle here belongs to all those whose corruptible Bodies have put on Incorruption, which therefore must be only those that rise the second in order. From whence it is clear that their Resurrection alone is that which is here mentioned and described.

5thly. A farther Proof whereof is ver. 56, 57. in that their Sins being taken away, the Sting, whereby Death kills, is taken away. And hence St. Paul says, God has given *us* the Victory, which is the same *us* or *we* who should bear the Image of the heavenly *Adam*, ver. 49. And the same *we* who should all be changed, ver. 51, 52. All which Places can therefore belong to none but to those who are Christ's, who shall be raised by themselves the second in order before the rest of the Dead.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 43 It is sown in dishonour, it is raised in glory: It is sown in weakness, it is raised in power: 43.
- 44 It is sown a natural body, it is raised a spiritual body. There is a natural body, and there is a spiritual body. 44.
- (1), and comes to die, is a poor, weak, contemptible corruptible thing; when it is raised again, it shall be powerful, glorious and incorruptible. The body we have here surpasses not the animal Nature: At the Resurrection it shall

NOTES.

'Tis very remarkable what St. Paul says in this 51st Verse, *We shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed in the twinkling of an Eye*. The reason he gives for it, ver. 53. is, because this corruptible thing must put on Incorruption, and this mortal thing must put on Immortality. How? Why by putting off Flesh and Blood, by an instantaneous Change, because, as he tells us, ver. 50. Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God; and therefore, to fit Believers for that Kingdom, those who are alive at Christ's Coming, shall be changed in the twinkling of an Eye, and those that are in their Graves shall be changed likewise at the instant of their being raised, and so all the whole Collection of Saints, all the Members of Christ's Body, shall be put into a State of Incorruptibility, ver. 52. in a new sort of Bodies. Taking the Resurrection here spoken of, to be the Resurrection of all the Dead promiscuously, St. Paul's Reasoning in this place can hardly be understood. But, upon a Supposition that he here describes the Resurrection of the Just only, that Resurrection which, as he says, ver. 23. is to be the next after Christ's, and separate from the rest, there is nothing can be more plain, natural and easie, than St. Paul's Reasoning, and it stands thus. Men alive are Flesh and Blood, the Dead in the Graves are but the Remains of corrupted Flesh and Blood; but Flesh and Blood cannot inherit the Kingdom of God, neither Corruption inherit Incorruption, i. e. Immortality: therefore to make all those who are Christ's capable to enter into his eternal Kingdom of Life, as well those of them who are alive, as those of them who are raised from the Dead, shall in the twinkling of an Eye be all changed, and their Corruptible shall put on Incorruption, and their Mortal shall put on Immortality: And thus God gives them the Victory over Death through their Lord Jesus Christ. This is in short St. Paul's arguing here, and the Account he gives of the Resurrection of the Blessed. But how the Wicked, who are afterwards to be restored to Life, were to be raised, and what was to become of them, he here says nothing, as not being to his present purpose, which was to assure the *Corinthians*, by the Resurrection of Christ, of a happy Resurrection to Believers, and thereby to encourage them to continue stedfast in the Faith which had such a Reward. That this was his Design, may be seen by the beginning of his Discourse; ver. 12—21. and by the Conclusion, ver. 58. in these Words; *Wherefore, my beloved Brethren, be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the Work of the Lord; forasmuch as ye know that your Labour is not in vain in the Lord*. Which Words shew that what he had been speaking of in the immediately preceding Verses, viz. their being changed, and their putting on Incorruption and Immortality, and their having thereby the Victory through Jesus Christ, was what belong'd solely to the Saints, as a Reward to those who remained stedfast, and abounded in the Work of the Lord.

The like Use, of the like, though shorter Discourse of the Resurrection, wherein he describes only that of the Blessed, he makes to the *Thessalonians*, 1 Theff. 4. 13—18. which he concludes thus; *Wherefore comfort one another with these Words*.

Nor is it in this place alone that St. Paul calls the Resurrection of the Just by the general Name of the Resurrection of the Dead. He does the same, *Phil.* 3. 11. where he speaks of his Sufferings, and of his Endeavours, if by any means he might attain unto the Resurrection of the Dead: whereby he cannot mean the Resurrection of the Dead in general, which since he has declared in this very Chapter, ver. 22. all Men, both good and bad, shall as certainly partake of, as that they shall die, there needs no Endeavours to attain to it. Our Saviour likewise speaks of the Resurrection of the Just in the same general Terms of the Resurrection, *Mat.* 22. 30. *And the Resurrection from the Dead*, Luke 20. 35. by which is meant only the Resurrection of the Just, as is plain from the Context.

43 (1) The time that Man is in this World affixed to this Earth, is, his being sown, and not when being dead he is put in the Grave, as is evident from St. Paul's own Words. For dead things are not sown, Seeds are sown being alive, and die not till after they are sown. Besides, he that will attentively consider what follows, will find Reason from St. Paul's arguing to understand him so.

- be spiritual. There are both animal (*m*) and spiritual (*n*) Bodies. And so it is written, The first Man *Adam* was made a living Soul, *i. e.* made of an animal Constitution, endowed with an animal Life; the second *Adam* was made of a spiritual Constitution, with a Power to give Life to others. Howbeit the spiritual was not first, but the animal, and afterwards the spiritual. The first Man was of the Earth, made up of Dust or earthy Particles: the second Man is the Lord from Heaven. Those who have no higher an Extraction than barely from the earthy Man, they, like him, have barely an animal Life and Constitution. But those who are regenerate, and born of the heavenly Seed, are as he that is heavenly, spiritual, and immortal: And as in the animal, corruptible, mortal State we were born in, we have been like him that was earthy; so also shall we, who at the Resurrection partake of a spiritual Life from Christ, be made like him the Lord from Heaven, heavenly, *i. e.* live as the Spirits in Heaven do, without the need of Food or Nourishment to support it, and without Infirmities, Decay and Death, enjoying a fixed, stable, unfleeting Life. This I say to you, Brethren, to satisfy those that ask with what Bodies the Dead shall come, that we shall not at the Resurrection have such Bodies as we have now: For Flesh and Blood cannot enter into the Kingdom which the Saints shall inherit in Heaven: Nor are such fleeting corruptible things, as our present Bodies are, fitted to that State of immutable Incorruptibility. To which let me add what has not been hitherto discovered, *viz.* That we shall not all die, but we shall all be changed in a Moment, in the twinkling of an Eye, at the Sounding of the last Trumpet, for the Trumpet shall sound, and the Dead shall rise; and as many of us Believers as are

And so it is written,⁴⁵
The first man Adam was made a living soul, the last Adam was made a quickning spirit.

Howbeit, that was not⁴⁶
first which is spiritual, but that which is natural; and afterward that which is spiritual.

The first man is of the⁴⁷
earth, earthy: the second man is the Lord, from heaven.

As is the earthy, such⁴⁸
are they also that are earthy: and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly.

And as we have borne⁴⁹
the image of the earthy, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly.

Now this I say, brethren, that flesh and blood⁵⁰
cannot inherit the kingdom of God; neither doth corruption inherit incorruption.

Behold, I shew you a⁵¹
mystery; we shall not all sleep, but we shall all be changed,

In a moment, in the⁵²
twinkling of an eye, at the last trump (for the trumpet shall sound) and the dead shall be raised incorruptible, and we shall be changed.

NOTES.

44 (*m*) Σῶμα ψυχικόν, which in our Bibles is translated *natural Bodies*, should, I think, more suitably to the Propriety of the Greek, and more conformably to the Apostle's Meaning, be translated *animal Body*: For that which St. Paul is doing here, is to shew, that as we have animal Bodies now (which we derived from *Adam*) endowed with an animal Life, which unless supported with a constant Supply of Food and Air, will fail and perish, and at last, do what we can, will dissolve and come to an end; so at the Resurrection we shall have from Christ the second *Adam* *spiritual Bodies*, which shall have an essential and natural inseparable Life in them, which shall continue and subsist perpetually of it self, without the help of Meat and Drink, or Air, or any such foreign Support; without Decay, or any Tendency to a Dissolution: of which our Saviour speaking, *Luke 20. 35.* says, *They who shall be accounted worthy to obtain that World, and the Resurrection from the Dead, cannot die any more, for they are equal to the Angels, i. e. of an Angelical Nature and Constitution.*

(*n*) *Vid. Phil. 3. 21.*

then

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

53 For this corruptible must put on incorruption, and this mortal must put on immortality.

54 So when this corruptible shall have put on incorruption, and this mortal shall have put on immortality, then shall be brought to pass the saying that is written, Death is swallowed up in victory.

55 O death, where is thy sting? O grave, where is thy victory?

56 The sting of death is sin; and the strength of sin is the law.

57 But thanks be to God, which giveth us the victory, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

58 Therefore my beloved brethren, be ye steadfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labour is not in vain in the Lord.

then alive, shall be changed. For this corruptible Frame and Constitution (o) of ours, must put on Incorruption, and from mortal become immortal. And when we are got into that State of Incorruptibility and Immortality, then shall be fulfilled what was foretold in these words, Death is swallowed up of Victory (p), i. e. Death is perfectly subdued and exterminated by a compleat Victory over it, so that there shall be no Death any more. Where, O Death, is now that Power whereby thou deprivedst Men of Life? What is become of the Dominion of the Grave, whereby they were detained Prisoners there (q)? That which gives Death the Power over Men is sin, and 'tis the Law by which Sin has this Power. But Thanks be to God who gives us Deliverance and Victory over Death, the Punishment of Sin by the Law, through our Lord Jesus Christ, who has delivered us from the Rigour of the Law. Wherefore my beloved Brethren, continue steadfast and unmoveable in the Christian Faith, always abounding in your Obedience to the Precepts of Christ, and in those Duties which are required of us by our Lord and Saviour, knowing that your Labour will not be lost, whatsoever you shall do or suffer for him, will be abundantly rewarded by eternal Life.

53.

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NOTES.

53 (o) Τὸ φθαρτὸν corruptible, and τὸ θνητὸν mortal, have not here σῶμα Body, for their Substantive, as some imagine, but are put in the Neuter Gender absolute, and stand to represent νεκροὶ dead, as appears by the immediately preceding Verse, and also ver. 42. ὅτι ὡς ἐν σάρτει τῶν νεκρῶν σπείρεται ἐν φθορᾷ So is the Resurrection of the Dead, it is sown in Corruption, i. e. mortal corruptible Men are sown, being corruptible and weak. Nor can it be thought strange or strained, that I interpret φθαρτὸν and θνητὸν as Adjectives of the Neuter Gender, to signify Persons, when in this very Discourse the Apostle uses two Adjectives in the Neuter Gender, to signify the Persons of Adam and Christ, in such a way as it is impossible to understand them otherwise. The words no farther off than ver. 46. are these; Ἀλλὰ ἐπεὶ τὸ πνευματικόν ἀλλὰ τὸ ψυχικόν ἐπέλα τὸ πνευματικόν. The like way of speaking we have, Mat. 1. 20. and Luke 1. 35. in both which, the Person of our Saviour is expressed by Adjectives of the Neuter Gender. To any of all which places I do not think any one will add the Substantive σῶμα Body, to make out the Sense. That then which is meant here being this, That this mortal Man shall put on Immortality, and this corruptible Man Incorruptibility, any one will easily find another Nominative Case to σπείρεται is sown, and not σῶμα Body, when he considers the Sense of the place, wherein the Apostle's purpose is to speak of νεκροὶ mortal Men, being dead and raised again to Life, and made immortal. Those with whom Grammatical Construction, and the Nominative Case weighs so much, may be pleas'd to read this Passage in Virgil;

*Linguebant dulces animas, aut agra trahabant
Corpora, Æneid. l. 3. ver. 140.*

where by finding the Nominative Case to the two Verbs in it, he may come to discover that Personality, as contra-distinguished to both Body and Soul, may be the Nominative Case to Verbs.

54 (p) Νίκος Victory, often signifies End and Destruction. See Vossius de LXX Interpret. cap. 24.

55 (q) This has something the Air of a Song of Triumph, which St. Paul breaks out into upon a View of the Saints Victory over Death, in a State wherein Death is never to have place any more.

S E C T. XI.

CHAP. XVI. 1—4.

C O N T E N T S.

HE gives Directions concerning their Contribution to the poor Christians at *Jerusalem*.

P A R A P H R A S E.

1. **A**S to the Collection for the Converts to Christianity who are at *Jerusalem*, I would have you do as I have directed the Churches of *Galatia*.
2. Let every one of you, according as he thrives in his Calling, lay aside some part of his Gain by it self, which the first Day of the Week let him put into the common Treasury (r) of the Church, that there may be no need of any Gathering when I come. And when I come, those whom you shall approve of (r) will I send with Letters to *Jerusalem*, to carry thither your Benevolence. Which if it deserves that I also should go, they shall go along with me.

T E X T.

NOW concerning the collection for the saints, as I have given order to the churches of *Galatia*, even so do ye.

Upon the first day of the week, let every one of you lay by him in store, as God hath prospered him, that there be no gatherings when I come.

And when I come, whomsoever you shall approve by your letters, them will I send to bring your liberality unto *Jerusalem*.

And if it be meet that I go also, they shall go with me.

N O T E S.

2 (r) *Θραυπιζων* seems used here in the Sense I have given it. For 'tis certain that the Apostle directs that they should every Lord's Day bring to the Congregation what their Charity had laid aside the foregoing Week, as their Gain came in, that there it might be put into some publick Box appointed for that purpose, or Officer's Hands. For if they only laid it aside at home, there would nevertheless be need of a Collection when he came.

3 (s) *δοκιμασιν*, δι' επιστολῶν τῶν πρέσβυ, this pointing that makes δι' επιστολῶν belong to πρέσβυ, and not to δοκιμασιν, the Apostle's Sense justifies. He telling them here, that sending their Collection ready when he came, he would write by those they should think fit to send it by, or go himself with them, if their Present were worthy of it. There needed no Approbation of their Messengers to him by their Letters, when he was present. And if the *Corinthians* by their Letters approv'd of them to the Saints at *Jerusalem*, how could St. Paul say he would send them?

S E C T. XII.

CHAP. XVI. 5—12.

C O N T E N T S.

HE gives them an Account of his own, *Timothy's* and *Apollos's* Intention of coming to them.

5. **I** Will come unto you' when I have been in *Macedonia*, for I intend to take that in my way: And

perhaps

NOW I will come unto you, when I shall pass through *Macedonia*: (for I do pass through *Macedonia*)

I C O R I N T H I A N S.

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TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

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| <p>6 And it may be that I will abide, yea, and winter with you, that ye may bring me on my journey, whithersoever I go.</p> <p>7 For I will not see you now by the way, but I trust to tarry a while with you, if the Lord permit.</p> <p>8 But I will tarry at Ephesus until Pentecost.</p> <p>9 For a great door and effectual is opened unto me, and there are many adversaries.</p> <p>10 Now if Timotheus come, see that he may be with you, without fear: for he worketh the work of the Lord, as I also do.</p> <p>11 Let no man therefore despise him: but conduct him forth in peace, that he may come unto me: for I look for him with the brethren.</p> <p>12 As touching our brother Apollos, I greatly desire him to come unto you with the brethren: but his will was not at all to come at this time; but he will come when he shall have convenient time.</p> | <p>perhaps I shall make some Stay, nay winter with you, that you may bring me going on my way whithersoever I go. For I do not intend just to call in upon you, as I pass by, but I hope to spend some time with you, if the Lord permit. But I shall stay at <i>Ephesus</i> till <i>Pentecost</i>, i. e. <i>Whitsontide</i>. For now I have a very fair and promising Opportunity given me of propagating the Gospel, though there be many Opposers. If <i>Timothy</i> come to you, pray take care that he be easy, and without fear amongst you, for he promotes the Work of the Lord in preaching the Gospel, even as I do. Let no body therefore despise him, but treat him kindly, and bring him going, that he may come unto me, for I expect him with the Brethren. As to Brother (s) <i>Apollos</i>, I have earnestly endeavour'd to prevail with him to come to you with the Brethren, (u) but he has no mind to it at all at present. He will come however when there shall be a fit Occasion.</p> | <p>6.</p> <p>7.</p> <p>8.</p> <p>9.</p> <p>10.</p> <p>11.</p> <p>12.</p> |
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NOTES.

12 (s) There be few perhaps who need to be told it, yet it may be convenient here, once for all, to remark, that in the Apostle's time *Brother* was the ordinary Compellation that Christians used to one another.

(u) The *Brethren* here mentioned, seem to be *Stephanas* and those others who with him came with a Message or Letter to St. *Paul* from the Church of *Corinth*, by whom he returned this Epistle in answer.

S E C T. XIII.

C H A P. XVI. 13—24.

C O N T E N T S.

THE Conclusion, wherein St. *Paul*, according to his Custom, leaves with some, which he thinks most necessary, Exhortations, and sends particular Greetings.

- | | | |
|---|--|----------------------------------|
| <p>13 Watch ye, stand fast in the faith, quit you like men, be strong.</p> <p>14 Let all your things be done with charity.</p> <p>15 I beseech you, brethren, (ye know the house of <i>Stephanas</i>, that it is the</p> | <p>BE upon your Guard, stand firm in the Faith, Be have your selves like Men with Courage and Resolution: And whatever is done amongst you, either in your publick Assemblies, or elsewhere, let it all be done with Affection and good Will one to another (w). You know the House of <i>Stephanas</i>, that</p> | <p>13.</p> <p>14.</p> <p>15.</p> |
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NOTES.

14 (w) His main Design being to put an end to the Faction and Division which the false Apostle had made amongst them, 'tis no wonder that we find Unity and Charity so much and so often pressed in this and the second Epistle.

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Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE

TEXT.

- they were the first Converts of *Achaia*, and have all along made it their Business to minister to the Saints ;
16. To such I beseech you to submit your selves : Let such as with us labour to promote the Gospel be your
17. Leaders. I am glad that *Stephanas*, *Fortunatus*, and *Achaicus* came to me; because they have supplied
18. what was deficient on your Side: For by the Account they have given me of you, they have quieted my Mind and yours too (x); Therefore have a Regard to
19. such Men as these. The Churches of *Asia* salute you, and so do *Aquila* and *Priscilla*, with much Christian Affection; with the Church that is in their House.
20. All the Brethren here salute you: salute one another
21. with an holy Kiss. That which followeth is the Salutation of me *Paul* with my own Hand. If any one
22. be an Enemy to the Lord Jesus Christ and his Gospel, let him be accursed, or devoted to Destruction. The
23. Lord cometh to execute Vengeance on him (y). The
24. Favour of the Lord Jesus Christ be with you. My Love be with you all in Christ Jesus. Amen.

first fruits of *Achaia*, and that they have addicted themselves to the ministry of the saints)

That ye submit your¹⁶ selves unto such, and to every one that helpeth with us and laboureth.

I am glad of the coming¹⁷ of *Stephanas*, and *Fortunatus*, and *Achaicus*: for that which was lacking on your part, they have supplied.

For they have refreshed¹⁸ my spirit and yours; therefore acknowledge ye them that are such.

The churches of *Asia*¹⁹ salute you. *Aquila* and *Priscilla* salute you much in the Lord, with the church that is in their house.

All the brethren greet²⁰ you. Greet you one another with an holy kiss.

The salutation of me²¹ *Paul* with mine own hand,

If any man love not the²² Lord Jesus Christ, let him be Anathema, Maranatha.

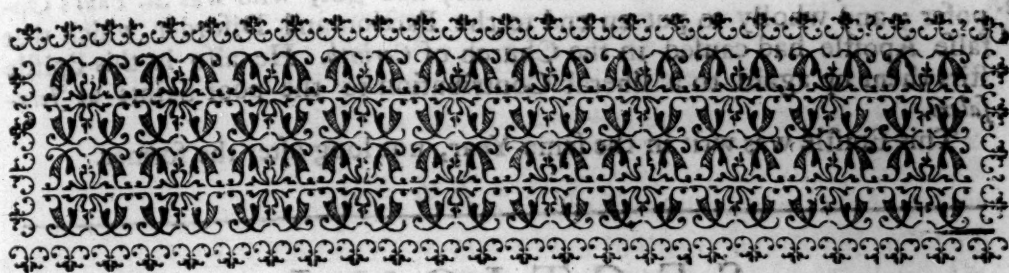
The grace of our Lord²³ Jesus Christ be you.

My love be with you all²⁴ in Christ Jesus. Amen.

NOTES.

18 (x) *Viz.* By removing those Suspicions and Fears that were on both sides.

22 (y) This being so different a Sentence from any of those writ with St. *Paul*'s own hands in any of his other Epistles, may it not with Probability be understood to mean the false Apostle, to whom St. *Paul* imputes all the Disorders in this Church, and of whom he speaks, not much less severely, 2 Cor. 11. 13—15?



A

PARAPHRASE

AND

NOTES

ON THE

Second Epistle of St. PAUL

TO THE

CORINTHIANS.

SYNOPSIS.

SAINTE PAUL having writ his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, to try, as he says himself, *Chap. 2. 9.* what Power he had still with that Church, wherein there was a great Faction against him, which he was attempting to break, was in pain till he found what Success it had; *Ch. 2. 12, 13. & 7. 5.* But when he had by *Titus* received an Account of their Repentance, upon his former Letter; of their Submission to his Orders; and of their good Disposition of Mind towards him, he takes Courage, speaks of himself more freely, and justifies himself more boldly, as may be seen, *Ch. 1. 12. & 2. 14. & 6. 10. & 10. 1. & 13. 10.* And as to his Opposers, he deals more roundly and sharply with them, than he had done in his former Epistle, as appears from *Ch. 2. 17. & 4. 2—5. & 5. 12. & 6. 11—16. & 11. 11. & 12. 15.*

The Observation of these Particulars may possibly be of Use to give us some Light, for the better Understanding of this second Epistle, especially if we add, that the main Business of this, as of his former Epistle, is to take off

An. Ch. 57. off the People from the new Leader they had got, who was St. Paul's Opposer; and wholly to put an end to the Faction and Disorder which that false Apostle had caused in the Church of Corinth. He also in this Epistle stirs them up again to a liberal Contribution to the poor Saints at Jerusalem.

This Epistle was writ in the same Year, not long after the former.

SECTION I.

CHAP. I. 1, 2.

INTRODUCTION.

TEXT.

1. PAUL an Apostle of Jesus Christ, by the Will of God, and Timothy our Brother (a), to the Church of God which is in Corinth, with all the
2. Christians that are in all Achaia (b); Favour and Peace be to you from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

PAUL an apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, and Timothy our brother, unto the church of God which is at Corinth, with all the saints which are in all Achaia:

Grace be to you, and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

NOTES.

1 (a) Brother, i. e. either in the common Faith; and so, as we have already remarked, he frequently calls all the Converted, as Rom. 1. 13. and in other places; or Brother in the Work of the Ministry, vid. Rom. 16. 21. 1 Cor. 13. 10. To which we may add, that St. Paul may be supposed to have given Timothy the Title of Brother here for Dignity's sake, to give him a Reputation above his Age amongst the Corinthians, to whom he had before sent him, with some kind of Authority to rectify their Disorders. Timothy was but a young Man, when St. Paul writ his first Epistle to him, as appears, 1 Tim. 4. 12. Which Epistle, by the Consent of all, was writ to Timothy after he had been at Corinth: And in the Opinion of some very learned Men, not less than eight Years after; and therefore his calling him Brother here, and joining him with himself in writing this Epistle, may be to let the Corinthians see, that though he were so young who had been sent to them; yet it was one whom St. Paul thought fit to treat very much as an Equal.

(b) Achaia, the Country wherein Corinth stood.

SECT. II. N. 1.

CHAP. I. 3—VII. 16.

CONTENTS.

THIS first part of this Second Epistle of St. Paul to the Corinthians, is spent in justifying himself against several Imputations from the opposite Faction. And setting himself right in the Opinion of the Corinthians. The Particulars whereof we shall take notice of in the following Numbers.

SECT.

S E C T. II. N. I.

C H A P. I. 3—14.

C O N T E N T S.

HE begins with justifying his former Letter to them, which had afflicted them, *vid.* ch. 7. 7, 8. by telling them, that he thanks God for his Deliverance out of his Afflictions, because it enables him to comfort them by the Example both of his Affliction and Deliverance, acknowledging the Obligation he had to them and others for their Prayers and Thanks for his Deliverance, which he presumes they could not but put up for him, since his Conscience bears him witness (which was his Comfort) that in his Carriage to all Men, and to them more especially, he had been direct and sincere, without any self or carnal Interest, and that what he writ to them had no other Design but what lay open, and they read in his Words, and did also acknowledge, and he doubted not but they should always acknowledge, part of them acknowledging also, that he was the Man they gloried in, as they shall be his Glory in the Day of the Lord. From what St. Paul says in this Section (which if read with Attention will appear to be writ with a Turn of great Insinuation) it may be gathered, that the opposite Faction endeavour'd to evade the Force of the former Epistle, by suggesting, that, whatever he might pretend, St. Paul was a cunning, artificial, self-interested Man, and had some hidden Design in it, which Accusation appears in other parts also of this Epistle; as, *Ch.* 4. 2, 5.

T E X T.

P A R A P H R A S E.

³ **B**lessed be God, even the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of mercies, and the God of all comfort;

⁴ Who comforteth us in all our tribulation, that we may be able to comfort them which are in any trouble, by the comfort wherewith we our selves are comforted of God.

⁵ For as the sufferings of Christ abound in us, so our consolation also aboundeth by Christ.

⁶ And whether we be afflicted, it is for your consolation and salvation, which is effectual in the enduring of the same sufferings which we also suffer: or whether we be comforted, it is for your consolation and salvation.

Blessed be the God (c) and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Father of Mercies, and God of all Consolation, who comforteth me in all my Tribulations, that I may be able to comfort them (d), who are in any Trouble, by the Comfort which I receive from him. Because as I have suffered abundantly for Christ, so through Christ I have been abundantly comforted; and both these for your Advantage. For my Affliction is for your Consolation and Relief (e), which is effected by a patient Enduring those Sufferings, whereof you see an Example in me. And again, when I am comforted, it is for your Consolation and Relief, who may expect the like from the same compassionate God and Father.

N O T E S.

³ (c) That this is the right Translation of the *Greek* here, see *Eph.* 1. 3. & *1 Pet.* 1. 3. where the same words are so translated; and that it agrees with St. Paul's Sense, see *Eph.* 17.

⁴ (d) He means here the Corinthians, who were troubled for their Miscarriage towards him; *vid.* *Ch.* 7. 7.

⁶ (e) *Σωτηρία*, Relief, rather than Salvation; which is understood, of Deliverance from Death and Hell; but here it signifies only Deliverance from their present Sorrow.

Upon

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PARAPHRASE TEXT.

7. Upon which Ground I have firm Hopes, as concerning you, being assured, that as you have had your Share of Sufferings, so ye shall likewise have of Consolation. For I would not have you ignorant, Brethren, of the Load of the Afflictions in *Asia*, that were beyond Measure heavy upon me, and beyond my Strength; so that I could see no way of escaping with Life. But I had the Sentence of Death [in my self, that I might not trust in my self, but in God, who can restore to Life even those who are actually dead, who delivered me from so eminent a Danger of Death, who doth deliver, and in whom I trust he will yet deliver me: You also joining the Assistance of your Prayers for me; so that Thanks may be returned by many for the Deliverance procured me by the Prayers of many Persons. For I cannot doubt of the Prayers and Concern of you and many others for me, since my glorying is this, *viz.* the Testimony of my own Conscience, that in Plainness of Heart, and Sincerity before God, not in fleshly Wisdom (*f*), but by the Favour of God directing me (*g*), I have behaved my self towards all Men, but more particularly towards you. For I have no Design, no Meaning in what I write to you, but what lies open, and is legible in what you read: and you your selves cannot but acknowledge it to be so; and I hope you shall always acknowledge it to the end; as part of you have already acknowledg'd that I am your Glory (*h*), as you will be mine at the Day of Judgment, when, being my Scholars and Converts, ye shall be saved.

And our hope of you⁷ is steadfast, knowing that as you are partakers of the sufferings, so shall ye be also of the consolation.

For we would not, brethren, have you ignorant of our trouble which came to us in *Asia*, that we were pressed out of measure, above strength, inasmuch that we despaired even of life:

But we had the sentence of death in ourselves, that we should not trust in our selves, but in God which raiseth the dead.

Who delivered us from so great a death, and doth deliver: in whom we trust that he will yet deliver us:

You also helping together by prayer for us, that for the gift bestowed upon us by the means of many persons, thanks may be given by many on our behalf.

For our rejoicing is this, the testimony of our conscience, that in simplicity and godly sincerity, not with fleshly wisdom, but by the grace of God, we have had our conversation in the world, and more abundantly to you-wards.

For we write none other things, unto you, than what you read or acknowledge, and I trust you shall acknowledge even to the end.

As also you have acknowledged us in part, that we are your rejoicing, even as ye also are ours in the day of the Lord Jesus.

NOTES.

12 (*f*) What *Fleshly Wisdom* is, may be seen *Ch. 4. 2, 5.*

(*g*) This *ἀλλ' ἐν χάριτι Θεοῦ*, *But in the Favour of God*, is the same with *ἀλλὰ χάρις Θεοῦ ἐστὶν ὑμῖν*, *The Favour of God that is with me*, i. e. by God's favourable Assistance.

14 (*h*) *That I am your Glory*; whereby he signifies that Part of them which stuck to him own'd him as their Teacher; in which sense, *Glorying* is much used in these Epistles to the Corinthians, upon the Occasion of the several Partisans boasting, some that they were of Paul, and others of Apollos.

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S E C T. II. N. 2.

C H A P. I. 15—II. 17.

C O N T E N T S.

THE next thing St. Paul justifies, is, his not coming to them. St. Paul had promised to call on the *Corinthians* in his way to *Macedonia*, but failed. This his Opposers would have to be from Levity in him, or a Mind that regulated it self wholly by carnal Interest; *vid. ver. 17.* To which he answers, that God himself having confirmed him amongst them, by the *Uñction* and Earnest of his Spirit in the Ministry of the Gospel of his Son, whom he Paul had preached to them steadily the same, without any the least Variation, or Unsayings any thing he had at any time delivered, they could have no Ground to suspect him to be an unstable uncertain Man, that would play fast and loose with them, and could not be depended on in what he said to them. This is what he says, *cb. 1. 15—22.*

In the next place he, with a very solemn Affelevation, professes that it was to spare them that he came not to them. This he explains, *cb. 1. 23. and 2. 11.*

He gives another Reason, *cb. 2, 12, 13.* why he went on to *Macedonia*, without coming to *Corinth*, as he had purposed, and that was the Uncertainty he was in by the not coming of *Titus*, what Temper they were in at *Corinth*. Having mentioned his Journey to *Macedonia*, he takes notice of the Success which God gave to him there and every where, declaring of what Consequence his Preaching was both to the Salvation and Condemnation of those who received or rejected it: professing again his Sincerity and Disinterestedness, not without a severe Reflection on their false Apostle. All which we find in the following Verses, *viz. cb. 2. 14—17.* and is all very suitable, and pursuant to his Design in this Epistle, which was to establish his Authority and Credit amongst the *Corinthians*.

T E X T.

P A R A P H R A S E.

- | | | |
|--|--|---|
| <p>15 And in this confidence I was minded to come unto you before, that you might have a second benefit:</p> <p>16 And to pass by you into Macedonia, and to come again out of Macedonia unto you, and of you to be brought on my way towards Judea.</p> <p>17 When I therefore was thus minded, did I use lightness? or the things that I purpose, do I purpose according to the flesh, that with me there should be yea, yea, and nay, nay?</p> <p>18 But as God is true, our word toward you, was not yea and nay.</p> | <p>HAVING this Persuasion (<i>viz.</i>) of your Love and Esteem of me, I purposed to come unto you e'er this, that you might have a second Gratification (<i>i</i>), and to take you in my way to <i>Macedonia</i>, and from thence return to you again, and by you be brought on in my Way to <i>Judea</i>. If this fell not out so as I purposed, am I therefore to be condemned of Fickleness? or am I to be thought an uncertain Man, that talks forwards and backwards, one that has no Regard to his Word any further than may suit his carnal Interest? But God is my Witness, that what you have heard from me has not been un-</p> | <p>15.</p> <p>16.</p> <p>17.</p> <p>18.</p> |
|--|--|---|

N O T E S.

15 (*i*) By the word *χρῆς*, which our Bibles translate *Benefits* or *Grace*, 'tis plain the Apostle means his being present among them a second time, without giving them any Grief or Displeasure. He had been with them before almost two Years together with Satisfaction and Kindness. He intended them another Visit, but it was, he says, that they might have the like Gratification, *i. e.* the like Satisfaction in his Company a second time, which is the same he says, *2 Co. 2. 1.*

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certain,

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PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

19. certain, deceitful, or variable. For Jesus Christ the Son of God, who was preached among you by me, and *Silvanus*, and *Timotheus*, was not, sometimes one thing, and sometimes another, but has been shewn to be uniformly one and the same in the Counsel or Revelation of God, (for all the Promises of God do all consent and stand firm in him) to the Glory of God by my Preaching. Now it is God who establishes me with you for the Preaching of the Gospel, who has anointed (*k*), And also sealed (*l*) me, and given me the Earnest (*m*) of his Spirit in my Heart.
20. Moreover I call God to witness, and may I die if it is not so, that it was to spare you that I came not yet to *Corinth*: Not that I pretend to such a Dominion over your Faith, as to require you to believe what I have taught you without coming to you, when I am expected there to maintain and make it good; for 'tis by that Faith you stand: But I forbore to come as one concerned to preserve and help forwards your Joy, which I am tender of, and therefore declined coming to you, whilst I thought you in an Estate that would require Severity from me, that would trouble you (*n*).
21. I purposed in my self, 'tis true, to come to you again, but I resolved too, it should be without bringing Sorrow with me (*o*); For if I grieve you, who is there, when I am with you, to comfort me, but those very Persons whom I have discomposed with Grief? And

For the Son of God,¹⁹ Jesus Christ, who was preached among you by us, even by me and Silvanus, and Timotheus, was not yea and nay, but in him was yea.

For all the Promises of²⁰ God in him are yea, and in him amen, unto the glory of God by us.

Now he which 'stablish-²¹eth us with you in Christ, and hath anointed us is God:

Who hath also sealed us,²² and given the earnest of the Spirit in our hearts.

Moreover, I call God²³ for a record upon my soul, that to spare you I came not as yet unto Corinth.

Not for that we have²⁴ dominion over your faith, but are helpers of your Joy: for by faith ye stand.

But I determined thus¹ with my self, that I would not come again to you in heaviness.

For if I make you sorry,² who is he then that maketh me glad, but the same which is made sorry by me?

NOTES.

21 (*l*) *Anointed*, i. e. set apart to be an Apostle by an extraordinary Call. Priests and Prophets were set apart by Anointing as well as Kings.

22 (*l*) *Sealed*, i. e. by the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost; which are an Evidence of the Truths he brings from God, as a Seal is of a Letter.

(*m*) *Earnest* of Eternal Life; for of that the Spirit is mentioned as a Pledge in more places than one, *vid.* 2 Cor. 5. 5. Eph. 1. 13, 14. All these are Arguments to satisfy the Corinthians, that St. Paul was not, nor could be a shuffling Man, that minded not what he said, but as it served his turn.

The Reasoning of St. Paul, ver. 18—22. whereby he would convince the Corinthians, that he is not a fickle unsteady Man, that says and unsays as may suit his Humour and Interest; being a little obscure, by reason of the shortness of his Style here, which has left many things to be supplied by the Reader, to connect the Parts of the Argumentation, and make the Deduction clear; I hope I shall be pardon'd if I endeavour to set it in its clear Light, for the sake of ordinary Readers.

God hath set me apart to the Ministry of the Gospel by an extraordinary Call; has attested my Mission by the miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost, and given me the Earnest of eternal Life in my Heart by his Spirit, and hath confirmed me amongst you in preaching the Gospel, which is all uniform, and of a piece, as I have preach'd it to you, without tripping in the least: And there, to the Glory of God, have shewn that all the Promises concur, and are unalterably certain in Christ. I therefore having never falter'd in any thing I have said to you, and having all these Attestations of being under the special Direction and Guidance of God himself, who is unalterably true, cannot be suspected of dealing doubly with you in any thing relating to my Ministry.

24 (*n*) It is plain St. Paul's Doctrine had been oppos'd by some of them at *Corinth*, *vid.* 1 Cor. 15. 12. His Apostleship question'd, 1 Cor. 9. 1, 2. 2 Cor. 13. 3. He himself triumphed over, as if he durst not come, 1 Cor. 4. 18. they saying his Letters were weighty and powerful, but his bodily Presence weak, and his Speech contemptible; 2 Cor. 10. 10. This being the State his Reputation was then in at *Corinth*, and he having promised to come to them, 1 Cor. 16. 5. he could not but think it necessary to excuse his failing them, by Reasons that should be both convincing and kind; such as are contained in this Verse in the Sense given of it.

1 (*o*) That this is the Meaning of this Verse, and not that he would not come to them in Sorrow a second time, is past Doubt, since he had never been with them in Sorrow a first time. *Vid.* 2 Cor. 1. 15.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 3 And I wrote this same unto you, lest when I came, I should have sorrow from them of whom I ought to rejoice, having confidence in you all, that my joy is the joy of you all.
- 4 For out of much affliction and anguish of heart, I wrote unto you with many tears; not that you should be grieved, but that ye might know the love which I have more abundantly unto you.
- 5 But if any have caused grief, he hath not grieved me, but in part: that I may not overcharge you all.
- 6 Sufficient to such a man is this punishment which was inflicted of many.
- 7 So that contrariwise ye ought rather to forgive him, and comfort him, lest perhaps such a one should be swallowed up with overmuch sorrow.
- 8 Wherefore I beseech you, that ye would confirm your love towards him.
- 9 For to this end also did I write, that I might know the proof of you, whether ye be obedient in all things.
- 10 To whom ye forgive any thing, I forgive also: for if I forgave any thing, to whom I forgave it, for your sakes forgave I it, in the person of Christ;
- 11 Lest Satan should get an advantage of us: for we are not ignorant of his devices.

this very thing (p), which made you sad, I writ to you, not coming my self, on purpose that when I came I might not have Sorrow from those from whom I ought to receive Comfort; having this Belief and Confidence in you all, that you, all of you, make my Joy and Satisfaction so much your own, that you would remove all Cause of Disturbance before I came. For I writ unto you with great Sadness of Heart, and many Tears, not with Intention to grieve you, but that you might know the Overflow of Tenderness and Affection which I have for you. But if the Fornicator has been the Cause of Grief, I do not say he has been so to me, but in some degree to you all, that I may not lay load on him (q); The Correction he hath received from the Majority of you, is sufficient in the Case: So that on the contrary (r) it is fit rather that you forgive and comfort him, lest he (s) should be swallowed up by an Excess of Sorrow. Wherefore I beseech you to confirm your Love to him, which I doubt not of. For this also was one End of my writing to you, viz. To have a Trial of you, and to know whether you are ready to obey me in all things. To whom you forgive any thing, I also forgive. For if I have forgiven any thing, I have forgiven it to him for your sakes, by the Authority and in the Name of Christ; That we may not be over-reach'd by Satan, for we are not ignorant of his Wiles.

Further-

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NOTES.

(p) Καὶ ἔγραψα ὑμῖν τὴν αὐτὴν ἀντὶ τοῦ, *And I writ to you this very thing.* That ἔγραψα, I writ, relates here to the first Epistle to the Corinthians, is evident, because it is so used in the very next Verse, and again a little lower, ver. 9. What therefore is it in his first Epistle which he here calls τὴν αὐτὴν, *this very thing*, which he had writ to them? I answer, the Punishment of the Fornicator. This is plain by what follows here to ver. 11. especially if it be compared with 1 Cor. 4. 21. & 5. 8. For there he writes to them to punish that Person; whom if he, St. Paul, had come himself before it was done, he must have come, as he calls it, with a Rod, and have himself chastised: But now that he knows that the Corinthians had punish'd him in Compliance to his Letter; and he had had this Trial of their Obedience, he is so far from continuing the Severity, that he writes to them to forgive him, and take him again into their Affection.

5 (q) St. Paul being satisfied with the Corinthians for their ready Compliance with his Orders, in his former Letter, to punish the Fornicator, intercedes to have him restored; and to that end lessens his Fault, and declares, however he might have caused Grief to the Corinthians, yet he had caused none to him.

7 (r) Ταναντία, *on the contrary*, here, has nothing to refer to but ἐπιβαρύνω, *over-charge*, in the 5th Verse, which makes that to belong to the Fornicator, as I have explain'd it.

(s) Ὁ τοιοῦτος, *such an one*, meaning the Fornicator. It is observable how tenderly St. Paul deals with the Corinthians in this Epistle; for though he treats of the Fornicator from the 5th to the 10th Verse inclusively, yet he never mentions him under that or any other dis-

An. Ch. 57.
Nero 3.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

12. Furthermore, being arrived at *Troas*, because *Titus*, whom I expected from *Corinth* with News of you, was not come, I was very uneasie (r) there, inasmuch that I made not use of the Opportunity which was put into my Hands by the Lord, of preaching the Gospel of Christ, for which I came thither. I hastily left those of *Troas*, and departed thence to *Macedonia*. But
13. Thanks be to God, in that he always makes me triumph every where (u) through Christ, who gives me Success in preaching the Gospel, and spreads the Knowledge of Christ by me. For my Ministry and Labour in the Gospel, is a Service or sweet-smelling Sacrifice to God through Christ, both in regard of those that are saved and those that perish: To the one my preaching is of ill Savour, unacceptable and offensive, by their rejecting whereof they draw Death on themselves; and to the other, being as a sweet Savour, acceptable, they thereby receive eternal Life. And who is sufficient for these things (v)? and yet, as I said, my Service in the Gospel is well-pleasing to
14. God. For I am not as several (x) are, who are Hucksters of the Word of God, preaching it for Gain: But I preach the Gospel of Jesus Christ in Sincerity. I speak as from God himself, and I deliver it as in the Presence of God.

Furthermore, when I came to *Troas* to preach Christ's gospel, and a door was opened unto me of the Lord.

I had no rest in my spirit, because I found not *Titus* my brother: but taking my leave of them, I went from thence into *Macedonia*.

Now thanks be unto God, which always causeth us to triumph in Christ, and maketh manifest the favour of his knowledge by us in every place.

For we are unto God a sweet savour of Christ, in them that are saved, and in them that perish.

To the one we are the savour of death unto death; and to the other the savour of life unto life: and who is sufficient for these things?

For we are not as many, which corrupt the word of God: but as of sincerity, but as of God, in the sight of God speak we in Christ.

NOTES.

obliging Title, but in the soft and inoffensive Terms of *any one*, or *such an one*. And that possibly may be the reason why he says *μητις βαρβαρι*, indefinitely, without naming the Person it relates to.

12 (r) How uneasie he was, and upon what account, see *Ch. 7. 5*—16. It was not barely for *Titus's* Absence, but for want of the News he brought with him; *Ch. 7. 7*.

14 (u) *Who makes me triumph every where*, i. e. in the Success of my preaching in my Journey to *Macedonia*, and also in my Victory at the same time at *Corinth* over the false Apostles, my Opposers, that had raised a Faction against me amongst you. This, I think is *St. Paul's* meaning, and the reason of his using the word *Triumph*, which implies Contest and Victory, though he places that word so, as modestly to cover it.

16 (v) *Vid. ch. 3. 5, 6.*

17 (x) This, I think, may be understood of the false Apostle.

SECT. II. N. 3.

CHAP. III. 1—VII. 16.

CONTENTS.

HIS speaking well of himself, (as he did sometimes in his first Epistle, and with much more Freedom in this, which, as it seems, had been objected to him amongst the *Corinthians*) his Plainness of Speech, and his Sincerity in preaching the Gospel, are the things which he chiefly justifies in this Section many ways. We shall observe his Arguments as they come in the Order of *St. Paul's* Discourse, in which are mingled, with great Insinuation,

tion, many Expressions of an overflowing Kindness to the Corinthians, not without some Exhortations to them.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

1 **D**O we begin again to commend our selves? or need we, as some others, epistles of commendation to you, or letters of commendation from you?

2 Ye are our epistle written in our hearts, known and read of all men:

3 Forasmuch as ye are manifestly declared to be the epistle of Christ, ministered by us, written not with ink, but with the Spirit of the living God; not in tables of stone, but in fleshy tables of the heart.

4 And such trust have we through Christ to Godward.

5 Not that we are sufficient of our selves to think any thing as of our selves: but our sufficiency is of God.

6 Who also hath made us able ministers of the new

DO I begin again to commend my self (γ), or need I, as some (z), commendatory Letters to, or from you? You are my commendatory Epistle written in my Heart, known and read by all Men. I need no other commendatory Letter, but that you, being manifested to be the commendatory Epistle of Christ written on my Behalf, not with Ink, but with the Spirit of the Living God, not on Tables of Stone (a), but of the Heart, whereof I was the Amanuensis, i. e. your Conversation was the Effect of my Ministry. (b) And this so great Confidence have I through Christ in God. Not as if I were sufficient of my self to reckon (c) upon any thing as of my self, but my Sufficiency, my Ability to perform any thing, is wholly from God: Who has fitted and enabled me to be a Minister of the New Testament, not of the Letter (d), but of the Spirit; for the Letter kills (e), but the

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NOTES.

1 (γ) This is a plain Indication that he had been blamed amongst them for commending himself. (z) Seems to intimate, that their false Apostle had got himself recommended to them by Letters, and so had introduced himself into that Church.

3 (a) The Sense of St. Paul in this 3d Verse is plainly this, That he needed no Letters of Commendation to them, but that by their Conversion, and the Gospel written not with Ink, but with the Spirit of God in the Tables of their Hearts, and not in Tables of Stone by his Ministry, was as clear an Evidence and Testimony to them of his Mission from Christ, as the Law writ in Tables of Stone was an Evidence of Moses's Mission; so that he, St. Paul, needed no other Recommendation: This is what is to be understood by this Verse, unless we will make the Tables of Stone to have no Signification here. But to say as he does, that the Corinthians being writ upon in their Hearts, not with Ink, but with the Spirit of God, by the Hand of St. Paul, was Christ's commendatory Letter of him, being a pretty bold Expression, liable to the Exception of the captious part of the Corinthians: He, to obviate all Imputation of Vanity or vain-Glory, herein immediately subjoins what follows in the next Verse.

4 (b) As if he had said, But mistake me not as if I boasted of my self: This so great Boasting that I use, is only my Confidence in God through Christ: For it was God that made me Minister of the Gospel, that bestowed on me the Ability for it; and whatever I perform in it, is wholly for him.

5 (c) Περὶ ἑαυτοῦ, Trust, a milder Term for Boasting, for so St. Paul uses it, Ch. 10. 7. compared with ver. 8. where also λογίζομαι, ver. 7. is used as here, for counting upon one's self; St. Paul also uses πεποιθὼς for thou boastest, Rom. 2. 19, which will appear, if compared with ver. 17. or if λογίζομαι shall rather be thought to signify here, to discover by Reasoning, then the Apostle's Sense will run thus: "Not as if I were sufficient of my self, by the Strength of my own natural Parts, to attain the Knowledge of the Gospel-truths that I preach, but my Ability herein is all from God." But in whatever Sense λογίζομαι is here taken, 'tis certain ἵ, which is translated any thing, must be limited to the Subject in hand, viz. the Gospel that he preach'd to them.

6 (d) Οὐ γράμματι ἀλλὰ πνεύματι, not of the Letter, but of the Spirit. By expressing himself as he does here, St. Paul may be understood to intimate that the New Testament or Covenant, was also, tho' obscurely, held forth in the Law: For he says he was constituted a Minister, πνεύματι, of the Spirit, or spiritual meaning of the Law, which was Christ, (as he tells us himself, ver. 17.) and giveth Life whilst the Letter killeth. But both Letter and Spirit must be understood of the same thing, viz. The Letter of the Law, and the Spirit of the Law. And in Fact we find St. Paul truly a Minister of the Spirit of the Law, especially in his Epistle to the Hebrews, where he shews what a spiritual Sense ran through the Mosaiical Institution and Writings.

(e) The Letter kills, i. e. pronouncing Death, without any way of Remission, on all Transgressors, leaves them under an irrevocable Sentence of Death. But the Spirit, i. e. Christ, ver. 17. who is a quickening Spirit, 1 Cor. 15. 45. giveth Life.

Spirit

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

7. Spirit gives Life. But if the Ministry of the Law written in Stone, which condemns to Death, were so glorious to *Moses*, that his Face shone so that the Children of *Israel* could not steadily behold the Brightness of it, which was but temporary, and was quickly to vanish (f). How can it be otherwise, but that the Ministry of the Spirit, which giveth Life, should confer more Glory and Lustre on the Ministers of the Gospel? For if the Ministration of Condemnation were Glory, the Ministry of Justification (g) in the Gospel doth certainly much more exceed in Glory. 10. Though even the Glory that *Moses's* Ministration had, was no Glory, in comparison of the far more excellent Glory of the Gospel-Ministry (h). Farther, if that which is temporary, and to be done away, were delivered with Glory, how much rather is that which remains without being done away to appear in Glory (i)? Wherefore having such Hope, (k) we use great Freedom and Plainness of Speech: And not as *Moses*, who put a Veil over his Face, do we veil the Light,

testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit: for the letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.

But if the ministration of death written and engraven in stones, was glorious, so that the children of *Israel* could not stedfastly behold the face of *Moses*, for the glory of his countenance, which glory was to be done away;

How shall not the ministration of the spirit be rather glorious?

For if the ministration of condemnation be glory, much more doth the ministration of Righteousness exceed in glory.

For even that which was made glorious, had no glory in this respect, by reason of the glory that excelleth.

For if that which is done away was glorious, much more that which remaineth is glorious.

Seeing then that we have such hope, we use great plainness of speech.

NOTES.

7 (f) Καταργούμενον, *done away*, is applied here to the shining of *Moses's* Face, and to the Law, ver. 11, & 13. In all which places it is used in the Present Tense, and has the Signification of an Adjective, standing for temporary, or of a Duration, whose end was determined, and is opposed to τὸ μένον, *that which remaineth*, i. e. that which is lasting, and hath no predetermined end set to it, as ver. 11. where the Gospel-Dispensation is called τὸ μένον, *that which remaineth*: This may help us to understand ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, ver. 18. *from Glory to Glory*, which is manifestly opposed to δόξῃ καταργούμενον, the *Glory done away*, of this Verse; And so plainly signifies a continued lasting Glory of the Ministers of the Gospel; which, as he tells us there, consisted in their being changed into the image and clear Representation of the Lord himself; as the Glory of *Moses* consisted in the transitory Brightness of his Face, which was a faint Reflection of the Glory of God appearing to him in the Mount.

9 (g) διακονία τῆς δικαιοσύνης, *the Ministration of Righteousness*; so the Ministry of the Gospel is called, because by the Gospel a way is provided for the Justification of those who have transgressed: But the Law has nothing but rigid condemnation for all Transgressors, and therefore is called here *the Ministration of Condemnation*.

10 (h) Though the shewing that the Ministry of the Gospel is more glorious than that of the Law, be what St. Paul is upon here, thereby to justify himself, if he has assumed some Authority and Commendation to himself, in his Ministry and Apostleship; yet in his thus industriously placing the Ministry of the Gospel in Honour above that of *Moses*, may he not possibly have an Eye to the judaizing false Apostle of the Corinthians, to let them see what little Regard was to be had to that Ministration, in comparison of the Ministry of the Gospel?

(i) Here St. Paul mentions another Pre-eminency and Superiority of Glory in the Gospel over the Law, viz. That the Law was to cease and to be abolish'd, but the Gospel to remain and never be abolish'd.

12 (k) *Such Hope*: That St. Paul by these words means the so honourable Employment of an Apostle and Minister of the Gospel, or the Glory belonging to his Ministry in the Gospel, is evident by the whole foregoing Comparison which he has made, which is all along between διακονία, *the Ministry* of the Law and of the Gospel, and not between the Law and the Gospel themselves. The calling of it *Hope* instead of *Glory* here, where he speaks of his having of it, is the Language of Modesty, which more particularly suited his present Purpose. For the Conclusion, which in this Verse he draws from what went before, plainly shews the Apostle's Design in this Discourse, to be the Justifying his speaking freely of himself and others; his Argument amounting to thus much.

Having therefore so honourable an Employment, as is the Ministry of the Gospel, which far exceeds the Ministry of the Law in Glory, though even that gave so great a Lustre to *Moses's* Face, that the Children of *Israel* could not with fixed Eyes look upon him; I, as becomes one of such Hopes, in such a Post as sets me above all mean Considerations and Compliances, use great Freedom and Plainness of Speech in all things that concern my Ministry.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

13 And not as Moses, which put a veil over his face, that the children of Israel could not stedfastly look to the end of that which is abolished.

14 But their minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the same veil untaken away, in the reading of the old testament; which veil is done away in Christ.

15 But even unto this day, when Moses is read, the veil is upon their heart.

16 Nevertheless, when it shall turn to the Lord, the veil shall be taken away.

17 Now the Lord is that Spirit: and where the Spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty.

18 But we all with open face, beholding as in a glass the glory of the Lord,

so that the Obscurity of what we deliver, should hinder (l) the Children of Israel from seeing in the Law, which was to be done away, Christ who was the end (m) of the Law: But their not seeing it, is from the Blindness of their own Minds; For unto this Day the same Veil remains upon their Understandings in reading of the Old Testament, which Veil is done away in Christ, i. e. Christ, now he is come, so exactly answers all the Types, Prefigurations, and Predictions of him in the Old Testament, that presently, upon turning our Eyes upon him, he visibly appears to be the Person designed, and all the Obscurity of those Passages concerning him, which before were not understood, is taken away, and ceases. Nevertheless, even until now, when the Writings of Moses are read, the Veil (n) remains upon their Hearts, they see not the spiritual and evangelical Truths contain'd in them. But when their Heart shall turn to the Lord, and laying by Prejudice and Aversion, shall be willing to receive the Truth, the Veil shall be taken away, and they shall plainly see him to be the Person spoken of and intended (o). But the Lord is the Spirit (p) whereof we are Ministers; and they who have this Spirit, they have liberty (q), so that they speak openly and freely: But we, all the faithful Ministers of the

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NOTES.

13 (l) Πᾶς τὸ μὴ ἀτενίσαι, &c. That the Children of Israel could not stedfastly look, &c. St. Paul is here justifying himself, and other Ministers of the Gospel, the Plainness and Openness of their Preaching, which he had asserted in the immediately preceding Verse. These Words therefore here, must of necessity be understood not of Moses, but of the Ministers of the Gospel, viz. That it was not the Obscurity of their preaching, nor any thing veiled in their way of proposing the Gospel, which was the Cause why the Children of Israel did not understand the Law to the Bottom, and see Christ, and the end of it, in the Writings of Moses. What St. Paul says in the next Verse, *But their Minds were blinded: for until this day remaineth the same Veil untaken away*, plainly determines the Words we are upon to the Sense I have taken them in: For what Sense is this? *Moses put a Veil over his Face, so that the Children of Israel could not see the end of the Law; but their Minds were blinded; for the Veil remains upon them until this Day.* But this is very good Sense, and to St. Paul's Purpose, viz. "We the Ministers of the Gospel speak plainly and openly, and put no Veil upon our selves, as Moses did, whereby to hinder the Jews from seeing Christ in the Law: But that which hinders them, is a Blindness on their Minds, which has been always on them, and remains to this Day." This seems to be an obviating an Objection which some among the Corinthians might make to his boasting of so much Plainness and Clearness in his preaching, viz. If you preach the Gospel, and Christ contained in the Law, with such a shining Clearness and Evidence, how comes it that the Jews are not converted to it? His Reply is, "Their Unbelief comes not from any Obscurity in our Preaching, but from a Blindness which rests upon their Minds to this Day; which shall be taken away when they turn to the Lord."

(m) Vid. Rom. 10. 2—4.

15 (n) St. Paul possibly alludes here to the Custom of the Jews, which continues still in the Synagogue, that when the Law is read they put a Veil over their Faces.

16 (o) When this shall be, see Rom. 11. 25—27.

17 (p) Ὁ δὲ κύριος τὸ πνεῦμα ὁ θεός, but the Lord is that Spirit; these words relate to ver. 6. where he says, that he is a Minister, not of the Letter of the Law, not of the Outside and literal Sense, but of the mystical and spiritual Meaning of it; which he here tells us is Christ.

(q) There is Liberty; because the Spirit is given only to Sons, or those that are free. See Rom. 8. 15. Gal. 4. 6, 7.

1. New Testament, not veiled (*r*), but with open Countenances, as Mirrours reflecting the Glory of the Lord, are changed into his very Image, by a continued Succession of Glory, as it were streaming upon us from the Lord, who is the Spirit who gives us this Clearness and Freedom. Seeing therefore I am intrusted with such a Ministry as this, according as I have received great Mercy, being extraordinarily and miraculously called when I was a Persecutor, I do not fail (*r*) nor flag, I do not behave myself unworthily in it, nor misbecoming the Honour and Dignity of such an Employment: But having renounced all unworthy and indirect Designs, which will not bear the Light, free from Craft, and from playing any deceitful Tricks in my preaching the Word of God, I recommend my self to every one's Conscience, only by ma-
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are changed into the same image, from glory to glory, even as by the Spirit of the Lord.

Therefore seeing we have this ministry, as we have received mercy we faint not:

But have renounced the hidden things of dishonesty, not walking in craftiness, nor handling the word of God deceitfully, but by manifestation of the truth, commending ourselves to every man's conscience in the sight of God.

NOTES.

18 (*r*) St. Paul justifies his Freedom and Plainness of Speech, by his being made by God himself a Minister of the Gospel, which is a more glorious Ministry than that of *Moses*, in promulgating the Law. This he does from *ver. 6.* to *ver. 12.* inclusively. From thence to the end of the Chapter, he justifies his Liberty of speaking, in that he, as a Minister of the Gospel, being illuminated with greater and brighter Rays of Light than *Moses*, was to speak (as he did) with more Freedom and Clearness than *Moses* had done. This being the Scope of St. Paul in this place, 'tis visible, that all from these words, *Who put a Veil upon his Face*, *ver. 13.* to the beginning of *ver. 18.* is a Parenthesis; which being laid aside, the Comparison between the Ministers of the Gospel and *Moses* stands clear; "*Moses* with a Veil covered the Brightness and Glory of God, which shone in his Countenance, but we the Ministers of the Gospel with open Countenances, *καλοπρεζόμενοι*, reflecting as Mirrours the Glory of the Lord. So the Word *καλοπρεζόμενοι* must signify here, and not *beholding as in a Mirrour*, because the Comparison is between the Ministers of the Gospel and *Moses*, and not between the Ministers of the Gospel and the Children of *Israel*: Now the Action of *beholding* was the Action of the Children of *Israel*, but of *shining or reflecting the Glory received in the Mount*, was the Action of *Moses*, and therefore it must be something answering that in the Ministers of the Gospel wherein the Comparison is made, as is farther manifest in another express part of the Comparison between the veiled Face of *Moses*, *ver. 13.* and the open Face of the Ministers of the Gospel in this Verse. The Face of *Moses* was veiled, that the bright shining or Glory of God remaining on it, or reflected from it, might not be seen, and the Faces of the Ministers of the Gospel are open, that the bright shining of the Gospel, or the Glory of Christ, may be seen. Thus the Justness of the Comparison stands fair, and has an easie Sense, which is hard to be made out, if *καλοπρεζόμενοι* be translated *beholding as in a Glass*.

Τὴν αὐτὴν εἰκόνα μετέμορφμεθα, *We are changed into that very Image*, i. e. the Reflection of the Glory of Christ from us is so very bright and clear, that we are changed into his very Image, whereas the Light that shone in *Moses's* Countenance, was but a faint Reflection of the Glory which he saw when God shew'd him his back-Parts; *Exod. 33. 23.*

Ἀπὸ δόξης εἰς δόξαν, *from Glory to Glory*, i. e. with a continued Influx and Renewing of Glory, in opposition to the shining of *Moses's* Face, which decay'd and disappear'd in a little while: *Ver. 7.*

Καθὰπερ ἀπὸ κυρίου πνεύματος, *as from the Lord the Spirit*, i. e. as if this Irradiation of Light and Glory came immediately from the Source of it, the Lord himself, who is that Spirit whereof we are the Ministers, *ver. 6.* which giveth Life and Liberty, *v. 17.*

This Liberty he here speaks of, *ver. 17.* is *παρρησία*, *Liberty of Speech*, mentioned *ver. 12.* the Subject of St. Paul's Discourse here; as is farther manifest from what immediately follows in the six first Verses of the next Chapter, wherein an attentive Reader may find a very clear Comment on this 18th Verse we are upon, which is there explain'd in the Sense we have given of it.

1 (*s*) "Οὐκ ἠκάλῃμεν, *we faint not*, is the same with *πολλὴ παρρησία χρῶμεθα*, *we use great Plainness of Speech*, *ver. 12.* of the foregoing Chapter, and signifies in both places the clear, plain, direct, disinterested Preaching of the Gospel, which is what he means in that figurative way of Speaking in the former Chapter, especially the last Verse of it, and which he more plainly expresses in the five or six first Verses of this. The whole Business of the first part of this Epistle being, as we have already observed, to justify to the *Corinthians* his Behaviour in his Ministry, and to convince them that in his preaching the Gospel he hath been plain, clear, open and candid, without any hidden Design, or the least Mixture of any concealed Secular Interest.

3 But if our gospel be hid, it is hid to them that are lost :

4 In whom the god of this world hath blinded the minds of them which believe not, lest the light of the glorious gospel of Christ, who is the image of God, should shine unto them.

5 For we preach not our selves, but Christ Jesus the Lord ; and our selves your servants for Jesus sake.

6 For God who commanded the light to shine out of darkness, hath shined in our hearts, to give the light of the knowledge of the glory of God, in the face of Jesus Christ.

7 But we have this treasure in earthen vessels, that the excellency of the power may be of God, and not of us.

8 We are troubled on every side, yet not distressed ; we are perplexed, but not in despair ;

9 Persecuted, but not forsaken ; cast down, but not destroyed.

10 Always bearing about in the body, the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our body.

11 For we which live, are always delivered unto death

king plain (t) the Truth which I deliver, as in the Presence of God. But if the Gospel which I preach be obscure and hidden, it is so only to those who are lost, in whom being Unbelievers, the God of this World (u) has blinded their Minds (w), so that the glorious (x) Brightness of the Light of the Gospel of Christ, who is the Image of God, cannot enlighten them. For I seek not my own Glory or secular Advantage in preaching, but only the propagating of the Gospel of the Lord Jesus Christ, professing myself your Servant for Jesus Sake. For God who made Light to shine out of Darkness, hath enlighten'd also my dark Heart, who before saw not the End of the Law, that I might communicate the Knowledge and Light of the Glory of God, which shines in the Face (y) of Jesus Christ. But yet we, to whom this Treasure of Knowledge the Gospel of Jesus Christ is committed to be propagated in the World, are but frail Men, that so the exceeding great Power that accompanies it may appear to be from God, and not from us. I am pressed on every side, but do not shrink : I am perplexed, but yet not so as to despond ; Persecuted, but yet not left to sink under it ; thrown down, but not slain ; Carrying about every where in my Body the Mortification, i. e. a Representation of the Sufferings of the Lord Jesus, that also the Life of Jesus risen from the Dead may be made manifest by the Energy that accompanies my Preaching in this frail Body. For as long as I live I shall be exposed to the Danger of Death for the sake of Jesus, that the Life of Jesus risen from the Dead, may be made manifest

NOTES.

2 (t) Ἀπεκάλυψα τὰ κρυπτά τῆς αἰσχύνῃς, have renounced the hidden things of Dishonesty, and τῇ φανερωσὶ τῆς ἀληθείας, by manifestation of the Truth. These Expressions explain ἀπακαλυμψὶς προσώπου, with open Face, ch. 3. 18.

4 (u) The God of this World, i. e. the Devil, so called, because the Men of the World worshipped and obey'd him as their God.

(w) Ἐτύφλωσε τὰ νοήματα, blinded their Minds, answers ἰσχυρώσει τὰ νοήματα, their Minds were blinded, ch. 3. 14. And the second and third Verse of this explains the 13th and 14th Verses of the preceding Chapter.

(x) Δόξα, Glory, here, as in the former Chapter, is put for Shining and Brightness ; so that ἐναισθησιον τῆς δόξης τῆς Χρυσῆς, is the Brightness or Clearness of the Doctrine wherein Christ is manifested in the Gospel.

6 (y) This is a Continuation still of the Allegory of Moses, and the Shining of his Face, &c. so much insisted on in the foregoing Chapter.

For the Explication whereof, give me leave to add here one Word more to what I have said upon it already ; Moses, by approaching to God in the Mount, had a Communication of Glory or Light from him, which irradiated from his Face when he descended from the Mount. Moses put a Veil over his Face, to hide this Light or Glory ; for both these Names St. Paul uses in this and the foregoing Chapter for the same thing. But the Glory or Light of the Knowledge of God more fully and clearly communicated by Jesus Christ, is said here to shine in his Face, and in that respect it is that Christ in the foregoing Verse is call'd by St. Paul, the Image of God ; and the Apostles are said in the last Verse of the precedent Chapter, to be transformed into the same Image from Glory to Glory, i. e. by their large and clear Communications of the Knowledge of God in the Gospel, they are said to be transformed into the same Image, and to represent as Mirrours the Glory of the Lord, and to be as it were the Images of Christ, as Christ is (as we are told here, ver. 4.) the Image of God.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

12. by my Preaching and Sufferings in this mortal Flesh of mine. So that the preaching of the Gospel procures Sufferings and Danger of Death to me, but to you it procures Life, i. e. the Energy of the Spirit of Christ whereby he lives in and gives Life to those who believe in him. Nevertheless though Suffering and Death accompany the preaching the Gospel, yet having the same Spirit of Faith that David had, when he said, I believe, therefore have I spoken, I also believing therefore speak, knowing that he who raised up the Lord Jesus shall raise me up also by Jesus, and present me with you to God. For I do and suffer all things for your sakes, that the exuberant Favour of God may abound by the Thanksgiving of a greater Number to the Glory of God, i. e. I endeavour by my Sufferings and Preaching to make as many Converts as I can, that so the more partaking of the Mercy and Favour of God, of which there is a plentiful and inexhaustible Store, the more may give Thanks unto him; it being more for the Glory of God, that a greater Number should give thanks and pray to him: For which reason I faint not, (2), I flag not, but tho' my bodily Strength decay, yet the Vigour of my Mind is daily renewed: For the more my Sufferings are here in propagating the Gospel, which at worst are but transient and light, the more will they procure me an exceedingly far greater Addition of that Glory (a) in Heaven which is solid and eternal: I having no regard to the visible things of this World, but to the invisible things of the other; for the things that are seen are temporal, but those that are not seen eternal. For I know, that if this my Body, which is but as a Tent for my sojourning here upon Earth for a short time, were dissolved, I shall have another of a divine Original, which shall not, like Buildings made with Men's Hands, be subject to decay, but shall be eternal in the Heavens. For in this Tabernacle (b) I groan earnestly, desiring, without putting off this mortal earthly Body by Death, to have that celestial Body superinduced: If so be, the coming (c) of Christ shall overtake me in this

for Jesus sake, that the life also of Jesus might be made manifest in our mortal flesh.

So then death worketh¹² in us, but life in you.

We having the same¹³ spirit of faith, according as it is written, I believed, and therefore have I spoken: we also believe, and therefore speak;

Knowing that he which¹⁴ raised up the Lord Jesus, shall raise up us also by Jesus, and shall present us with you.

For all things are for¹⁵ your sakes, that the abundant grace might, through the thanksgiving of many, redound to the glory of God.

For which cause we¹⁶ faint not, but though our outward man perish, yet the inward man is renewed day by day.

For our light affliction,¹⁷ which is but for a moment, worketh for us a far more exceeding and eternal weight of glory;

While we look not at¹⁸ the things which are seen, but at the things which are not seen: for the things which are seen, are temporary; but the things which are not seen are eternal.

For we know that if our earthly house of this tabernacle were dissolved, we have a building of God, an house not made with hands, eternal in the heavens.

For in this we groan² earnestly, desiring to be clothed upon with our house which is from heaven:

If so be, that being³ clothed, we shall not be found naked.

NOTES.

16 (2) *I faint not.* What this signifies we have seen, ver. 1. Here St. Paul gives another Proof of his Sincerity in his Ministry, and that is the Sufferings and Danger of Death, which he daily incurs by his Preaching the Gospel. And the reason why those Sufferings and Dangers deter him not, nor make him at all flag, he tells them, is, the Assurance he has that God, through Christ, will raise him again, and reward him with Immortality in Glory. This Argument he pursues, ch. 4. 17. and 5. 9.

17 (a) *Weight of Glory.* What an Influence St. Paul's Hebrew had upon his Greek, is every where visible. **כבד** in Hebrew signifies to be heavy, and to be glorious here in the Greek, St. Paul in the Greek joins them and says, *Weight of Glory.*

18 (b) *Vid. ver. 4.*

18 (c) That the Apostle look'd on the Coming of Christ as not far off, appears by what he says, 1 Thes. 4. 15. and 5. 6. which Epistle was written some Years before this. See also to the same purpose, 1 Cor. 1. 7. and 7. 29, 31. and 10. 11. Rom. 13. 11, 12. Heb. 10. 37.

Life

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 4 For we that are in this tabernacle do groan, being burdened: not for that we would be unclothed, but clothed upon, that mortality might be swallowed up of life.
- 5 Now he that hath wrought us for the self-same thing, is God, who also hath given unto us the earnest of the Spirit.
- 6 Therefore we are always confident, knowing that whilst we are at home in the body, we are absent from the Lord:
- 7 (For we walk by faith, not by sight)
- 8 We are confident, I say, and willing rather to be absent from the body, and to be present with the Lord.
- 9 Wherefore we labour, that whether present or absent we may be accepted of him.
- 10 For we must all appear before the judgment-seat
- Life before I put off this Body. For we that are in the Body groan under the Pressures and Inconveniences that attend us in it, which yet we are not therefore willing to put off, but had rather, without dying have it changed (*d*) into a celestial immortal Body, that so this mortal State may be put an end to, by an immediate Entrance into an immortal Life. Now it is God who prepares and fits us for this immortal State, who also gives us the Spirit as a Pledge (*e*) of it. Wherefore being always undaunted (*f*), and knowing that whilst I dwell or sojourn in this Body I am absent from my proper home, which is with the Lord (for I regulate my Conduct, not by the Enjoyment of the visible things of this World, but by my Hope and Expectation of the invisible things of the World to come) I with Boldness preach the Gospel, preferring in my Choice the quitting this Habitation to get home to the Lord. Wherefore I make this my only Aim, whether staying (*g*) here in this Body, or departing out of it, so to acquit my self, as to be acceptable to him (*h*). For we must all appear before the Judgment-Seat of Christ, that every one may receive according to what he has done in

NOTES.

4 (*d*) The same that he had told them in the first Epistle, *ch. 15. 51.* should happen to those who should be alive at Christ's coming. This I must own is no very easy Passage, whether we understand by *γυμνὸν* *naked*, as I do here the State of the Dead, unclothed with immortal Bodies, till the Resurrection; which Sense is favour'd by the same word, *1 Cor. 15. 37.* or whether we understand the *clothing upon*, which the Apostle desires, to be those immortal Bodies which Souls shall be clothed with at the Resurrection, which Sense of *clothing upon*, seems to be favour'd by *1 Cor. 15. 53, 54.* and is that which one should be inclined to, were it not accompanied with this Difficulty, *viz.* that then it would follow that the Wicked should not have immortal Bodies at the Resurrection. For whatever it be that St. Paul here means by being *clothed upon*, it is something that is peculiar to the Saints, who have the Spirit of God, and shall be with the Lord in Contra-distinction to others, as appears from the following Verses, and the whole Tenor of this Place.

5 (*e*) The Spirit is mentioned in more places than one, as the Pledge and Earnest of Immortality; more particularly, *Eph. 1. 13, 14.* which compared with *Rom. 8. 23.* shews that the Inheritance whereof the Spirit is the Earnest, is the same which the Apostle speaks of here, *viz.* the Possession of immortal Bodies.

6, 8 (*f*) *Θαππύλλης* and *Θαππύμεν*, *we are confident*, signifies in these two Verses the same that *ἐκ ἁναγκῆς*, *we faint not*, does, *ch. 4. 1,* and *16. i. e.* I go on undauntedly, without flagging, preaching the Gospel with Sincerity, and direct Plainness of Speech. This Conclusion which he draws here from the Consideration of the Resurrection and Immortality, is the same that he makes upon the same ground, *ch. 4. 14, 16.*

9 (*g*) *ἢτε ἰδνύμεντες, ἢτε ἰδνύμεντες*, *whether staying in the Body, or going out of it*, i. e. Whether I am to stay longer here, or suddenly to depart. This Sense the foregoing Verse leads us to, and what he says in this Verse, that he endeavours (whether *ἰδνύμεν*, or *ἰδνύμεν*) *to be well-pleasing to the Lord*, i. e. do what is well-pleasing to him, shews, that neither of these Words can signify here his being with Christ in Heaven. For when he is there, the time of endeavouring to approve himself is over.

(*h*) St. Paul from *ch. 4. 12.* to this place, has, to convince them of his Uprightness in his Ministry, been shewing that the Hopes and sure Expectation he had of eternal Life, kept him steady and resolute in an open sincere preaching of the Gospel, without any Tricks or deceitful Artifice. In which his Argument stands thus; "Knowing that God who raised up Christ, will raise me up again, I without any Fear or Consideration of what it may draw up on me, preach the Gospel faithfully, making this account, that the momentaneous Afflictions which for it I may suffer here, which are but slight in comparison of the eternal things of another Life, will exceedingly increase my Happiness in the other World, where I long to be, and therefore Death, which brings me home to Christ, is no Terror to me, all my Care is, that whether I am to stay longer in this Body, or quickly to leave it, living or dying I may approve my self to Christ in my Ministry." In the next two Verses he has another Argument to fix in the *Corinthians* the same Thoughts of him, and that is, the Punishment he shall receive at the Day of Judgment, if he should neglect to preach the Gospel faithfully, and not endeavour sincerely and earnestly to make Converts to Christ.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

11. the Body, whether it be good or bad. Knowing therefore this terrible Judgment of the Lord, I preach the Gospel, persuading Men to be Christians. And with what Integrity I discharge that Duty, is manifest to God, and I trust you also are convinced of it in your Consciences. And this I say, not that I commend (i) my self again: But that I may give you an occasion not to be ashamed of me, but to glory on my behalf, having wherewithal to reply to those who make a shew of glorying in outward Appearance, without doing so inwardly in their Hearts (k). For if (l) I am besides my self (m), in speaking as I do of my self, it is between God and me, he must judge, Men are not concerned in it, nor hurt by it: Or if I do it soberly, and upon good ground. If what I profess of my self be in Reality true, it is for your sake and advantage. For 'tis the Love of Christ constraineth me, judging as I do, that if Christ died for all, then all were dead: And that if he died for all, his Intention was, that they who by him have attain'd to a State of Life, should not any longer live to themselves alone, seeking only their own private advantage, but should imploy their Lives in promoting the Gospel and Kingdom of Christ, who for them died and rose again: So that from henceforth I have no Regard to any one, according to the Flesh (n), i. e. for being circumcised or a Jew. For if I my self have gloried in this, that Christ himself was circumcised as I am, and was of my Blood and Nation, I do so

of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad.

Knowing therefore the¹¹ terror of the Lord, we persuade men; but we are made manifest unto God, and I trust also are made manifest in your consciences.

For we commend not¹² our selves again unto you, but give you occasion to glory on our behalf; that you may have somewhat to answer them which glory in appearance, and not in heart.

For whether we be be-¹³ sides our selves, it is to God: or whether we be sober, it is for your cause.

For the love of Christ¹⁴ constraineth us, because we thus judge, that if one died for all, then were all dead:

And that he died for¹⁵ all, that they which live, should not henceforth live unto themselves, but unto him which died for them, and rose again.

Wherefore henceforth¹⁶ know we no man after the flesh: yea, though we have known Christ after the flesh, yet now henceforth know we him no more.

NOTES.

12 (i) From this place, and several others in this Epistle, it cannot be doubted but that his speaking well of himself, had been objected to him as a Fault. And in this lay his great Difficulty, how to deal with this People. If he answer'd nothing to what was talk'd of him, his Silence might be interpreted Guilt and Confusion: If he defended himself, he was accused of Vanity, Self-commendation and Folly. Hence it is that he uses so many Reasons to shew, that his whole Carriage was upon Principles far above all worldly Considerations: and tells them here, once for all, that the account he gives of himself is only to furnish them who are his Friends, and stuck to him, with Matter to justify themselves in their Esteem of him, and to reply to the contrary Faction.

(k) This may be understood of the Leaders of the opposite Faction, who, as 'tis manifest from ch. 10. 7, 15. and 11. 12, 22, 23. pretended to something that they gloried in, though St. Paul assures us they were satisfied in Conscience that they had no solid Ground of glorying.

13 (l) St. Paul from the 13th Verse of this Chapter, to ch. 6. 12. gives another Reason for his disinterested Carriage in preaching the Gospel, and that is his Love to Christ, who by his Death having given him Life who was dead, he concludes, that in Gratitude he ought not to live to himself any more. He therefore being as in a new Creation, had now no longer any regard to the Things or Persons of this World, but being made by God a Minister of the Gospel, he minded only the faithful Discharge of his Duty in that Ambassy, and pursuant thereunto took care that his Behaviour should be such as he describes, ch. 6. 3—10.

(m) Besides my self, i. e. in speaking well of my self in my own Justification. He that observes what St. Paul says, ch. 11. 1. and 16.—21. ch. 12. 6. and 11: will scarce doubt but that the speaking of himself, as he did, was by his Enemies called glorying, and imputed to him as Folly and Madness.

16 (n) This may be supposed to be said with Reflection on their Jewish false Apostle, who gloried in his Circumcision, and perhaps that he had seen Christ in the Flesh, or was some way related to him.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

17 Therefore if any man be in Christ, he is a new creature: old things are past away, behold, all things are become new.

18 And all things are of God, who hath reconciled us to himself by Jesus Christ, and hath given to us the ministry of reconciliation;

19 To wit, that God was in Christ, reconciling the world unto himself, not imputing their trespasses unto them; and hath committed unto us the word of reconciliation.

20 Now then we are ambassadors for Christ, as though God did beseech you by us: we pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God.

21 For he hath made him to be sin for us, who knew no sin: that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.

1 We then as workers together with him, beseech you also, that ye receive not the grace of God in vain.

2 (For he saith, I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of salvation have I succoured thee: behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation)

3 Giving no offence in any thing, that the ministry be not blamed:

4 But in all things approving our selves as the ministers of God, in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses,

now no more any longer. So that if any one be in Christ, it is as if he were in a new Creation (o), wherein all former mundane Relations, Considerations and Interests (p) are ceased, and at an end, all things in that State are new to him, and he owes his very Being in it, and the Advantages he therein enjoys, not in the least measure to his Birth, Extraction, or any legal Observances or Privileges, but wholly and solely to God alone; reconciling the World to himself by Jesus Christ, and not imputing their Trespasses to them. And therefore I whom God hath reconciled to himself, and to whom he hath given the Ministry, and committed the Word of his Reconciliation, as an Ambassador for Christ, as though God did by me beseech you, I pray you in Christ's stead, be ye reconciled to God. For God hath made him subject to Sufferings and Death, the Punishment and Consequence of Sin, as if he had been a Sinner, though he were guilty of no Sin; that we in and by him might be made righteous by a Righteousness imputed to us by God. I therefore working together with him, beseech you alway, that you receive not the Favour of God in the Gospel preached to you in vain (q). (For he saith, I have heard thee in a time accepted, and in the day of Salvation have I succoured thee: Behold now is the accepted time; behold now is the day of Salvation) giving no Offence to any one in any thing, that the Ministry be not blamed: But in every thing approving my self as becomes the Minister of God, by much Patience in Af-

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NOTES.

17 (o) *Gal. 6. 14.* may give some light to this place. To make this 16th and 17th Verses coherent to the rest of St. Paul's Discourse here, they must be understood in reference to the false Apostle, against whom St. Paul is here justifying himself, and makes it his main Business in this as well as his former Epistle, to shew what that false Apostle gloried in, was no just Cause of boasting. Pursuant to this Design of sinking the Authority and Credit of that false Apostle, St. Paul in these and the following Verses dextrously insinuates these two things: 1st, That the Ministry of Reconciliation being committed to him, they should not forsake him, to hearken to, and follow, that Pretender. 2dly, That they being in Christ, and the new Creation, should, as he does, not know any Man in the Flesh, nor esteem or glory in that false Apostle, because he might perhaps pretend to have seen our Saviour in the Flesh, or have heard him, or the like. *Ktisis* signifies *Creation*, and is so translated, *Rom. 8. 22.*

(p) *Tὰ ἀρχαία*, *old things*, perhaps may here mean the Jewish Oeconomy, for the false Apostle was a Jew, and as such assumed to himself some Authority probably by Right of Blood and Privilege of his Nation, *vid. 2 Cor. 11. 21, 22.* But that St. Paul here tells them, now under the Gospel is all antiquated and quite out of doors.

1 (q) *Receive the Grace of God in vain*, the same with *believing in vain*, *1 Cor. 15. 2. i. e.* receiving the Doctrine of the Gospel for true, and professing Christianity, without persisting in it, or performing what the Gospel requires.

flitions,

II CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

5. fictions, in Necessities, in Streights, in Stripes, in Imprisonments, in being tossed up and down, in Labours, in Watchings, in Fastings: By a Life undefiled; by Knowledge; by Long-sufferings; by the Gifts of the Holy Ghost; by Love unfeigned; by preaching of the Gospel of Truth sincerely; by the Power of God assisting my Ministry; by Uprightness of Mind, wherewith I am armed at all points, both to do and to suffer; by Honour and Disgrace; by good and bad Report, as a Deceiver (r), and yet faithful; as an obscure unknown Man, but yet known and owned; as one often in danger of Death, and yet behold I live; as chastened, but yet not killed; as sorrowful, but yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things. O ye Corinthians, my Mouth is opened to you, my Heart is enlarged (s) to you, my Affection, my Tenderness, my Compliance for you, is not streight or narrow. 'Tis your own Narrowness makes you uneasie. Let me speak to you as a Father to his Children; in return do you likewise enlarge your Affections and Deference to me. Be ye not associated with Unbelievers, have nothing to do with them in their Vices or Worship (t), for what Fellowship hath Righteousness with Unrighteousness? What Communion hath Light with Darkness? What Concord hath Christ with Belial (u)? Or what Part hath a Believer with an Unbeliever? What Agreement hath the Temple of God with Idols? For ye are the Temple of the living God, as God hath said, I will dwell in them, among them will I walk, and I will be their God, and they shall be my People.
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In stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings,

By pureness, by knowledge, by long-suffering, by kindness, by the holy Ghost, by love unfeigned,

By the word of truth, by the power of God, by the armour of righteousness, on the right hand and on the left,

By honour and dishonour, by evil report and good report: as deceivers, and yet true;

As unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold we live; as chastened, and not killed;

As sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing, and yet possessing all things.

O ye Corinthians, our mouth is open unto you, our heart is enlarged.

Ye are not straitened in us, but ye are straitened in your own bowels.

Now for a recompense in the same, (I speak as unto my children) be ye also enlarged.

Be ye not unequally yoked together with unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousness with unrighteousness? and what communion hath light with darkness?

And what concord hath Christ with Belial? or what part hath he that believeth with an infidel?

And what agreement hath the temple of God with idols? for ye are the temple of the living God; as God hath said, I will dwell in them; and walk in them; and I will be their God, and they shall be my people.

NOTES.

8 (r) *Deceiver*, a Title 'tis like he had received from some of the opposite Faction at Corinth, *Vid. ch. 12. 16.*

11 (s) Another Argument St. Paul makes use of to justify and excuse his Plainness of Speech to the *Corinthians*, is, the great Affection he has for them, which he here breaks out into an Expression of, in a very pathetic manner. This, with an Exhortation to separate from Idolaters and Unbelievers, is what he insists on from this place to *ch. 7. 16.*

14 (t) *Vid. ch. 7. 1.*

15 (u) *Belial* is a general Name for all the false Gods worshipped by the Idolatrous Gentiles.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

17 Wherefore come out from among them, and be ye separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing; and I will receive you.

18 And will be a father unto you, and ye shall be my sons and daughters, saith the Lord almighty.

1 Having therefore these promises (dearly beloved) let us cleanse our selves from all filthiness of the flesh and spirit, perfecting holiness in the fear of God.

2 Receive us: we have wronged no man, we have corrupted no man, we have defrauded no man.

3 I speak not this to condemn you: for I have said before, that you are in our hearts to die and live with you.

4 Great is my boldness of speech toward you, great is my glorying of you: I am filled with comfort, I am exceeding joyful in all our tribulation.

5 For when we were come into Macedonia, our flesh had no rest, but we were troubled on every side: without were fightings, within were fears.

6 Nevertheless, God that comforteth those that are cast down, comforted us by the coming of Titus:

7 And not by his coming only, but by the consolation wherewith he was comforted in you, when he told us your earnest desire, your mourning, your fervent mind toward me; so that I rejoiced the more.

8 For though I made you sorry with a letter, I do not repent, though I did repent: for I perceive that the same epistle made you sorry, though it were but for a season.

9 Now I rejoyce, not that ye were made sorry, but that ye sorrowed to repentance: for ye were made sorry after a godly manner, that ye might receive damage by us in nothing.

Wherefore come out from among them, and be separate, saith the Lord, and touch not the unclean thing, and I will receive you to me, and I will be a Father, and ye shall be my Sons and Daughters, saith the Lord Almighty. Having therefore these Promises, (dearly Beloved) let us cleanse our selves from the Defilement of all sorts of Sins, whether of Body or Mind, endeavouring after perfect Holiness in the Fear of God. Receive me, as one to be hearken'd to, as one to be follow'd, as one that hath done nothing to forfeit your Esteem. I have wrong'd no Man: I have corrupted no Man: I have defrauded no Man (w): I say not this to reflect on your Carriage towards me: (x) For I have already assur'd you, that I have so great an Affection for you, that I could live and die with you. But in the Transport of my Joy, I use great Liberty of Speech towards you. But let it not be thought to be of ill Will, for I boast much of you; I am filled with Comfort, and my Joy abounds exceedingly in all my Afflictions. For when I came to Macedonia, I had no respite from continual Trouble that beset me on every side. From without I met with Strife and Opposition in Preaching the Gospel: and within I was filled with Fear upon your account, lest the false Apostle continuing his Credit and Faction amongst you, should pervert you from the Simplicity of the Gospel (y.) But God who comforteth those who are cast down, comforted me by the coming of Titus, not barely by his Presence, but by the Comfort I received from you by him, when he acquainted me with your great Desire of conforming your selves to my Orders; your Trouble for any Neglects you have been guilty of towards me; the great Warmth of your Affection and Concern for me; so that I rejoyced the more for my past Fears, having writ to you a Letter, which I repented of, but now do not repent of, perceiving, that though that Letter grieved you, it made you sad but for a short time: But now I rejoyce not that you were made sorry, but that you were made sorry to Repentance. For this proved a beneficial Sorrow acceptable to God, that in nothing you might have cause to complain that you were damaged by me.

NOTES.

2 (w) This seems to insinuate the contrary Behaviour of their false Apostle.

3 (x) Vid. 1 Cor. 4. 3. 2 Cor. 10. 2. and 11. 20, 21. and 13. 3.

5 (y) Vid. ch. 11. 3.

10. For godly Sorrow worketh Repentance to Salvation not to be repented of: But Sorrow rising from worldly Interest, worketh Death. In the present case mark it, (z) that godly Sorrow which you had, what Carefulness it wrought in you, to conform your selves to my Orders, *ver. 15.* yea, what clearing your selves from your former Miscarriages; yea what Indignation against those who led you into them; yea, what Fear to offend me (a); yea, what vehement Desire of satisfying me; yea, what Zeal for me; yea, what Revenge against your selves for having been so misled. You have shewn your selves to be set right *, and be as you should be in every thing, by this Carriage of yours †. If therefore I wrote unto you concerning the Fornicator, it was not for his sake that had done, nor his that had suffer'd, the Wrong, but principally that my Care and Concern for you might be made known to you, as in the Presence of God. Therefore I was comforted in your Comfort: But much more exceedingly rejoiced I in the Joy of Titus, because his Mind was set at Ease by the good Disposition he found you all in towards me (b). So that I am not ashamed of having boasted of you to him. For all that I have said to you is Truth, so what I said to Titus in your
- 11.
- 12.
- 13.
- 14.

For godly sorrow worketh repentance to salvation not to be repented of: but the sorrow of the world worketh death.

For behold, this self-same thing that ye sorrowed, after a godly sort, what carefulness it wrought in you, yea, what clearing of your selves, yea, what indignation, yea, what fear, yea, what vehement desire, yea, what zeal, yea, what revenge: in all things ye have approved your selves to be clear in this matter.

Wherefore though I wrote unto you, I did it not for his cause that had done the wrong, nor for his cause that suffered wrong, but that our care for you in the sight of God might appear unto you.

Therefore we are comforted in your comfort: yea, and exceedingly the more joyed we for the joy of Titus, because his spirit was refreshed by you all.

For if I have boasted any thing to him of you, I am not ashamed; but as we spake all things to you in truth, even so our boasting which I made before Titus is found a truth.

NOTES.

11 (z) St. Paul writing to those who knew the Temper they were in, and what were the Objects of the several Passions which were raised in them, doth both here and in the 7th Verse forbear to mention by and to what they were moved out of Modesty and Respect to them. This is necessary for the Information of ordinary Readers, to be supplied as can be best collected from the main Design of the Apostle in these two Epistles, and from several Passages giving us Light in it.

(a) Vid. Ver. 15. * Clear. This word answers very well αἰσῆς in the Greek; but then to be clear in English, is generally understood to signify not to have been guilty; which could not be the Sense of the Apostles, he having charged the Corinthians so warmly in his first Epistle. His Meaning must therefore be, that they had now resolved on a contrary Course, and were so far clear, i. e. were set right, and in good Disposition again, as he describes it in the former part of this Verse. † And therefore I think ἐν τῷ περιστάσει, may best be render'd in fact, i. e. by your Sorrow, your Fear, your Indignation, your Zeal, &c. I think it cannot well be translated in this manner, understanding thereby the Punishment of the Fornicator. For that was not the matter St. Paul had been speaking of, but the Corinthians siding with the false Apostle against him, was the Subject of the preceding part of this, and of the three or four foregoing Chapters, wherein he justifies himself against their Slanders, and invalidates the Pretences of the adverse Party. This is that which lay chiefly upon his Heart, and which he labours Might and Main both in this and the former Epistle to rectify, as the Foundation of all the Disorders amongst them. And consequently is the matter wherein he rejoices to find them All set right. Indeed in the immediately following Verse, he mentions his having writ to them concerning the Fornicator, but it is only as an Argument of his Kindness and Concern for them: But that what was the great Cause of his Rejoicing, what it was that gave him the great Satisfaction, was the breaking the Faction, and the re-uniting them All to himself, which he expresses in the word All, emphatically used, *ver. 13, 15.* and from thence he concludes thus, *ver. 16. I rejoyce therefore that I have confidence in you in all things.* His Mind was now at rest, the Partizans of his Opposer the false Apostle having forsaken that Leader whom they had so much gloried in, and being all now come over to St. Paul, he doubted not but all would go well, and so leaves off the Subject he had been upon in the seven foregoing Chapters, viz. the justification of himself, with here and there Reflections on that false Apostle.

13 (b) Vid. ver. 15.

II CORINTHIANS.

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An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

15 And his inward affecti-
on is more abundant to-
ward you, whilst he re-
membreth the obedience
of you all, how with fear
and trembling you recei-
ved him.
16 I rejoyce therefore that
I have confidence in you
in all things.

Commendation he has found to be true, whereby his
Affection to you is abundantly increas'd, he carrying
in his Mind the universal Obedience of you all unani-
mously to me, and the manner of your receiving him
with Fear and Trembling. I rejoyce therefore that I
have Confidence in you in all things.

15.

16.

S E C T. III.

C H A P. VIII. 1—IX. 15.

C O N T E N T S.

THE Apostle having imploy'd the Seven foregoing Chapters in his own
Justification, in the close whereof he expresses the great Satisfaction
he had in their being all united again in their Affection and Obedience to
him, he in the two next Chapters exhorts them especially by the Example
of the Churches of *Macedonia*, to a liberal Contribution to the poor Chri-
stians in *Judea*.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

1 **M**oreover brethren,
we do you to wit
of the grace of God be-
stowed on the churches of
Macedonia;
2 How that in a great tri-
al of affliction, the abun-
dance of their joy, and
their deep poverty abound-
ed unto the riches of their
liberality.
3 For to their power (I
bear record) yea, and be-
yond their power, they
were willing of themselves.
4 Praying us with much
intreaty, that we would
receive the gift, and take
upon us the fellowship of
the ministering to the saints.
5 And this they did, not
as we hoped, but first gave
their own selves to the
Lord, and unto us by the
will of God.

Moreover, Brethren, I make known to you the
Gift, (c) which by the Grace of God is given
in the Churches of *Macedonia*, viz. that amidst the
Afflictions (d) they have been much tried with, they
have with exceeding Chearfulness and Joy made their
very low Estate of Poverty yield a rich Contribution
of Liberality, being forward of themselves (as I must
bear them witness) to the utmost of their Power;
nay, and beyond their Power, earnestly intreating
me to receive their Contribution, and be a Partner
with others in the Charge of conveying and distribu-
ting it to the Saints. And in this they out-did my
Expectation, who could not hope for so large a Col-
lection from them. But they gave themselves first to
the Lord, and to me, to dispose of what they had
according as the good Pleasure of God should direct.

1.

2.

3.

4.

5.

N O T E S.

1 (c) *Χαῖρις*, which is translated *Grace*, is here used by St. Paul for *Gift* or *Liberality*, and is
so used, ver. 4, 6, 7, 9, 19. and 1 Cor. 16. 3. It is called also *Χαῖρις Θεοῦ*, the *Gift of God*, be-
cause God is the Author and Procurer of it, moving their Hearts to it. Besides *δεδωκέναι* *ἐν*
cannot signify *bestowed on*, but *given in or by*.

2 (d) How ill-dispos'd and rough to the Christians the *Macedonians* were, may be seen,
Acts 16, and 17.

II CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

6. Infomuch that I was moved to persuade *Titus*, that as he had begun; so he would also see this charitable Contribution carried on among you till it was perfected, that as you excel in every thing, abounding in Faith, in well speaking, in Knowledge, in every good Quality, and in your Affection to me, ye might abound in this Act of charitable Liberality also. This I say to you, not as a Command from God, but on occasion of the great Liberality of the Churches of *Macedonia*, and to shew the World a Proof of the genuine noble Temper of your Love (e). For ye know the Munificence (f) of our Lord Jesus Christ, who being rich, made himself poor for your sakes, that you by his Poverty might become rich, I give you my Opinion in the case, because it becomes you so to do, as having begun not only to do something in it, but to shew a Willingness to it above a Year ago.
11. Now therefore apply your selves to the doing of it in Earnest; so that as you undertook it readily, so you would as readily perform it out of what you have: For every Man's Charity is accepted by God according to the Largeness and Willingness of his Heart in giving, and not according to the Narrowness of his Fortune.
13. For my Meaning is not that you should be burdened to ease others, but that at this time your Abundance should make up what they through Want come short in, that in another occasion their Abundance may supply your Deficiency, that there may be an Equality.

Infomuch that we desired Titus, that as he had begun, so he would also finish in you the same grace also.

Therefore as ye abound in every thing, in faith, in utterance, and knowledge, and in all diligence, and in your love to us; see that ye abound in this grace also.

I speak not by commandment, but by occasion of the forwardness of others, and to prove the sincerity of your love.

For ye know the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that though he was rich, yet for our sakes he became poor, that ye through his poverty might be rich.

And herein I give my advice: for this is expedient for you who have begun before, not only to do, but also to be forward a year ago.

Now therefore perform the doing of it; that as there was a readiness to will, so there may be a performance also out of that which you have.

For if there be first a willing mind, it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not.

For I mean not that other men may be eased and you burdened:

But by an equality, that now at this time your abundance may be a supply for their want, that their abundance also may be a supply for your want, that there may be equality.

NOTES.

8 (c) Τὸ τῆς ὑμετέρας ἀγάπης γνήσιον δοκιμάζων, shewing the World a Proof of the genuine Temper of your Love. Thus I think it should be render'd. St. Paul, who is so careful all along in this Epistle, to shew his Esteem and good Opinion of the Corinthians, taking all Occasions to speak and presume well of them, whereof we have an eminent Example in these Words, *Ye abound in your Love to us*, in the immediately preceding Verse, he could not in this place so far forget his Design of treating them very tenderly, now they were newly return'd to him, as to tell them, that he sent *Titus* for the promoting their Contribution to make a Trial of the Sincerity of their Love, this had been but an ill Expression of that Confidence, which, ch. 7. 16. he tells them, he has in them in all things. Taking therefore, as without Violence to the Words one may, *δοκιμάζων* for drawing out a Proof, and *γνήσιον* for genuine, the words very well express St. Paul's obliging Way of stirring up the Corinthians to a liberal Contribution, as I have understood them. For St. Paul's Discourse to them briefly stands thus; "The great Liberality of the poor Macedonians, made me send *Titus* to you, to carry on the Collection of your Charity which he had begun, that you who excel in all other Virtues, might be eminent also in this. But this I urge, not as a Command from God, but upon Occasion of others' Liberality, lay before you an Opportunity of giving the World a Proof of the genuine Temper of your Charity, which, like that of your other Virtues, loves not to come behind that of others."

9 (f) Τὴν χάριν, the Grace, rather the Munificence, the Signification wherein St. Paul uses *χάρις*, over and over again in this Chapter, and is translated Gift, Ver. 4.

II CORINTHIANS.

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An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 15 As it is written, He that had gathered much, had nothing over; and he that had gathered little, had no lack.
- 16 But thanks be to God, which put the same earnest care into the heart of Titus for you.
- 17 For indeed he accepted the exhortation, but being more forward, of his own accord he went unto you.
- 18 And we have sent with him the brother, whose praise is in the gospel, throughout all the churches.
- 19 (And not that only, but who was also chosen of the churches to travel with us with his grace, which is administered by us to the glory of the same Lord, and declaration of your ready mind)
- 20 Avoiding this, that no man should blame us in this abundance, which is administered by us:
- 21 Providing for honest things, not only in the sight of the Lord, but also in the sight of men.
- 22 And we have sent with them our brother, whom we have often-times proved diligent in many things, but how much more diligent, upon the great confidence which I have in you.
- 23 Whether any do enquire of Titus, he is my partner, and fellow-helper concerning you: or our brethren be enquired of, they are the messengers of the churches, and the glory of Christ.
- 24 Wherefore shew ye to them, and before the churches the proof of your love, and of our boasting on your behalf.
- 1 For as touching the ministering to the saints, it is superfluous for me to write to you.
- 2 For I know the forwardness of your mind, for which I boast of you to them of Macedonia, that Achaia was

As it is written, He that had much had nothing over, and he that had little had no lack. But Thanks be to God, who put into the Heart of *Titus* the same Concern for you, who not only yielded to my Exhortation; (g) But being more than ordinary concerned for you, of his own accord went unto you, with whom I have sent the Brother (b), who has Praise through all the Churches for his Labour in the Gospel, (and not that only, but who was also chosen of the Churches to accompany me in the carrying this Collection, which Service I undertook for the Glory of our Lord, and for your Encouragement to a liberal Contribution to prevent any Aspersions might be cast on me by any one on occasion of my meddling with the Management of so great a Sum, and to take care, by having such Men joyn'd with me in the same Trust, that my Integrity and Credit should be preserved not only in the Sight of the Lord; but also in the Sight of Men. With them I have sent our Brother, of whom I have had frequent Experience in sundry Affairs, to be a forward active Man; but now much more earnestly intent by reason of the strong Persuasion he has of your contributing liberally. Now whether I speak of *Titus*, he is my Partner, and one who with me promotes your Interest; or the two other Brethren sent with him, they are the Messengers of the Churches of *Macedonia*, by whom their Collection is sent, and are promoters of the Glory of Christ. Give therefore to them, and by them to those Churches a Demonstration of your Love, and a Justification of my boasting of you. For as touching the Relief of the poor Christians in *Jerusalem*, it is needless for me to write to you. For I know the Forwardness of your Minds, which I boasted of on your

15.
16.

17.
18.
19.

20.
21.
22.
23.
24.
1.
2.

NOTES.

- 17 (g) *Vid.* ver. 6.
18 (b) This Brother most take to be *St. Luke*, who now was, and had been a long while, *St. Paul's* Companion in his Travels.

II CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

- behalf to the *Macedonians*, that (i) *Achaia* was ready a Year ago, and your Zeal in this Matter hath been a
3. Spur to many others. Yet I have sent these Brethren, that my boasting of you may not appear to be vain and groundless in this part: But that you may, as I said,
4. have your Collection ready, lest if perchance the *Macedonians* should come with me, and find it not ready, I (not to say you) should be ashamed in this Matter
5. whereof I have boasted. I thought it therefore necessary to put the Brethren upon going before unto you, to prepare things by a timely Notice before-hand, that your Contribution may be ready, as a free Benevolence of yours, and not as a niggardly Gift extorted from you. This, I say, He who soweth sparingly shall
6. reap also sparingly; and he who soweth plentifully shall also reap plentifully. So give as you find your selves disposed every one in his own Heart, not grudgingly, as if it were wrung from you; for God loves
7. a cheerful Giver. For God is able to make every charitable Gift (k) of yours redound to your Advantage, that you having in every thing always a Fulness of
8. Plenty, ye may abound in every good Work (as it is written, He that scattered, he hath given to the Poor, and his Liberality (l) remaineth for ever. Now he
9. that supplies Seed to the Sower, and Bread for Food; supply and multiply your Stock of Seed (m), and en-
10. crease the Fruit of your Liberality) enrich'd in every thing to all Beneficence, which, by me is instrumental in it, procureth Thanksgiving to God. For the
11. Performance of this Service doth not only bring Supply to the Wants of the Saints; but reacheth farther,
- 12.

ready a year ago; and your zeal hath provoked very many.

Yet have I sent the brethren, lest our boasting of you should be in vain in this behalf; that, as I said, ye may be ready:

Lest haply if they of Macedonia come with me, and find you unprepared, we (that we say not, you) should be ashamed in this same confident boasting.

Therefore I thought it necessary to exhort the brethren, that they would go before unto you, and make up before-hand your bounty, whereof ye had notice before, that the same might be ready as a matter of bounty, and not as of covetousness.

But this I say, He which soweth sparingly, shall reap also sparingly: and he which soweth bountifully, shall reap also bountifully.

Every Man according as he purposeth in his heart, so let him give; not grudgingly, or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver.

And God is able to make all grace abound towards you; that ye always having all sufficiency in all things, may abound to every good work:

(As it is written, He hath dispersed abroad; he hath given to the poor: his righteousness remaineth for ever.

Now he that minisreth seed to the sower, both minister bread for your food, and multiply your seed sown, and increase the fruits of your righteousness)

Being enriched in every thing to all bountifulness, which causeth through us thanksgiving to God.

For the administration of this service, not only supplieth the want of the

NOTES.

2 (i) *Achaia*, i. e. the Church of Corinth, which was made up of the Inhabitants of that Town, and of the circumjacent Parts of *Achaia*. Vid. ch. 1. 1.

8 (k) *Xeis Grace*, rather *Charitable Gifts* or *Liberality*, as it signifies in the former Chapter, and as the Context determines the Sense here.

9, 10 (l) *Δικαιοσύνη* Righteousness, rather *Liberality*; for so *δικαιοσύνη* in Scripture-Language often signifies. And so *Math. 6. 1.* for *ἐλεημοσύνη*, *Alms*, some Copies have *δικαιοσύνη* *Liberality*. And so *Joseph*, *Matt. 1. 19.* is called *δικαίος* just, benign.

10 (m) *Σπέρειν* Seed sown, rather your *Seed* and *Seed-plot*, i. e. Increase your Plenty to be laid out in charitable Uses.

II CORINTHIANS.

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An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

13.

14.

15.

saints, but is abundant also by many thanksgivings unto God ;
13 (Whiles by the experiment of this ministration, they glorify God for your professed subjection unto the Gospel of Christ, and for your liberal distribution unto them, and unto all men)
14 And by their prayer for you, which long after you, for the exceeding grace of God in you.
15 Thanks be unto God for his unspeakable gift.

even to God himself, by many Thanksgivings (whilst they, having such a Proof of you in this your Supply, glorify God for your professed Subjection to the Gospel of Christ, and for your Liberality in communicating to them, and to all Men), and to the procuring their Prayers for you, they having a great Inclination towards you, because of that gracious Gift of God bestowed on them by your Liberality. Thanks be to God for this his unspeakable Gift.

SECT. IV.

CHAP. X. 1.—XIII. 10.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul having finished his Exhortation to Liberality in their Collection for the Christians at *Jerusalem*, he here resumes his former Argument, and prosecutes the main Purpose of this Epistle, which was totally to reduce and put a final End to the adverse Faction, (which seems not yet to be entirely extinct) by bringing the *Corinthians* wholly off from the false Apostle they had adhered to : And to re-establish himself and his Authority in the Minds of all the Members of that Church. And this he does by the Steps contained in the following Numbers.

SECT. IV. N. 1.

CHAP. X. 1—6.

CONTENTS.

HE declares the extraordinary Power he hath in Preaching the Gospel, and to punish his Opposers amongst them.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

1.

NOW I Paul my self beseech you, by the meekness and gentleness of Christ, who in presence am base among you, but being absent am bold toward you.

NOW I the same Paul who am (as 'tis said amongst (n) you) base and mean when present with you, but bold towards you when absent,

NOTES.

(n) Vid. ver. 10.

beseech.

II CORINTHIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

2. beseech you by the Meekness and Gentleness (o) of Christ; I beseech you, I say, that I may not, when present among you, be bold after that manner. I have resolv'd to be bold towards some, who account that in my Conduct and Ministry I regulate my self wholly by carnal Considerations. For though I live in the Flesh, yet I do not carry on the Work of the Gospel (which is a Warfare) according to the Flesh. (For the Weapons of my Warfare are not fleshly (p), but such as God hath made mighty to the pulling down of strong Holds, i. e. what ever is made use of in opposition.) Beating down humane Reasonings, and all the towering and most elevated Superstructures raised thereon, by the Wit of Men against the Knowledge of God, as held forth in the Gospel, captivating all their Notions, and bringing them into Subjection to Christ: and having by me in a readiness Power wherewithal to punish and chastise all Disobedience; when you, who have been misled by your false Apostle, withdrawing your selves from him, shall return to a perfect Obedience (q).

But I beseech you, that I may not be bold when I am present, with that confidence wherewith I think to be bold against some which think of us, as if we walked according to the flesh.

For though we walk in the flesh, we do not war after the flesh:

(For the weapons of our warfare are not carnal, but mighty through God, to the pulling down of strong holds.)

Casting down imaginations, and every high thing that exalteth it self against the knowledge of God, and bringing into captivity every thought to the obedience of Christ:

And having in a readiness to revenge all disobedience, when your obedience is fulfilled.

NOTES.

(o) St. Paul thinking it fit to forbear all Severity till he had by fair Means reduced as many of the contrary Party as he could, to a full Submission to his Authority, (*vid. ver. 6.*) begins here his Discourse by conjuring them by the Meekness and Gentleness of Christ, as an Example that might excuse his Delay of exemplary Punishment on the Ringleaders and chief Offenders, without giving them Reason to think it was for Want of Power.

4 (p) What the ὅπλα σαρκικά, the carnal Weapons, and those other opposed to them, which he calls δυνατὰ τοῦ Θεοῦ, mighty through God, are, may be seen if we read and compare 1 Cor. 1. 23, 24. and 2. 1, 2, 4, 5, 12, 13. 2 Cor. 4. 2, 6.

6 (q) Those whom he speaks to here, are the Corinthian Converts to whom this Epistle is written. Some of these had been drawn into a Faction against St. Paul; these he had been, and was endeavouring to bring back to that Obedience and Submission which the rest had continued in to him as an Apostle of Jesus Christ. The Corinthians of these two sorts are those he means, when he says to them, *ch. 2. 3.* and *ch. 7. 13, 15.* You all, i. e. all ye Christians of Corinth and Achaia. For he that had raised the Faction amongst them, and given so much Trouble to St. Paul, was a Stranger and a Jew, *Vid. ch. 11. 22.* crept in amongst them, after St. Paul had gather'd and establish'd that Church, 1 Cor. 3. 6, 10. 2 Cor. 10. 5, 16. Of whom St. Paul seems to have no Hopes, *ch. 11. 13—15.* and therefore he every where threatens, 1 Cor. 4. 19. and here particularly, *ver. 6.* and 11. to make an Example of him and his Adherents, (if any were so obstinate to stick to him) when he had brought back again all the Corinthians that he could hope to prevail on.

S E C T. IV. N. 2.

CHAP. X. 7—18.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul examines the false Apostle's Pretensions, and compares his own with his Performances.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

7 **D**O ye look on things after the outward appearance? if any man trust to himself, that he is Christ's, let him of himself think this again, that as he is Christ's, even so are we Christ's.

8 For though I should boast somewhat more of our authority, (which the Lord hath given us for edification, and not for your destruction) I should not be ashamed:

9 That I may not seem as if I would terrify you by letters.

10 For his letters (say they) are weighty and powerful, but his bodily presence is weak, and his speech contemptible.

11 Let such an one think this, that such as we are in word by letters, when we are absent, such will we be also in deed when we are present.

12 For we dare not make our selves of the number, or compare our selves with some that commend themselves: but they measuring themselves by themselves, and comparing themselves amongst themselves, are not wise.

13 But we will not boast of things without our measure, but according to the measure of the rule which God hath distributed to us, a measure to reach even unto you.

DO ye judge of Men by the outward Appearance of things? Is it by such Measures you take an Estimate of me and my Adversaries? If he has Confidence in himself that he is Christ's, *i. e.* assumes to himself the Authority of one imploy'd and commissioned by Christ (*r*); let him on the other side count thus with himself, that as he is Christ's, so I also am Christ's. Nay, if I should boastingly say something more (*s*) of the Authority and Power which the Lord has given me for your Edification, and not for your Destruction, * I should not be put to Shame (*t*). But that I may not seem to terrify you by Letters, as is objected to me by some, who say, that my Letters are weighty and powerful, but my bodily Presence weak, and my Discourse contemptible. Let him that says so reckon upon this, that such as I am in Word by Letters when I am absent, such shall I be also in Deed when present. For I dare not be so bold, as to rank or compare my self with some who vaunt themselves: But they measuring themselves within themselves (*u*), and comparing themselves with themselves, do not understand (*w*). But I for my part will not boast of my self in what has not been measur'd out, or allotted to me (*x*), *i. e.* I will not go out of my own Province to seek Matter of Commendation, but proceeding orderly in the Province which God hath measured out, and allotted to me, I have reach'd even unto you, *i. e.* I preach'd the Gospel in every Country as I

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NOTES.

7 (*r*) Vid. *ch. 11. 33.*

8 (*s*) *More*, vid. *ch. 11. 23.* * Another Reason insinuated by the Apostle for his forbearing Severity to them.

(*t*) *I should not be put to shame*, *i. e.* the Truth would justify me in it.

12 (*u*) This is spoken Ironically: *ἐν ἑαυτοῖς*, *amongst themselves*, rather *within themselves*. For in all likelihood, the Faction and Opposition against St. Paul was made by one Person, as as we before observed. For though he speaks here in the plural Number, which is the softer and decenter way in such cases; yet we see in the foregoing Verse he speaks directly and expressly as of one Person; and therefore *ἐν ἑαυτοῖς* may, most consonantly to the Apostle's Meaning here, be understood to signify *within themselves*, *i. e.* with what they find in themselves. The whole Place shewing, that this Person made an Estimate of himself only by what he found in himself; and thereupon preferr'd himself to St. Paul, without considering what St. Paul was, or had done.

(*w*) *Do not understand*, that they ought not to intrude themselves into a Church planted by another Man, and there vaunt themselves, and set themselves above him that planted it, which is the Meaning of the four next Verses.

13 (*x*) *Ἀμετρεσ*, here and in *ver. 15.* doth not signify immense, or immoderate, but something that hath not been measured out and allotted to him, something that is not committed to him, nor within his Province.

went,

14. went, till I came as far as you. For I do not extend my self farther than I should, as if I had skip'd over other Countries in my way, without proceeding gradually to you; no, for I have reach'd even unto you in Preaching of the Gospel in all Countries as I passed along (y); Not extending my Boasting (z) beyond my own Bounds into Provinces not allotted to me, nor vaunting my self of any thing I have done in another's Labour, (a) i. e. in a Church planted by another Man's Pains: But having Hope that your Faith increasing, my Province will be enlarged by you yet farther; So that I may preach the Gospel to the yet unconverted Countries beyond you, and not take Glory to my self from another Man's Province, where
15. all things are made ready to my Hand (a). But he that will glory, let him glory or seek Praise from that which is committed to him by the Lord, or in that
16. which is acceptable to the Lord. For not he who commends himself does thereby give a Proof of his Authority or Mission; but he whom the Lord commends by the Gifts of the Holy Ghost (b).
- For we stretch not our selves beyond our measure, as though we reached not unto you; for we are come as far as to you also, in preaching the gospel of Christ:
- Not boasting of things without our measure, that is, of other men's labours; but having hope when your faith is increased, that we shall be enlarged by you, according to our rule abundantly.
- To preach the gospel in the regions beyond you, and not to boast in another man's line of things made ready to our hand.
- But he that glorieth, let him glory in the Lord.
- For not he that commendeth himself is approved, but whom the Lord commendeth.

NOTES.

14 (y) This seems to charge the false pretended Apostle, who had caused all this Disturbance in the Church of *Corinth*, that, without being appointed to it, without preaching the Gospel in his way thither, as became an Apostle, he had crept into the Church of *Corinth*.

15 (z) *Boasting*, i. e. intermeddling, or assuming to my self Authority to meddle, or Honour for meddling.

15, 16 (a) Here *St. Paul* visibly taxes the false Apostle for coming into a Church converted and gathered by another, and there pretending to be some body, and to rule all. This is another thing that makes it probable, that the Opposition made to *St. Paul* was but by one Man that had made himself the Head of an opposite Faction. For it is plain it was a Stranger who came thither after *St. Paul* had planted this Church, who pretending to be more an Apostle than *St. Paul*, with greater Illumination, and more Power, set up against him to govern that Church, and withdraw the Corinthians from following *St. Paul's* Rules and Doctrine. Now this can never be supposed to be a Combination of Men who came to *Corinth* with that Design, nor that they were different Men that came thither separately, each setting up for himself, for then they would have fallen out one with another, as well as with *St. Paul*: And in both Cases *St. Paul* must have spoken of them in a different way from what he does now. The same Character and Carriage is given to them all throughout both these Epistles; and 1 *Cor.* 3. 10. he plainly speaks of one Man, that setting up thus to be a Preacher of the Gospel amongst those that were already Christians, was look'd upon by *St. Paul* to be a Fault, we may see, *Rom.* 15. 20.

18 (b) 'Tis of these Weapons of his Warfare that *St. Paul* speaks in this Chapter; and 'tis by them that he intends to try which is the true Apostle when he comes to them.

SECT. IV. N. 3.

CHAP. XI. 1—6.

CONTENTS.

HE shews that their pretended Apostle bringing to them no other Saviour or Gospel; nor conferring greater Power of Miracles than he [*St. Paul*] had done, was not to be preferr'd before him.

Would

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

1 **W**ould to God ye could bear with me a little in my folly; and indeed bear with me.

2 For I am jealous over you with godly jealousy: for I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ.

3 But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ.

4 For if he that cometh, preacheth another Jesus whom we have not preached, or if ye receive another spirit, which ye have not received, or another gospel, which ye have not accepted, ye might well bear with him.

5 For I suppose I was not a whit behind the very chiefest apostles.

6 But though I be rude in speech, yet not in knowledge; but we have been thoroughly made manifest among you in all things.

Would you could bear me a little in my Folly (c), and indeed do bear with me. For I am jealous over you with a Jealousie that is for God: For I have fitted and prepared you for one alone to be your Husband, viz. that I might deliver you up a pure Virgin to Christ. But I fear lest some way or other, as the Serpent beguiled Eve by his Cunning; so your Minds should be debauch'd from that Singleness which is due to Christ (d). For if this Intruder who has been a Leader amongst you, can preach to you another Saviour, whom I have not preach'd; or if you receive from him other or greater Gifts of the Spirit, than those you received from me; or another Gospel than what you accepted from me, you might well bear with him, and allow his Pretensions of being a new and greater Apostle. For as to the Apostles of Christ, I suppose I am not a whit behind the chiefest of them. For though I am but a mean Speaker; yet I am not without Knowledge, but in every thing have been made manifest unto you, i. e. to be an Apostle.

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NOTES.

1 (c) Folly, so he modestly calls his Speaking in his own Defence.

3 (d) Ἀπλότης τῆς εἰς τὸν Χριστὸν The Simplicity that is in, rather towards Christ, answers to ἑνὶ ἄνδρι Χριστῷ, to one Husband Christ, in the immediately foregoing Verse. For ἑνὶ one, is not put there for nothing, but makes the Meaning plainly this; "I have formed and fitted you for one Person alone, one Husband who is Christ: I am concerned, and in Care, that you may not be drawn aside from that Submission, that Obedience, that Temper of Mind that is due singly to him, for I hope to put you into his Hands possessed with pure Virgin Thoughts, wholly fixed on him, not divided, nor roving after any other, that he may take you to Wife, and marry you to himself for ever." 'Tis plain their Perverter, who opposed St. Paul, was a Jew, as we have seen. 'Twas from the Jews, from whom, of all professing Christianity, St. Paul had most Trouble and Opposition. For they, having their Hearts set upon their old Religion, endeavour'd to mix Judaism and Christianity together: We may suppose the Case here to be much the same with that which he more fully expresses in the Epistle to the Galatians, particularly Gal. 1. 6—12. and ch. 4. 9.—11. and 16. 21. and ch. 5. 1.—13. The Meaning of this place here seems to be this; "I have taught you the Gospel alone, in its pure and unmix'd Simplicity, by which only you can be united to Christ: But I fear lest this your new Apostle should draw you from it, and that your Minds should not stick to that singly, but should be corrupted by a Mixture of Judaism." After the like manner St. Paul expresses Christians being delivered from the Law, and their Freedom from the ritual Observances of the Jews, by being married to Christ, Rom. 7. 4. which place may give some Light to this.

II CORINTHIANS.

SECT. IV. N. 4.

CHAP. XI. 7—15.

CONTENTS.

HE justifies himself to them, in his having taken nothing of them. There had been great Talk about this, and Objections raised against St. Paul thereupon; *Vid.* 1 Cor. 9. 1—3. As if by this he had discover'd himself not to be an Apostle: To which he there answers, and here toucheth it again, and answers an other Objection which it seems was made, *viz.* that he refused to receive Maintenance from them out of Unkindness to them.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

7. **H**AVE I committed an Offence (e) in abasing my self to work with my hands, neglecting my Right of Maintenance due to me as an Apostle, that you might be exalted in Christianity, because I preach'd the Gospel of God to you gratis? I robb'd other Churches, taking Wages of them to do you Service: And being with you and in Want, I was chargeable to not a Man of you. For the Brethren who came from Macedonia, supplied me with what I needed: And in all things I have kept my self from being burdensome to you, and so will I continue to do. The Truth and Sincerity I owe to Christ is in what I say to you, *viz.* This Boasting of mine shall not in the Regions of Achaia be stop'd in me. Why so? Is it because I love you not? For that God can be my Witness, he knoweth. But what I do and shall do (f) is, that I may cut off all Occasion from those who, if I took any thing of you, would be glad of that Occasion to boast, that in it they had me for a Pattern, and did nothing but what even I my self had done. For these are false (g) Apostles, deceitful Labourers in the Gospel,

HAVE I committed an offence in abasing my self that you might be exalted, because I have preached to you the gospel of God freely?

I robbed other Churches, taking wages of them to do you service.

And when I was present with you and wanted, I was chargeable to no man: for that which was lacking to me, the brethren which came from Macedonia supplied: and in all things I have kept my self from being burdensome unto you, and so will I keep my self.

As the truth of Christ is in me, no man shall stop me of this boasting in the regions of Achaia.

Wherefore? because I love you not? God knoweth.

But what I do, that I will do, that I may cut off occasion from them which desire occasion, that wherein they glory, they may be found even as we.

For such are false apostles, deceitful workers

NOTES.

7 (e) The adverse Party made it an Argument against St. Paul, as an Evidence that he was no Apostle, since he took not from the Corinthians Maintenance, 1 Cor. 9. 1—3. Another Objection raised against him from hence, was, That he would receive nothing from them, because he loved them not, 2 Cor. 11. 11. This he answers here, by giving another Reason for his so doing. A third Allegation was, That it was only a crafty Trick in him to catch them, 2 Cor. 12. 16, which he answers there.

12 (f) *ἐν ποίῳ*, that I will do, rather and will do; so the Words stand in the Greek, and do not refer to v. 10. as a Profession of his Resolution to take nothing of them; but to ver. 11. to which it is joyn'd; shewing that his refusing any Reward from them, was not out of Unkindness, but for another Reason.

13 (g) They had questioned St. Paul's Apostleship, 1 Cor. 9. because of his not taking Maintenance of the Corinthians. He here directly declares them to be no true Apostles.

having

II CORINTHIANS.

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An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

transforming themselves
into the Apostles of Christ.
14 And no marvel; for sa-
tan himself is transformed
into an angel of light.
15 Therefore it is no great
thing if his ministers also
be transformed as the mi-
nisters of righteousness;
whose end shall be accor-
ding to their works.

having put on the counterfeit Shape and Outside of
Apostles of Christ: And no marvel, for Satan him-
self is sometimes transformed into an Angel of Light.
Therefore it is not strange, if so be his Ministers are
disguised so as to appear Ministers of the Gospel:
whose End shall be according to their Works.

14.

15.

SECT. IV. N. 5.

CHAP. XI. 16—33.

CONTENTS.

HE goes on in his Justification, reflecting upon the Carriage of the false
Apostle towards the Corinthians, *v. 16—21*. He compares himself
with the false Apostle in what he boasts of, as being an Hebrew, *v. 21, 22*.
or Minister of Christ, *v. 23*. and here *St. Paul* enlarges upon his Labours
and Sufferings.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

16 I Say again, Let no man
think me a fool; if o-
therwise, yet as a fool re-
ceive me, that I may boast
my self a little.
17 That which I speak, I
speak it not after the Lord,
but as it were foolishly in
this confidence of boasting.
18 Seeing that many glory
after the flesh, I will glo-
ry also.
19 For ye suffer fools glad-
ly, seeing ye your selves
are wise.
20 For ye suffer if a man
bring you into bondage,
if a man devour you, if a
man take of you, if a man
exalt himself, if a man
smite you on the face.

I Say again, Let no Man think me a Fool, that I
speak so much of my self: or at least if it be a
Folly in me, bear with me as a Fool, that I too as
well as others (*b*) may boast my self a little. That
which I say on this Occasion is not by Command from
Christ, but as it were foolishly in this matter of Boast-
ing. Since many glory in their Circumcision or Ex-
traction (*i*), I will glory also. For ye bear with Fools
(*k*) easily, being your selves wise. (*l*) For you bear
with it if a Man bring you into Bondage (*m*), *i. e.*
domineer over you, and use you like his Bondmen;
If he make a Prey of you; If he take or extort Pre-
sents or a Salary from you; If he be elevated and
high amongst you; If he smite you on the Face, *i. e.*

16.

17.

18.

19.

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NOTES.

16 (*b*) *Vid.* ver. 18.

18 (*i*) *Vid.* ch. 12. II.

19 (*k*) *After the Flesh*. What this glorying *after the Flesh* was in particular here, *vid.* ver. 22.
(*vi.*) being a Jew by descent.

20 (*l*) Spoken Ironically for their bearing with the Insolence and Covetousness of their false
Apostle.

(*m*) The *Bondage* here meant, was, Subjection to the Will of their false Apostle, as appears
by the following Particulars of this Verse, and not Subjection to the Jewish Rites. For if that
had been, *St. Paul* was so zealous against it, that he would have spoke more plainly and warm-
ly, as we see in his Epistle to the Galatians, and not have touched it thus only by the bye slightly
in a doubtful Expression. Besides, it is plain no such thing was yet attempted openly, only
St. Paul was afraid of it; *vid.* ver. 3.

21. treat you contumeliously. I speak according to the Reproach has been cast upon me, as if I were weak, *i. e.* destitute of what might support me in Dignity and Authority equal to this false Apostle, as if I had not as fair Pretences to Power and Profit amongst you as he. Is he an Hebrew (*n*), *i. e.* by Language an Hebrew? So am I: Is he an Israelite, truly of the Jewish Nation, and bred up in that Religion? So am I: Is he of the Seed of *Abraham* really descended from him? And not a Profelyte of a foreign Extraction? So am I: Is he a Minister of Jesus Christ? (I speak in my foolish way of boasting) I am more so: In toil-some Labours I surpass him: In Stripes I am exceedingly beyond him (*o*): In Prisons I have been oftner; and in the very Jaws of Death more than once: Of the Jews I have five times received forty Stripes save one: Thrice was I whip'd with Rods: Once was I stoned: Thrice shipwrecked: I have passed a Night and a Day in the Sea: In Journeyings often: In Perils by Water; In Perils by Robbers; In Perils by my own Countrey-men; In Perils from the Heathen; In Perils in the City; In Perils in the Country; In Perils at Sea; In Perils amongst false Brethren; In Toil and Trouble, and sleepless Nights often; In Hunger and Thirst; in Fastings often; in Cold and Nakedness. Besides these Troubles from without, the Disturbance that comes daily upon me from my Concern for all the Churches. Who is a weak Christian in danger through Frailty or Ignorance to be misled, whose Weakness I do not feel and suffer-in, as if it were my own? Who is actually misled, for whom my Zeal and Concern does not make me uneasy, as if I had a Fire in me? If I must be compelled (*p*) to glory (*q*), I will glory of those things which are of my weak

I speak as concerning²¹ reproach, as though we had been weak: howbeit, wherein soever any is bold (I speak foolishly) I am bold also.

Are they Hebrews? so²² am I: are they Israelites? so am I: are they the seed of Abraham? so am I:

Are they ministers of²³ Christ? (I speak as a fool) I am more: in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prisons more frequent, in deaths oft.

Of the Jews five times²⁴ received I forty stripes save one.

Thrice was I beaten with²⁵ rods, once was I stoned, thrice I suffer'd shipwreck; a night and a day I have been in the deep:

In journeying often, in²⁶ perils of waters, in perils of robbers, in perils by mine own countrey men, in perils by the heathen, in perils in the city, in perils in the wilderness, in perils in the sea, in perils among false brethren;

In weariness and pain-²⁷ fulness, in watchings often, in hunger and thirst, in fastings often, in cold and nakedness.

Besides those things that²⁸ are without, that which cometh upon me daily, the care of all the churches.

Who is weak, and I am²⁹ not weak? who is offend- ed, and I burn not?

If I must needs glory,³⁰ I will glory of the things which concern mine infirmities.

NOTES.

22 (*n*) *Is he an Hebrew?* Having in the foregoing Verse spoke in the Singular Number, I have been fain to continue on the same Number here, though different from that in the Text, to avoid an Inconsistency in the Paraphrase, which could not but shock the Reader. But this I would be understood to do, without imposing my Opinion on any body, or pretending to change the Text: But as an Expositor, to tell my Reader that I think, that though *St. Paul* says *they*, he means but one, as often, when he says *we*, he means only himself, the Reason whereof I have given elsewhere.

23 (*o*) *Ἐν πληγῶν ὑπερβαλλόντως*, in Stripes above measure, rather in Stripes exceeding. For these Words, as the other Particulars of this Verse, ought to be taken comparatively with Reference to the false Apostle, with whom *St. Paul* is comparing himself in the Ministry of the Gospel. Unless this be understood so, there will seem to be a disagreeable Tautology in the following Verses; which, taking these Words in a comparative Sense, are Proofs of his saying, *In Stripes I am exceedingly beyond him, for of the Jews five times, &c.*

30 (*p*) *Compelled.* Vid. ch. 12. 11.

(*q*) By *καυχᾶσθαι*, which is translated so metimes to *glory*, and sometimes to *boast*; the Apostle all along, where he applies it to himself, means nothing but the mentioning some commendable Action of his without Vanity or Ostentation, but barely upon necessity on the present Occasion.

and

II CORINTHIANS.

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An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 31 The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which is blessed for evermore, knoweth that I lie not.
- 32 In Damascus the governour under Aretas the king kept the city of the Damascenes with a garrison, desirous to apprehend me :
- 33 And through a window in a basket was I let down by the wall, and escaped his hands.

and suffering side. The God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is blessed for ever, knoweth that I lie not. In *Damascus*, the Governour under *Aretas* the King, who kept the Town with a Garrison, being desirous to apprehend me ; I was through a Window let down in a Basket, and escaped his Hands.

31.

32.

33.

S E C T. IV. N. 6.

CHAP. XII. 1—11.

C O N T E N T S.

HE makes good his Apostleship by the extraordinary Visions and Revelations which he had received.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 1 **I**T is not expedient for me doubtless to glory : I will come to visions and revelations of the Lord.
- 2 I knew a man in Christ, above fourteen years ago (whether in the body I cannot tell ; or whether out of the body, I cannot tell : God knoweth) such an one caught up to the third heaven.
- 3 And I knew such a man (whether in the body, or out of the body, I cannot tell : God knoweth :)
- 4 How that he was caught up into paradise, and heard unspeakable words, which it is not lawful for a man to utter.
- 5 Of such an one will I glory : yet of my self I will not glory, but in my infirmities.
- 6 For though I would desire to glory, I shall not be a fool ; for I will say the truth : but now I forbear

IF I must be forced to glory (r) for your sakes, for me it is not expedient, I will come to Visions and Revelations of the Lord. I knew a Man by (s) the Power of Christ, above fourteen Years ago, caught up into the third Heaven, whether the intire Man, Body and all, or out of the Body in an Exstasy, I know not ; God knows. And I knew such an one (s), whether in the Body or out of the Body I know not, God knows, that he was caught up into Paradise, and there heard what is not in the power of Man to utter : Of such an one I will glory : But my self will I not mention with any Boasting, unless in things that carry the Marks of Weakness, and shew my Sufferings. But if I should have a mind to glory in other things, I might do it without being a Fool, for I would speak nothing but what is true, having Matter in abundance ; (t) But I forbear, lest any one should think of me beyond what he sees me, or hears

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6.

N O T E S.

1 (r) "E: *καυχᾶσθαι δεῖ*, If I must glory, is the reading of some Copies, and is justified by ver. 30. of the foregoing Chapter, by the vulgar Translation, and by the Syriac, much to the same Purpose, and suiting better with the Context, renders the Sense clearer.

2, 3 (s) Modestly speaking of himself in a third Person.

6 (t) Vid. ver. 7.

commonly

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

7. commonly reported of me. And that I might not be exalted above measure, by reason of the Abundance of Revelations that I had, there was given me a Thorn in the Flesh (*u*), the Messenger of Satan to buffet me, that I might not be over-much elevated. Concerning this thing I besought the Lord thrice that it might depart from me; And he said, My Favour is sufficient for thee; for my Power exerts it self, and its Sufficiency is seen the more perfectly, the weaker thou thyself art. I therefore most willingly chuse to glory, rather in things that shew my Weakness, than in my abundance of glorious Revelations, that the Power of Christ may the more visibly be seen to dwell in me:
10. Wherefore I have Satisfaction in Weaknesses, in Reproaches, in Necessities, in Persecutions, in Distresses, for Christ's sake. For when I, look'd-upon in my outward State, appear weak, then by the Power of Christ which dwelleth in me, I am found to be strong. I am become foolish in glorying thus: But it is you who have forced me to it. For I ought to have been commended by you, since in nothing came I behind the chiefest of the Apostles, though in my self I am nothing.

lest any man should think of me above that which he seeth me to be, or that he heareth of me.

And lest I should be exalted above measure through the abundance of the revelations, there was given to me a thorn in the flesh, the messenger of Satan to buffet me, lest I should be exalted above measure.

For this thing I besought the Lord thrice, that it might depart from me.

And he said unto me, My Grace is sufficient for thee: for my strength is made perfect in weakness. Most gladly therefore will I rather glory in my infirmities, that the power of Christ may rest upon me.

Therefore I take pleasure in infirmities, in reproaches, in necessities, in persecutions, in distresses for Christ's sake: for when I am weak, then am I strong.

I am become a fool in glorying, ye have compelled me: for I ought to have been commended of you: for in nothing am I behind the very chiefest apostles, though I be nothing.

NOTES.

7 (*u*) *Thorn in the Flesh*, what this was in particular, St. Paul having thought fit to conceal it, is not easie for those who come after to discover, nor is it much material.

SECT. IV. N. 7.

CHAP. XII. 12, 13.

CONTENTS.

HE continues to justify himself to be an Apostle by the Miracles he did, and the supernatural Gifts he bestowed amongst the Corinthians.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

12. Truly the Signs whereby an Apostle might be known, were wrought among you by me, in all Patience (*w*) and Submission under the Difficulties I there met with, in miraculous, wonderful and

Truly the signs of an apostle were wrought among you in all patience, in signs and wonders, and mighty deeds.

NOTES.

12 (*w*) This may well be understood to reflect on the Haughtiness and Plenty wherein the false Apostle lived amongst them,

mighty

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE

13 For what is it wherein ye were inferiour to other churches, except it be that my self was not burdensome to you? forgive me this wrong.

mighty Works perform'd by me. For what is there which you were any way shorten'd in, and had not equally with other Churches (x), except it be that I my self was not burdensome to you? Forgive me this Injury.

13.

NOTES.

13 (x) Vid. I Cor. 1. 4—7.

SECT. IV. N. 8.

CHAP. XII. 14—21.

CONTENTS.

HE farther justifies himself to the Corinthians, by his past Disinterestedness, and his continued kind Intentions to them.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

14 Behold, the third time I am ready to come to you; and I will not be burdensome to you: for I seek not yours, but you: for the children ought not to lay up for the parents, but the parents for the children.

Behold this is the third time I am ready to come unto you, but I will not be burdensome to you; for I seek not what is yours, but you; for 'tis not expected, nor usual, that Children should lay up for their Parents, but Parents (y) for their Children: I will gladly lay out whatever is in my Possession or Power; nay, even wear out and hazard my self for your Souls (z), though it should so fall out, that the more I love you, the less I should be beloved by you (a). Be it so, as some suggest, that I was not burdensome to you, but it was in truth out of Cunning, with a Design to catch you with that Trick, drawing from you by others what I refused in Person. In answer to which, I ask, Did I by any of those I sent unto you make a Gain of you? I desired Titus to go to you, and with him I sent a Brother: Did Titus make a gain of you? Did not they behave themselves with the same Temper that I did amongst you? Did we not walk in the same steps? i.e. neither they nor I received any thing from you. Again, (b) do not, upon my mentioning my sending of Titus to you, think that I apologize for my not coming my self; I speak as in the Presence of God, and as a Christian, there

14.

15 And I will very gladly spend and be spent for you, though the more abundantly I love you, the less I be beloved.

15. I will gladly lay out whatever is in my Possession or Power; nay, even wear out and hazard my self for your Souls (z), though it should so fall out, that the more I love you, the less I should be beloved by you (a). Be it so, as some suggest, that I was not burdensome to you, but it was in truth out of Cunning, with a Design to catch you with that Trick, drawing from you by others what I refused in Person. In answer to which, I ask, Did I by any of those I sent unto you make a Gain of you? I desired Titus to go to you, and with him I sent a Brother: Did Titus make a gain of you? Did not they behave themselves with the same Temper that I did amongst you? Did we not walk in the same steps? i.e. neither they nor I received any thing from you. Again, (b) do not, upon my mentioning my sending of Titus to you, think that I apologize for my not coming my self; I speak as in the Presence of God, and as a Christian, there

15.

16 But be it so, I did not burden you: nevertheless being crafty, I caught you with guile.

16. I will gladly lay out whatever is in my Possession or Power; nay, even wear out and hazard my self for your Souls (z), though it should so fall out, that the more I love you, the less I should be beloved by you (a). Be it so, as some suggest, that I was not burdensome to you, but it was in truth out of Cunning, with a Design to catch you with that Trick, drawing from you by others what I refused in Person. In answer to which, I ask, Did I by any of those I sent unto you make a Gain of you? I desired Titus to go to you, and with him I sent a Brother: Did Titus make a gain of you? Did not they behave themselves with the same Temper that I did amongst you? Did we not walk in the same steps? i.e. neither they nor I received any thing from you. Again, (b) do not, upon my mentioning my sending of Titus to you, think that I apologize for my not coming my self; I speak as in the Presence of God, and as a Christian, there

16.

17 Did I make a gain of you by any of them whom I sent unto you?

17. I will gladly lay out whatever is in my Possession or Power; nay, even wear out and hazard my self for your Souls (z), though it should so fall out, that the more I love you, the less I should be beloved by you (a). Be it so, as some suggest, that I was not burdensome to you, but it was in truth out of Cunning, with a Design to catch you with that Trick, drawing from you by others what I refused in Person. In answer to which, I ask, Did I by any of those I sent unto you make a Gain of you? I desired Titus to go to you, and with him I sent a Brother: Did Titus make a gain of you? Did not they behave themselves with the same Temper that I did amongst you? Did we not walk in the same steps? i.e. neither they nor I received any thing from you. Again, (b) do not, upon my mentioning my sending of Titus to you, think that I apologize for my not coming my self; I speak as in the Presence of God, and as a Christian, there

17.

18 I desired Titus, and with him I sent a brother: did Titus make a gain of you? walked we not in the same spirit? walked we not in the same steps?

18. I will gladly lay out whatever is in my Possession or Power; nay, even wear out and hazard my self for your Souls (z), though it should so fall out, that the more I love you, the less I should be beloved by you (a). Be it so, as some suggest, that I was not burdensome to you, but it was in truth out of Cunning, with a Design to catch you with that Trick, drawing from you by others what I refused in Person. In answer to which, I ask, Did I by any of those I sent unto you make a Gain of you? I desired Titus to go to you, and with him I sent a Brother: Did Titus make a gain of you? Did not they behave themselves with the same Temper that I did amongst you? Did we not walk in the same steps? i.e. neither they nor I received any thing from you. Again, (b) do not, upon my mentioning my sending of Titus to you, think that I apologize for my not coming my self; I speak as in the Presence of God, and as a Christian, there

18.

19 Again, think you that we excuse our selves unto you? we speak before God

19. I will gladly lay out whatever is in my Possession or Power; nay, even wear out and hazard my self for your Souls (z), though it should so fall out, that the more I love you, the less I should be beloved by you (a). Be it so, as some suggest, that I was not burdensome to you, but it was in truth out of Cunning, with a Design to catch you with that Trick, drawing from you by others what I refused in Person. In answer to which, I ask, Did I by any of those I sent unto you make a Gain of you? I desired Titus to go to you, and with him I sent a Brother: Did Titus make a gain of you? Did not they behave themselves with the same Temper that I did amongst you? Did we not walk in the same steps? i.e. neither they nor I received any thing from you. Again, (b) do not, upon my mentioning my sending of Titus to you, think that I apologize for my not coming my self; I speak as in the Presence of God, and as a Christian, there

19.

NOTES.

14 (y) Vid. 1 Cor. 4. 14, 15.

15 (z) Vid. 2 Tim. 2. 10.

(a) Vid. ch. 6. 12, 13.

19 (b) He had before given the Reason, ch. 1. 23. of his not coming to them, with the like Affeclaration that he uses here. If we trace the Thread of St. Paul's Discourse here, we may observe, that having concluded the Justification of himself and his Apostleship by his past Actions,

ver. 13.

there is no such thing: In all my whole Carriage towards you, Beloved, all that has been done, has been done only for your Edification. No, there is no need of an Apology for my not coming to you sooner:
 20. For I fear, when I do come, I shall not find you such as I would, and that you will find me such as you would not: I am afraid, that among you there are Disputes, Envyings, Animosities, Strifes, Backbitings, Whisperings, Swellings of Mind, Disturbances.
 21. And that my God, when I come to you again, will humble me amongst you, and I shall bewail many who have formerly sinned, and have not yet repented of the Uncleaness, Fornication, and Lasciviousness whereof they are guilty.

in Christ: but we do all things, dearly beloved, for your edifying.

For I fear, lest when I come I shall not find you such as I would, and that I shall be found unto you such as ye would not: lest there be debates, envyings, wraths, strifes, backbitings, whisperings, swellings, tumults:

And lest when I come again, my God will humble me among you, and that I shall bewail many which have sinned already, and have not repented of the uncleaness, and fornication, and lasciviousness which they have committed.

NOTES.

ver. 13. he had it in his Thoughts to tell them how he would deal with the false Apostle and his Adherents when he came, as he was ready now to do. And therefore solemnly begins, ver. 14. with *behold*, and tells them now the *third time* he was ready to come to them, to which joyning (what was much upon his Mind) that he would not be burdensome to them when he came, this suggested to his Thoughts an Objection, (*viz.*) that this personal Shyness in him was but Cunning, for that he design'd to draw Gain from them by other Hands. From which he clears himself by the Instance of *Titus*, and the Brother whom he had sent together to them, who were as far from receiving any thing from them as he himself. *Titus* and his other Messenger being thus mentioned, he thought it necessary to obviate another Suspicion that might be raised in the Minds of some of them, as if he mention'd the sending of those two as an Apology for his not coming himself; this he disclaims utterly; and to prevent any Thoughts of that kind, solemnly protests to them that in all his Carriage to them he had done nothing but for their Edification, nor had any other Aim in any of his Actions but purely that; and that he forbore coming merely out of Respect and good Will to them. So that all, from *Behold this third time I am ready to come to you*, ver. 14. to *This third Time I am coming to you*, Ch. 13. 1. must be look'd on as an incident Discourse that fell in occasionally, though tending to the same Purpose with the rest; a Way of Writing very usual with our Apostle, and with other Writers, who abound in Quickness and Variety of Thoughts as he did. Such Men are often, by new Matter rising in their way, put by from what they were going and had begun to say; which therefore they are fain to take up again, and continue at a Distance; which *St. Paul* does here after the Interposition of Eight Verses. Other Instances of the like kind may be found in other places of *St. Paul's* Writings.

SECT. IV. N. 9.

CHAP. XII. 11—10.

CONTENTS.

HE re-assumes what he was going to say, Ch. 12. 14. and tells them how he intends to deal with them when he comes to them, and assures them, that however they question it, he shall be able, by Miracles, to give Proof of his Authority and Commission from Christ.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT:

1. **T**HIS is now the third time I am coming to you; and when I come I shall not spare you, having proceeded according to our Saviour's Rule, and endeavour'd by fair Means first to reclaim you, before

THis is the third time I am coming to you: in the mouth of two or three witnesses shall every word be established.

I come

II CORINTHIANS.

249

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 2 I told you before, and foretel you as if I were present the second time, and being absent, now I write to them which heretofore have sinned, and to all other, that if I come again I will not spare :
- 3 Since ye seek a proof of Christ speaking in me, which to youward is not weak, but is mighty in you.
- 4 For though he was crucified through weakness, yet he liveth by the power of God : for we also are weak in him, but we shall live with him by the power of God towards you.
- 5 Examine your selves, whether ye be in the faith, prove your own selves : know ye not your own selves, how that Jesus Christ is in you, except ye be reprobates ?

I come to the last extremity. And of this my former Epistle, wherein I applied my self to you, and this wherein I now, as if I were present with you, foretel those who have formerly sinned, and all the rest, to whom, being now absent, I write, that when I come I will not spare you. I say, these two Letters are my Witnesses according to our Saviour's Rule, which says, In the Mouth of two or three Witnesses every Word shall be established (c). Since you demand a Proof of my Mission, and of what I deliver, that it is dictated by Christ speaking in me, who must be acknowledged not to be weak to you-ward, but has given sufficient Marks of his Power amongst you. For though his Crucifixion and Death were with appearance (d) of Weakness ; yet he liveth with the Manifestation (d) of the Power of God appearing in my punishing you. You examine me whether I can by any miraculous Operation give a Proof that Christ is in me. Pray examine your selves whether you be in the Faith ; make a Trial upon your selves, whether you your selves are not somewhat destitute of Proofs (e) ; or are you so little acquainted with your selves,

2.

3.

4.

5.

NOTES.

2 (c) *In the Mouth of two or three Witnesses shall every word be established.* These words seem to be quoted from the Law of our Saviour, *Mat.* 18. 16. and not from the Law of *Moses* in *Deuteronomy*, not only because the words are the same with those in *St. Matthew*, but from the likeness of the Case. In *Deuteronomy* the Rule given concerns only Judicial Trials: In *St. Matthew* it is a Rule given for the Management of Persuasion used for the reclaiming an Offender, by fair Means, before coming to the utmost Extremity, which is the case of *St. Paul* here: In *Deuteronomy* the Judge was to hear the Witnesses, *Deut.* 17. 6. and 19. 15. In *St. Matthew* the Party was to hear the Witnesses, *Mat.* 18. 17. which was also the case of *St. Paul* here; the Witnesses which he means that he made use of to persuade them being his two Epistles. That by Witnesses he means his two Epistles, is plain from his Way of expressing himself here, where he carefully sets down his telling them twice, (*viz.*) before in his former Epistle, *ch.* 4. 19. and now a second time in his second Epistle; and also by these words *ὡς παρὰ τὸ δευτέρον*, *As if I were present with you a second time.* By our Saviour's Rule the offended Person was to go twice to the Offender; and therefore *St. Paul* says, *as if I were with you a second time*, counting his Letters as two personal Applications to them, as our Saviour directed should be done before coming to rougher Means. Some take the Witnesses to be the three Messengers by whom his first Epistle is supposed to be sent. But this would not be according to the Method prescribed by our Saviour in the place from which *St. Paul* takes the words he uses; for there were no Witnesses to be made use of in the first Application; neither, if those had been the Witnesses meant, would there have been any need for *St. Paul* so carefully and expressly to have set down *ὡς παρὰ τὸ δευτέρον*, *as if present a second time*, words which in that case would be superfluous. Beside, those three Men are no where mentioned to have been sent by him to persuade them, nor the Corinthians required to hear them, or reprov'd for not having done it: And lastly, they could not be better Witnesses of *St. Paul's* Endeavours twice to gain the Corinthians by fair means, before he proceeded to Severity, than the Epistles themselves.

4 (d) *Ἐξ ἀδυναμίας, through Weakness, ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ, by the Power of God, I have render'd with the Appearance of Weakness, and with the Manifestation of the Power of God,* which I think the Sense of the place, and the Stile of the Apostle will justify. *St. Paul* sometimes uses the Greek Prepositions in a larger Sense than that Tongue ordinarily allows. Farther it is evident, that *ἐξ* joyn'd to *ἀδυναμίας*, has not a casual signification, and therefore in the Antithesis *ἐν δυνάμει θεοῦ*, it cannot be taken casually. And it is usual for *St. Paul* in such cases to continue the same word, though it happens sometimes seemingly to carry the Sense another way. In short, the Meaning of the place is this: " Though Christ in his Crucifixion appeared weak and despicable; yet he now lives to shew the Power of God in the Miracles and mighty Works which he does: So I, though I by my Sufferings and Infirmities appear weak and contemptible; yet shall I live to shew the Power of God in punishing you miraculously.

5, 6, 7. (e) *Ἀδόκιμοι*, translated here *Reprobates*, 'tis plain, in these three Verses, has no such Signification,

An. Gb. 57.
Neronis. 3.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

6. as not to know whether Christ be in you? But if you do not know your selves whether you can give Proofs or no, yet I hope you shall know that I am not unable to give Proofs (e) of Christ in me. But I pray to God that you may do no Evil, wishing not for an Opportunity to shew my Proofs (e): but that you doing what is right, I may be as if I had no Proofs (e), no supernatural Power; For though I have the Power of punishing supernaturally, I cannot shew this Power upon any of you, unless it be that you are Offenders, and your Punishment be for the Advantage of the Gospel. I am therefore glad when I am weak, and can inflict no Punishment upon you, and you are so strong, *i. e.* clear of Faults, that ye cannot be touched. For all the Power I have, is only for promoting the Truth of the Gospel; whoever are faithful and obedient to that, I can do nothing to, I cannot make Examples of them, by all the extraordinary Power I have, if I would. Nay, this also I wish, even your Perfection. These things therefore I write to you, being absent, that when I come I may not use Severity, according to the Power which the Lord hath given me for Edification, not for Destruction.

But I trust that ye shall know that we are not reprobates.

Now I pray to God that ye do no evil; not that we should appear approved, but that ye should do that which is honest, though we be as reprobates.

For we can do nothing against the truth, but for the truth.

For we are glad when we are weak, and ye are strong: and this also we wish, even your perfection.

Therefore I write these things being absent, lest being present I should use sharpness, according to the power which the Lord hath given me to edification, and not to destruction.

NOTES.

Signification, Reprobation being very remote from the Argument the Apostle is here upon: But the word ἀδόκιμος is here used for one that cannot give Proof of Christ being in him; one that is destitute of a supernatural Power; for thus stands St. Paul's Discourse, ver. 3. ἐπεὶ δόκιμος ἔστε, ver. 6. πᾶσι δὲ ὅτι ἐκ ἀδοκίμοι ἐστέ, Since you seek a Proof, you shall know that I am not destitute of a Proof.

SECT. V.

CHAP. XIII. 11—13.

CONCLUSION.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

11. Finally, Brethren, farewell. Bring your selves into one well united, firm, unjarring Society (f). Be of good comfort; be of one mind; live in peace, and the God of Love and Peace shall be with you: Salute one another with a holy Kiss: All the Saints salute you. The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of God, and the Communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all. Amen.

Finally, brethren, farewell: well: be perfect, be of good comfort, be of one mind, live in peace; and the God of love and peace shall be with you.

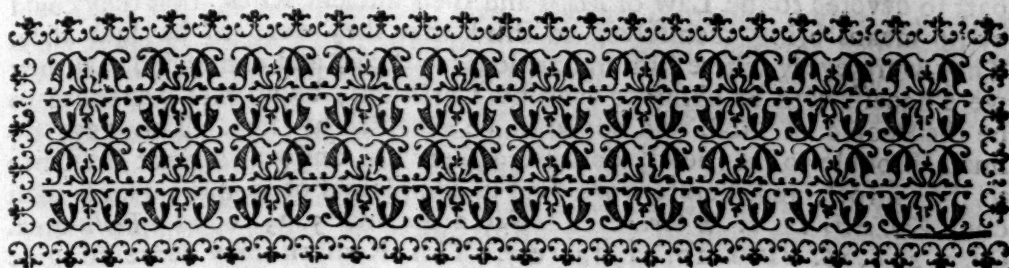
Greet one another with an holy kiss.

All the Saints salute you.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the love of God, and the communion of the holy Ghost, be with you all. Amen.

NOTES.

21 (f) The same that he exhorts them to in the Beginning of the first Epistle, ch. 1. ver. 10.



A
 PARAPHRASE
 AND
 NOTES
 ON THE
 Epistle of St. PAUL
 TO THE
 ROMANS.

SYNOPSIS.

BEFORE we take into Consideration the Epistle to the *Romans* From *Corinth*, in particular, it may not be amiss to premise, That the Miraculous Birth, Life, Death, Resurrection and Ascension of our Lord Jesus Christ, were all Events that came to pass within *Anno Erae vulg. 57. Neronis 3.* the Confines of *Judea*; And that the ancient Writings of the Jewish Nation, allow'd by the Christians to be of Divine Original, were appealed to as witnessing the Truth of his Mission and Doctrine, whereby it was manifest that the Jews were the Depositories of the Proofs of the Christian Religion. This could not chuse but give the Jews, who were owned to be the People of God, even in the days of our Saviour, a great Authority among the Convert Gentiles, who knew nothing of the Messias they were to believe in, but what they derived from that Nation, out of which he and his Doctrine sprung. Nor did the Jews fail to make use of this Advantage several ways, to the Disturbance of the Gentiles that embraced Christianity.

Vol. III.

S f 2

The

An. Ch. 57. The Jews, even those of them that received the Gospel, were for the most part so devoted to the Law of *Moses* and their ancient Rites, that they could by no means bring themselves to think that they were to be laid aside. They were every where stiff and zealous for them, and contended that they were necessary to be observed even by Christians, by all that pretended to be the People of God, and hoped to be accepted by him. This gave no small Trouble to the newly converted Gentiles, and was a great Prejudice to the Gospel, and therefore we find it complain'd of in more Places than one; *Vid. Acts 15. 1. 2 Cor. 11. 3. Gal. 2. 4. and 5. 1, 10, 12. Phil. 3. 2. Col. 2. 4, 8, 16. Tit. 1. 10, 11, 14, &c.* This Remark may serve to give Light not only to this Epistle to the *Romans*, but to several other of *St. Paul's* Epistles written to the Churches of converted Gentiles.

As to this Epistle to the *Romans*, the Apostle's principal Aim in it seems to be to persuade them to a steady Perseverance in the Profession of Christianity, by convincing them that God is the God of the Gentiles as well as the Jews; and that now under the Gospel there is no difference between Jew and Gentile. This he does several ways.

1. By shewing that though the Gentiles were very sinful, yet the Jews, who had the Law, kept it not, and so could not upon account of their having the Law (which being broken, aggravated their Faults, and made them as far from righteous as the Gentiles themselves) have a Title to exclude the Gentiles from being the People of God under the Gospel.

2. That *Abraham* was the Father of all that believe as well Uncircumcised, as Circumcised; so that those that walk in the Steps of the Faith of *Abraham*, though uncircumcised, are the Seed to which the Promise is made, and shall receive the Blessing.

3. That it was the Purpose of God from the Beginning, to take the Gentiles to be his People under the Messiah, in the place of the Jews, who had been so till that time, but were then nationally rejected, because they nationally rejected the Messiah, whom he sent to them to be their King and Deliverer, but was received by but a very small Number of them, which Remnant was receiv'd into the Kingdom of Christ, and so continued to be his People with the converted Gentiles, who all together made now the Church and People of God.

4. That the Jewish Nation had no Reason to complain of any Unrighteousness in God, or Hardship from him in their being cast off for their Unbelief, since they had been warned of it, and they might find it threaten'd in their ancient Prophets. Besides the raising or depressing of any Nation is the Prerogative of God's Sovereignty. Preservation in the Land that God has given them being not the Right of any one Race of Men above another. And God might, when he thought fit, reject the Nation of the Jews by the same Sovereignty, whereby he at first chose the Posterity of *Jacob* to be his People, passing by other Nations, even such as descended from *Abraham* and *Isaac*: But yet he tells them, that at last they shall be restor'd again.

Besides the Assurance he labours to give the *Romans*, that they are by Faith in Jesus Christ the People of God, without Circumcision or other Observances of the Jews, whatever they may say, which is the main Drift of this Epistle, it is farther remarkable, that this Epistle being writ to a Church of Gentiles in the Metropolis of the Roman Empire, but not planted by *St. Paul* himself, he as Apostle of the Gentiles, out of Care that they should rightly understand the Gospel, has woven into his Discourse the chief Doctrines of it, and given them a comprehensive View of God's dealing with Mankind, from first to last, in Reference to eternal Life. The principal Heads whereof are these.

That by *Adam's* Transgression Sin enter'd into the World, and Death by Sin, and so Death reigned over all Men from *Adam* to *Moses*.

That by *Moses* God gave the Children of *Israel* (who were his People, *i. e.* owned him for their God, and kept themselves free from the Idolatry and Revolt of the Heathen World) a Law, which if they obey'd, they should have Life thereby, *i. e.* attain to Immortal Life, which had been lost by *Adam's* Transgression.

That

That though this Law which was righteous, just and good, were ordained to Life, yet not being able to give Strength to perform what it could not but require, it failed by reason of the Weakness of humane Nature to help Men to Life. So that though the Israelites had Statutes, which if a Man did he should live in them; yet they all transgressed, and attain'd not to Righteousness and Life by the Deeds of the Law.

That therefore there was no Way to Life left to those under the Law, but by the Righteousness of Faith in Jesus Christ, by which Faith alone they were that Seed of *Abraham*, to whom the Blessing was promis'd.

This was the State of the *Israelites*.

As to the *Gentile* World; he tells them,

That though God made himself known to them by legible Characters of his Being and Power visible in the Works of the Creation; yet they glorified him not, nor were thankful to him: they did not own nor worship the one only true invisible God, the Creator of all things, but revolted from him, to Gods set up by themselves in their own vain Imaginations, and worshiped Stocks and Stones, the corruptible Images of corruptible Things.

That they having thus cast off their Allegiance to him their proper Lord, and revolted to other Gods, God therefore cast them off, and gave them up to vile Affections, and to the Conduct of their own darkened Hearts, which led them unto all sorts of Vices.

That both Jews and Gentiles being thus all under Sin, and coming short of the Glory of God: God, by sending his Son Jesus Christ, shews himself to be the God both of Jews and Gentiles, since he justifieth the Circumcision by Faith, and the Uncircumcision through Faith, so that all that believe are freely justified by his Grace.

That though Justification unto Eternal Life be only by Grace, through Faith in Jesus Christ; yet we are to the utmost of our Power sincerely to endeavour after Righteousness, and from our Hearts obey the Precepts of the Gospel, whereby we become the Servants of God, for his Servants we are whom we obey, whether of Sin unto Death, or of Obedience unto Righteousness.

These are but some of the more general and comprehensive Heads of the Christian Doctrine, to be found in this Epistle. The Design of a Synopsis will not permit me to descend more minutely to Particulars. But this let me say, that he that would have an enlarged View of true Christianity, will do well to study this Epistle.

Several Exhortations, suited to the State that the Christians of *Rome* were then in, make up the latter Part of the Epistle.

This Epistle was writ from *Corinth* the Year of our Lord, according to the common Account, 57, the third Year of *Nero*, a little after the Second Epistle to the *Corinthians*.

SECT.

ROMANS.

SECT. I.

CHAP. I. 1—15.

CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTION, with his Profession of a Desire to see them.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

1. **P** **A**UL a Servant of Jesus Christ, called (a) to be
2. an Apostle, separated (b) to the Preaching of the
3. Gospel of God (which he had heretofore promised by
- his Prophets in the Holy Scriptures) concerning his
4. Son Jesus Christ our Lord, who according to the
- Flesh, *i. e.* as to the Body which he took in the Womb
- of the blessed Virgin his Mother, was of the Poste-
5. rity and Lineage of David (c), according to the
- Spirit of Holiness (d), *i. e.* as to that more pure and
- spiritual Part, which in him over-ruled all, and kept
- even his frail Flesh holy and spotless from the least
- Taint of Sin (e), and was of another Extraction with
- most mighty Power (f) declared (g) to be the Son
- of God by his Resurrection from the Dead, by whom
- I have received Favour, and the Office of an Apo-
6. stle, for the bringing of the Gentiles every where to
- the Obedience of Faith, which I preach in his Name ;
7. of which Number, *i. e.* Gentiles that I am sent to
- preach to, are ye who are already called, (b) and
8. become Christians, to all the Beloved of God (i), and
- called to be Saints, who are in Rome, Favour and
- Peace be to you from God our Father. In the first
- place I thank my God through Jesus Christ for you
- all, that your Faith is spoken of throughout the whole

P **A**UL a servant of Je-
sus Christ, called to
be an Apostle, separated
unto the gospel of God.

(Which he had promi-
sed afore by his Prophets
in the holy scriptures.)

Concerning his son Je-
sus Christ our Lord, which
was made of the seed of
David according to the
flesh ;

And declared to be the
Son of God with power,
according to the spirit of
holiness, by the resurrecti-
on from the dead :

By whom we have re-
ceived grace and apostle-
ship, for Obedience to the
faith among all nations for
his name ;

Among whom are ye al-
so the called of Jesus Christ.

To all that be in Rome, 7
beloved of God, called to
be saints : Grace to you and
peace from God our Fa-
ther, and the Lord Jesus
Christ.

First, I thank my God
through Jesus Christ for
you all, that your faith is

NOTES.

1 (a) Called. The Manner of his being called, see Acts 11. 1—22.

(b) Separated, vid. Acts 13. 2.

3 (c) Of David, and so would have been register'd of the House and Lineage of David, as both his Mother and reputed Father were, if there had been another Tax in his days. Vid. Luke 11. 4. Mat. 13. 55.

4 (d) According to the Spirit of Holiness, is here manifestly opposed to, according to the Flesh, in the foregoing Verse, and so must mean that more pure and spiritual Part in him, which by divine Extraction he had immediately from God ; unless this be so understood, the Antithesis is lost.

(e) See Paraphrase, Chap. 8. 3.

(f) *Ἐν δυνάμει, with Power* : He that will read in the Original what St. Paul says, Eph. 1. 19. 20. of the Power which God exerted in raising Christ from the Dead, will hardly avoid thinking that he there sees St. Paul labouring for Words to express the Greatness of it.

(g) Declared does not exactly answer the Word in the Original, nor is it perhaps easie to find a Word in English that perfectly answers *ἀποδείχθη* in the Sense the Apostle uses it here, *ἀποδείχθη* signifies properly to bound, terminate, or circumscribe, by which Termination the Figure of things sensible is made, and they are known to be of this or that Race, and are distinguished from others. Thus St. Paul takes Christ's Resurrection from the Dead, and his Entering into Immortality, to be the most eminent and characteristic Mark, whereby Christ is certainly known, and as it were determined to be the Son of God.

7 (b) To take the Thread of St. Paul's Words here right, all from the Word Lord in the middle of ver. 3. to the beginning of this 7th, must be read as a Parenthesis.

6 & 7 (i) Called of Jesus Christ ; called to be Saints ; beloved of God ; are but different Expressions for Professors of Christianity.

ROMANS.

255

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- spoken of throughout the whole world.
- 9 For God is my witness, whom I serve with my spirit in the gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I make mention of you always in my prayers.
- 10 Making request (if by any means now at length I might have a prosperous Journey by the Will of God) to come unto you.
- 11 For I long to see you, that I may impart unto you some spiritual gift, to the end you may be established;
- 12 That is, that I may be comforted together with you, by the mutual faith both of you and me.
- 13 Now I would not have you ignorant, brethren, that oftentimes I purposed to come unto you (but was let hitherto) that I might have some fruit among you also, even as among other Gentiles.
- 14 I am debtor both to the Greeks, and to the Barbarians, both to the wise and to the unwise.
- 15 So, as much as in me is, I am ready to preach the gospel to you that are at Rome also.

World. For God is my Witness whom I serve with the whole Bent of my Mind in preaching the Gospel of his Son, that without ceasing I constantly make mention of you in my Prayers, requesting (if it be God's Will, that I may now at length, if possible, have a good Opportunity) to come unto you. For I long to see you, that I may communicate to you some spiritual Gift (k) for your Establishment (l) in the Faith, that is (m), that when I am among you, I may be comforted together with you, both with your Faith and my own. This I think fit you should know, Brethren, that I often purposed to come unto you, that I may have some Fruit of my Ministry among you also, even as among other Gentiles. I owe what Service I can do to the Gentiles of all kinds, whether Greeks or Barbarians, to both the more knowing and civilized, and the uncultivated and ignorant, so that, as much as in me lies, I am ready to preach the Gospel to you also who are at Rome.

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NOTES.

11 (k) *Spiritual Gift*. If any one desire to know more particularly the spiritual Gifts, he may read 1 Cor. 12.

(l) *Establishment*. The Jews were the Worshipers of the true God, and had been for many Ages his People, this could not be denied by the Christians. Whereupon they were very apt to persuade the convert Gentiles, that the Messiah was promised, and sent to the Jewish Nation alone, and that the Gentiles could claim or have no Benefit by him; or if they were to receive any Benefit by the Messiah, they were yet bound to observe the Law of *Moses*, which was the way of Worship which God had prescribed to his People. This in several places very much shook the Gentile Converts. St. Paul makes it (as we have already observed) his Business in this Epistle, to prove that the Messiah was intended for the Gentiles as much as for the Jews, and that to make any one Partaker of the Benefits and Privileges of the Gospel, there was nothing more required but to believe and obey it: And accordingly here in the entrance of the Epistle, he wishes to come to Rome, that, by imparting some miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost to them, they might be established in the true Notion of Christianity against all Attempts of the Jews, who would either exclude them from the Privileges of it, or bring them under the Law of *Moses*. So where St. Paul expresses his Care that the *Colossians* should be established in the Faith, Col. 2. 7. It is visible by the Context, that what he opposed was Judaism.

12 (m) *That is*, St. Paul in the former Verse had said that he desired to come amongst them to establish them; in these words, *That is*, he explains, or as it were recalls what he had said, that he might not seem to think them not sufficiently instructed or established in the Faith, and therefore turns the End of his coming to them, to their mutual rejoycing in one another's Faith, when he and they came to see and know one another.

SECT.

ROMANS.

S E C T. II.

C H A P. I. 16—II. 29.

C O N T E N T S.

ST. *Paul* in this Section shews, that the Jews exclude themselves from being the People of God under the Gospel, by the same Reason that they would have the Gentiles excluded.

It cannot be sufficiently admired how skilfully, to avoid offending those of his own Nation, *St. Paul* here enters into an Argument so unpleasing to the Jews as this of persuading them, that the Gentiles had as good a Title to be taken in to be the People of God under the *Messias*, as they themselves, which is the main Design of this Epistle.

In this latter part of the first Chapter, he gives a Description of the Gentile World in very black Colours, but very adroitly interweaves such an Apology for them, in respect of the Jews, as was sufficient to bear that assuming Nation out of all their Pretences to a Right to continue to be alone the People of God, with an Exclusion of the Gentiles. This may be seen, if one carefully attends to the Particulars that he mentions relating to the Jews and Gentiles, and observes how what he says of the Jews in the second Chapter, answers to what he had charged on the Gentiles in the first. For there is a secret Comparison of them one with another runs through these two Chapters, which as soon as it comes to be minded, gives such a Light and Lustre to *St. Paul's* Discourse, that one cannot but admire the skilful Turn of it; and look on it as the most soft, the most beautiful, and most pressing Argumentation that one shall any where meet with altogether: Since it leaves the Jews nothing to say for themselves, why they should have the Privilege continued to them under the Gospel, of being alone the People of God. All the things they stood upon, and boasted in, giving them no Preference in this respect to the Gentiles; nor any Ground to judge them to be incapable or unworthy to be their Fellow-Subjects in the Kingdom of the *Messias*. This is what he says, speaking of them Nationally. But as to every one's personal Concerns in a future State, he assures them, both Jews and Gentiles, that the Unrighteous of both Nations, whether admitted or not into the visible Communion of the People of God, are liable to Condemnation. Those who have sinned without Law, shall perish without Law; and those who have sinned in the Law, shall be judged, *i. e.* condemned by the Law.

Perhaps some Readers will not think it superfluous, if I give a short Draught of *St. Paul's* Management of himself here, for allaying the Soreness of the Jews against the Gentiles, and their Offence at the Gospel for allowing any of them place among the People of God under the *Messias*.

After he had declared that the Gospel is the Power of God unto Salvation to those who believe; to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile, and that the Way of this Salvation is revealed to be by the Righteousness of God, which is by Faith: he tells them, that the Wrath of God is also now revealed against all Atheism, Polytheism, Idolatry and Vice whatsoever of Men, holding the Truth in Unrighteousness, because they might come to the Knowledge of the true God, by the visible Works of the Creation; so that the Gentiles were without Excuse for turning from the true God to Idolatry, and the Worship of false Gods, whereby their Hearts were darken'd; so that they were without God in the World. Wherefore God gave them up to vile Affections, and all manner of Vices, in which State, though by the Light of Nature they know what was right, yet understanding not that such things were worthy of Death, they not only do themselves, but abstaining from Censure, live fairly, and in Fellowship with those that do them. Whereupon he tells the Jews, that they are more inexcusable than the Heathen,

then, in that they judge, abhor, and have in Averſation the Gentiles for what they themſelves do with greater Provocation. Their Cenſure and Judgment in the Caſe is unjuſt and wrong: But the Judgment of God is always right and juſt, which will certainly overtake thoſe who judge others for the ſame things they do themſelves; and do not conſider that God's Forbearance to them ought to bring them to Repentance. For God will render to every one according to his Deeds; to thoſe that in Meekneſs and Patience continue in well-doing, everlaſting Life; but to thoſe who are cenſorious, proud and contentious, and will not obey the Goſpel, Condemnation and Wrath at the day of Judgment, whether they be Jews or Gentiles: For God puts no Difference between them. Thou that art a Jew boaſteſt that God is thy God; that he has enlighten'd thee by the Law, that he himſelf gave thee from Heaven, and hath by that immediate Revelation taught thee what things are excellent and tend to Life, and what are evil and have Death annexed to them. If therefore thou tranſgreſſeſt, doſt not thou more diſhonour God and provoke him, than a poor Heathen that knows not God, nor that the things he doth, deſerve Death, which is their Reward? Shall not he, if by the Light of Nature he do what is conformable to the revealed Law of God, judge thee who haſt received that Law from God by Revelation, and breakeſt it? Shall not this rather than Circumciſion make him an Iſraelite? For he is not a Jew, *i. e.* one of God's People, who is one outwardly by Circumciſion of the Fleſh, but he that is one inwardly by the Circumciſion of the Heart.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

16 **F**OR I am not aſhamed of the goſpel of Chriſt; for it is the power of God unto ſalvation, to every one that believeth, to the Jew firſt, and alſo to the Greek.

17 For therein is the righteouſneſs of God revealed from faith to faith: as it is written, The juſt ſhall live by faith.

FOR I am not aſham'd to preach the Goſpel of Chriſt, even at Rome it ſelf, that Miſtreſs of the World: For whatever it may be thought of there (*n*) by that vain and haughty People, it is that wherein God exerts himſelf, and ſhews his Power (*o*) for the Salvation of thoſe who believe, of the Jews in the firſt (*p*) place, and alſo of the Gentiles. For therein is the Righteouſneſs (*q*) which is of the Free Grace of God through Jeſus Chriſt revealed to be wholly

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NOTES.

16 (*n*) Vid. *ver.* 22. and 1 *Cor.* 1. 21.

(*o*) Vid. *Eph.* 1. 19.

(*p*) *Firſt*, The Jews had the firſt Offers of the Goſpel, and were always conſider'd as thoſe who were firſt regarded in it. Vid. *Luke* 24. 47. *Mat.* 10. 6. and 15. 24. *Acts* 13. 46. and 17. 2.

17 (*q*) *Διχαροσύνη Θεῷ*, The Righteouſneſs of God, called ſo, becauſe it is a Righteouſneſs of his Contrivance, and his Beſtowing. It is God that juſtifieth, *Ch.* 3. 21 — 24, 26, 30; and 8. 33. Of which St. Paul ſpeaks thus, *Phil.* 3. 9. Not having mine own Righteouſneſs which is of the Law, but that which is through the Faith of Chriſt, the Righteouſneſs which is of God by Faith.

AN. CH. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

18. by Faith (*r*) as it is written, *The Just shall live by Faith*. And 'tis no more than need that the Gospel, wherein the Righteousness of God by Faith in Jesus Christ is revealed, should be preached to you Gentiles, since the Wrath of God is now revealed (*s*) from Heaven by Jesus Christ, against all Ungodliness (*t*) and Unrighteousness of Men (*u*) who live not up to the Light that
19. God has given them (*w*). Because God in a clear Manifestation of himself amongst them, has laid before them ever since the Creation of the World, his Divine
20. Nature and eternal Power; so that what is to be known of his invisible Being might be clearly discover'd and understood from the visible Beauty, Order, and Operations observable in the Constitution and Parts of the Universe, by all those that would cast their Regards, and apply their Minds (*x*) that way: Inasmuch
21. that they are utterly without Excuse: For that when the Deity was so plainly discover'd to them, yet they glorified him not as was suitable to the Excellency of

For the wrath of God is¹⁸ revealed from heaven against all ungodliness, and unrighteousness of men, who hold the truth in unrighteousness.

Because that which¹⁹ may be known of God, is manifest in them; for God hath shewed it unto them.

For the invisible things²⁰ of him from the creation of the world are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made, even his eternal power and Godhead; so that they are without excuse:

Because that when they²¹ knew God, they glorified him not as God, neither were thankful, but became vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened.

NOTES.

(*r*) *From Faith to Faith*. The Design of St. Paul here being to shew, that neither Jews nor Gentiles could by Works attain to Righteousness, *i. e.* such a perfect and compleat Obedience whereby they could be justified, which he calls their own Righteousness, *ch. 10. 3.* He here tells them, that in the Gospel *the Righteousness of God*, *i. e.* the Righteousness of which he is the Author, and which he accepts in the way of his own Appointment, *is revealed from Faith to Faith*, *i. e.* to be all through, from one end to the other, founded in Faith. If this be not the Sense of this Phrase here, it will be hard to make the following words, *as it is written, The Just shall live by Faith*, cohere: But thus they have an easie and natural Connexion, (*viz.*) whoever are justified either before, without, or under the Law of Moses, or under the Gospel, are justified, not by Works, but by Faith alone. Vid. *Gal. 3. 11.* which clears this Interpretation. The same Figure of speaking St. Paul uses in other places to the same purpose; *ch. 6. 19. Servants to Iniquity unto Iniquity*; *i. e.* wholly to Iniquity. *2 Cor. 3. 18. From Glory to Glory, i. e.* wholly glorious.

18 (*s*) *Now revealed*. Vid. *Acts 17. 30, 31.* God now commandeth all Men every where to repent, because he hath appointed a day in the which he will judge the World in Righteousness by the Man whom he hath ordained. These Words of St. Paul to the Athenians give light to these here to the Romans. A Life again after Death, and a Day of Judgment wherein Men should be all brought to receive Sentence according to what they had done, and be punished for their Misdeeds, was what was before unknown, and was brought to light by the Revelation of the Gospel from Heaven, *2 Tim. 1. 10. Mat. 13. 41. Luke 12. 27. and Rom. 2. 5.* he calls the day of Judgment *the Day of Wrath*, consonant to his saying here, *the Wrath of God is revealed*.

(*t*) *Αοίβειαν, Ungodliness*, seems to comprehend the Atheism, Polytheism and Idolatry of the Heathen World, as *ἀδικίαν, Unrighteousness*, their other Miscarriages and vicious Lives, according to which they are distinctly threaten'd by St. Paul in the following Verses. The same Appropriation of these Words I think may be observed in other Parts of this Epistle.

(*u*) *Of Men*, *i. e.* of all Men, or as in the 17th of *Acts* before cited, all Men every where, *i. e.* all Men of all Nations: Before it was only to the Children of *Israel* that Obedience and Transgression were declared and proposed as Terms of Life and Death.

(*w*) *Who hold the Truth in Unrighteousness*, *i. e.* Who are not wholly without the Truth, but yet do not follow what they have of it, but live contrary to that Truth they do know, or neglect to know what they might. This is evident from the next Words, and for the same Reason of God's Wrath given, *ch. 2. 8.* in these Words, *Who do not obey the Truth, but obey Unrighteousness*.

20 (*x*) St. Paul says, *νοούμενα καὶ ἀνοούμενα*. If they are minded they are seen: The invisible things of God lie within the Reach and Discovery of Men's Reason and Understandings, but yet they must exercise their Faculties, and imploy their Minds about them.

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TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 22 Professing themselves to be wise, they became fools:
23 And changed the glory of the uncorruptible God, into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beasts, and creeping things.
24 Wherefore God also gave them up to uncleanness, through the lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves:
25 Who changed the truth of God into a lie, and worshipped and served the creature more than the Creator, who is blessed for ever. Amen.
26 For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections: For even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature:
27 And likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another, men with men working that which is unseemly, and receiving in themselves that recompense of their error which was meet.
28 And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient:

his Divine Nature: nor did they with due Thankfulness acknowledge him as the Author of their Being, and the Giver of all the Good they enjoy'd: but following the vain Phantasies of their own vain (y) Minds, set up to themselves fictitious no Gods, and their foolish Understandings were darkened: Assuming to themselves the Opinion and Name (z) of being wise, they became Fools; and quitting the incomprehensible Majesty and Glory of the Eternal Incorruptible Deity, set up to themselves the Images of corruptible Men, Birds, Beasts, and Insects, as fit Objects of their Adoration and Worship. Wherefore they having forsaken God, he also left them to the Lusts of their own Hearts, and that Uncleanness their darken'd Hearts led them into, to dishonour their Bodies among themselves: Who so much debased themselves, as to change the true God who made them, for a Lie (a) of their own making, worshipping and serving the Creature, and things even of a lower Rank than themselves, more than the Creator, who is God over all, blessed for evermore, Amen. For this Cause God gave them up to shameful and infamous Lusts and Passions: For even their Women did change their natural Use into that which is against Nature: And likewise their Men leaving also the natural Use of the Women, burned in their Lusts one towards another, Men with Men practising that which is shameful, and receiving in themselves a fit Reward of their Error, i. e. Idolatry (b). And (c) as they did not search out (d) God whom they had in the World, so as to

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NOTES.

21 (y) Ἐμαυλίσθησαν ἐν τοῖς διαλογισμοῖς αὐτῶν, became vain in their Imaginations or Reasonings. What it is to become vain in the Scripture-Language, one may see in these words, And they followed Vanity, and became vain, and went after the Heathen, and made to themselves molten Images, and worshipped all the Host of Heaven, and served Baal, 2 Kings 17, 15, 16. And accordingly the forsaking of Idolatry and the Worship of false Gods, is called by St. Paul, turning from Vanity to the living God, Acts 14. 15.

22 (z) Φάσκοντες εἶναι σοφοί, Professing themselves to be wise; Though the Nations of the Heathens generally thought themselves wise in the Religions they embrac'd; yet the Apostle here having all along in this and the following Chapter used Greeks for Gentiles, he may be thought to have an Eye to the Greeks, among whom the Men of Study and Enquiry had assumed to themselves the Name of σοφοί wise.

25 (a) The false and fictitious Gods of the Heathen are very fitly call'd in the Scripture, Lies, Amos 2. 4. Jer. 17. 19, 20.

27 (b) Error, so Idolatry is call'd, 2 Pet. 2. 18. As they against the Light of Nature debased and dishonour'd God by their Idolatry, 'twas a just and fit Recompense they received in being left to debase and dishonour themselves by unnatural Lusts.

28 (c) And. This Copulative joyns this Verse to the 25th, so that the Apostle will be better understood, if all between be look'd on as a Parenthesis, this being a Continuation of what he was there saying, or rather a Repetition of it in short, which led him into the Thread of his Discourse.

(d) Ὅν τι ἐδονίμασαν, did not like, rather did not try or search, for the Greek word signifies to search and find out by searching: So St. Paul often uses it, ch. 2. 18; and 12. 2. compared, and 14. 22. Eph. 5. 10.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

29. have him with a due Acknowledgment (e) of him, God gave them up to an unsearching and unjudicious (f) Mind, to do things incongruous, and not meet (g) to be done; Being filled with all manner of Iniquity, Fornication, Wickedness, Covetousness, Malice, full of Envy, Contention, Deceit, Malignity even to Murder, Backbiters, Haters of God, Insulters of Men, Proud, Boasters, Inventers of new Arts of Debauchery, disobedient to Parents, Without Understanding, Covenant-breakers, without natural Affection, implacable, unmerciful: Who though they acknowledge the Rule of Right (h) prescribed them by God, and discover'd by the Light of Nature, did not yet understand (i) that those who did such things were worthy of Death, do (k) not only do them themselves, but live well together without any Mark of Disesteem or Censure with them that do them.

Being filled with all un-²⁹ righteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness, full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers,

Backbiters, haters of³⁰ God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents,

Without understanding,³¹ covenant-breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful.

Who knowing the judgment of God (that they which commit such things are worthy of death) not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.

NOTES.

(e) Ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, *with Acknowledgment*. That the Gentiles were not wholly without the Knowledge of God in the World, St. Paul tells us in this very Chapter, but they did not acknowledge him as they ought, *ver. 21*. They had God εἶχον θεόν, but ἐκ ἁδούκας ἐχον αὐτὸν ἐν ἐπιγνώσει, but did not so improve that Knowledge, as to acknowledge or honour him as they ought. This Verse seems in other Words to express the same that is said, *ver. 21*.

(f) Εἰς ἁδούκας, *to a reprobate Mind*, rather to an *unsearching Mind*, in the Sense of St. Paul, who often uses Compounds and Derivatives in the Sense wherein a little before he used the Primitive Words, though a little varying from the precise Greek Idiom: an Example whereof we have in this very word ἁδούκας, 2 Cor. 13: where having, *ver. 3*. used δοκίμη for a Proof of his Mission by supernatural Gifts, he uses ἁδούκας for one that was destitute of such Proofs. So here he tells the Romans, that the Gentiles not exercising their Minds to search out the Truth, and form their Judgments right, God left them to an unsearching, unjudicious Mind.

Non explorantibus permittit mentem non exploratricem.

(g) A Discourse like this of St. Paul here, wherein Idolatry is made the Cause of the enormous Crimes and profligate Lives Men run into, may be read, *Wisdom 14. 11, &c.*

32 (h) τὸ δίκαιωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ, *The Judgment of God*, might it not be translated, *the Rectitude of God*? i. e. That Rule of Rectitude which God had given to Mankind in giving them Reason: As that Righteousness which God requires, for Salvation in the Gospel is called *the Righteousness of God*, *ver. 17*. *Rectitude* in the Translation being used in this appropriated Sense, as δίκαιωμα is in the Original. *Vid. Note, ch. 2. 26.*

(i) Οὐκ ἐνόησαν ὅτι, *Did not understand that they who commit*, &c. This reading is justified by the *Clermont*, and another ancient Manuscript, as well as by that which the Old Latin Version follow'd, as well as *Clement*, *Isidore*, and *Oecumenius*, and will probably be thought the more genuine by those who can hardly suppose that St. Paul should affirm that the Gentile World did know that he who offended against any of the Directions of this natural Rule of Rectitude, taught or discoverable by the Light of Reason, was worthy of Death, especially if we remember what he says, *ch. 5. 13. That Sin is not imputed when there is no positive Law*: And *ch. 7. 9. I was alive without the Law once*: Both which places signifying that Men did not know Death to be the Wages of Sin in general, but by the Declaration of a positive Law.

(k) Συνευδοκῶσι τοῖς πεποιμένοι, *have Pleasure in those that do them*. He that considers that the Design of the Apostle here, manifest in the immediately following Words, is to combat the Animosity of the Jews against the Gentiles, and that there could not be a more effectual way to shame them into a more modest and mild Temper, than by shewing them that the Gentiles, in all the Darkness that blinded them, and the Extravagancies they run into, were never guilty of such an Absurdity as this, to censure and separate from others, and shew an implacable Aversion to them, for what they themselves were equally guilty of. He I say that considers this, will be easily persuaded to understand συνευδοκῶσι here as I do, for a Complacency that avoided censuring or breaking with them who were in the same State and Course of Life with themselves, that did nothing amiss but what they themselves were equally guilty of. There can be nothing clearer than that συνευδοκῶσι, *have pleasure*, in this Verse, is opposed to κείρας, *judgest*, in the next Verse, without which I do not see how it is possible to make out the Inference which the Apostle draws here.

(l) Therefore

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 1 Therefore thou art inexcusable, O man, who-soever thou art that judgest: for wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thy self; for thou that judgest, dost the same things.
- 2 But we are sure that the judgment of God is according to truth, against them which commit such things.
- 3 And thinkest thou this, O man that judgest them which do such things, and

(1) Therefore thou art unexcusable, O Man, who ever thou art (*m*), that judgest (*n*) or censurest another; For wherein thou judgest another, thou condemnest thy self: For thou that judgest, art alike guilty in doing the same things. But this we are sure of, that the Judgment that God passes upon any Offenders, is according to (*o*) Truth, right and just. Canst thou who dost those things which thou condemnest in another, think that thou shalt escape the

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NOTES.

1 (1) *Therefore*; This is a Term of Illation, and shews the Consequence here drawn from the foregoing Words. *Therefore* the Jew is inexcusable in judging, because the Gentiles with all the Darkeness that was on their Minds, were never guilty of such a Folly as to judge those who were no more faulty than themselves. For the better understanding of this place, it may not perhaps be amiss to set the whole Argumentation of the Apostle here in its due Light: It stands thus; "The Gentiles acknowledged the Rectitude of the Law of Nature, but knew not that those who break any of its Rules, incurred Death by their Transgression: But as much in the dark as they were, they are not guilty of any such Absurdity as to condemn others, or refuse Communication with them as unworthy of their Society, who are no worse than themselves, nor do any thing but what they themselves do equally with them, but live in Complacency on fair Terms with them, without Censure or Separation, thinking as well of their Condition as of their own: *Therefore* if the blinded Heathen do so, thou, O Jew, art inexcusable, who having the Light of the revealed Law of God, and knowing by it, that the Breaches of the Law merit Death, dost judge others to Perdition, and shut them out from Salvation, for that which thou thy self art equally guilty of, *viz.* Disobedience to the Law. Thou, a poor, ignorant, conceited, fallible Man, fittest in Judgment upon others, and committest the same things thou condemnest them for: But this thou mayst be sure, that the Judgment and Condemnation of God is right and firm, and will certainly be executed upon those who do such things. For thou who adjudgest the Heathen to Condemnation for the same things which thou dost thy self, canst thou imagine that thou thy self shalt escape the same Judgment of God? God, whatever thou mayst think, is no Respector of Persons: Both Jews as well as Gentiles, that are perversely contentious against others, and do not themselves obey the Gospel, shall meet with Wrath and Indignation from God: And Gentiles as well as Jews, whom the Goodness and Forbearance of God bringeth to Repentance, and an humble, submissive Acceptance of the Gospel, shall find Acceptance with God, and eternal Life in the Kingdom of the Messiah; from which if thou art contentious to shut out the Gentiles, thou manifestly shuttest out thy self.

(*m*) *O Man, who-soever thou art.* It is plain from *ver.* 17, and 27. and the whole Tenor of this Chapter, that St. Paul by these words means the Jews; but there are two visible Reasons why he speaks in these Terms: 1st, He makes his Conclusion general, as having the more Force, but less Offence, than if he had bluntly named the Jews, whom he is very careful in all this Epistle to treat in the softest manner imaginable. 2^{dly}, He uses the Term *Man* emphatically, in Opposition to *God* in the next Verse.

(*n*) *Judgeth.* There will need nothing to be said to those who read this Epistle with the least Attention, to prove that the *judging* which St. Paul here speaks of, was, that Averfion which the Jews generally had to the Gentiles, so that the unconverted Jews could not bear with the Thoughts of a Messiah, that admitted the Heathen equally with them into his Kingdom; nor could the converted Jews be brought to admit them into their Communion, as the People of God now equally with themselves; so that they generally, both one and t'other, judg'd them unworthy the Favour of God, and out of Capacity to become his People any other way, but by Circumcision and an Observance of the ritual Parts of the Law, the Inexcusableness and Absurdity whereof St. Paul shews in this Chapter.

2 (*o*) *According to Truth,* doth, I suppose, signifie not barely a true Judgment, which will stand in Opposition to erroneous, and that will not take effect, but something more, *i. e.* according to the Truth of his Predictions and Threats. As if he had said, "But if God in Judgment cast off the Jews from being any longer his People, we know this to be according to his Truth, who hath forewarned them of it. Ye Jews judge the Gentiles not to be received into the People of God, and refuse them Admittance into the Kingdom of the Messiah, though you break the Law, as well as they, you judge as prejudic'd passionate Men. But the Judgment of God against you will stand firm." The Reason why he does it so covertly, may be that which I have before-mention'd, his great Care not to shock the Jews, especially here in the beginning, till he had got fast hold upon them. And hence possibly it is, that he calls obeying the Gospel, *obeying the Truth*, *ver.* 8. and uses other the like soft Expressions in this Chapter.

condemn-

4. condemning Sentence of God ? Or slightest thou the Riches of his Goodness, Forbearance and long-Suffering, not knowing nor considering that the Goodness of God ought to lead thee to Repentance ? But
5. layest up to thy self Wrath and Punishment, which thou wilt meet with at the day of Judgment, and that just Retribution which shall be awarded thee by God in proportion to thy Impenitency, and the
6. Hardness of thy Heart ; who will retribute to every one according to his Works, viz. Eternal Life to all those who by Patience (p) and Gentleness in Well-doing seek Glory and Honour, and a State of Im-
7. mortality : But to them who are contentious * and froward, and will not obey the Truth (q), but subject themselves to Unrighteousness, Indignation and Wrath ;
8. Tribulation and Anguish, shall be poured out upon every Soul of Man that worketh Evil, of the Jew
9. first, and also of the Gentile. But Glory, Honour and Peace, shall be bestowed on every Man that
10. worketh Good, on the Jew first (r), and also on the

doest the same, that thou shalt escape the judgment of God ?

Or despisest thou the riches of his Goodness, and forbearance, and long-suffering, not knowing that the goodness of God leadeth thee to repentance ?

But after thy hardness, and impenitent heart, treasurest up unto thy self wrath against the day of wrath, and revelation of the righteous judgment of God ;

Who will render to every man according to his deeds :

To them, who by patient continuance in well-doing, seek for glory, and honour, and immortality ; eternal life :

But unto them that are contentious, and do not obey the truth, but obey unrighteousness, indignation, and wrath ;

Tribulation and anguish upon every soul of man that doth evil, of the Jew first, and also of the Gentile.

But glory, honour, and peace, to every man that

NOTES.

7 (p) *Patience* in this Verse is opposed to *Contentious* * in the next, and seems principally to regard the Jews, who had no Patience for any Consideration of the Gentiles, but with a strange Peevishness and Contention, opposed the Freedom of the Gospel in admitting the believing Gentiles to the Franchises of the Kingdom of the Messiah, upon equal Terms with themselves.

8 (q) Though by *Truth*, the Gospel be here meant, yet I doubt not but St. Paul used the Term Truth with an Eye to the Jews, who though some few of them received the Gospel, yet even a great part of those few join'd with the rest of their Nation in opposing this great Truth of the Gospel, that under the Messiah the Gentiles who believed were the People of God, as well as the Jews, and such as were to be received by them.

9, 10 (r) *The Jew first and also the Gentile*. We see by these two Verses, and ch. 1. 16. that St. Paul carefully lays it down, that there was now under the Gospel no other National Distinction between the Jews and the Gentiles, but only a Priority in the Offer of the Gospel, and in the Design of Rewards and Punishments, according as the Jews obey'd or not. Which may farther satisfy us, that the Distinction which St. Paul insists on so much here, and all through the first part of this Epistle is National, the Comparison being between the Jews as nationally the People of God ; and the Gentiles, as not the People of God before the Messiah ; and that under the Messiah the Professors of Christianity, consisting most of converted Gentiles, were the People of God, owned and acknowledg'd as such by him, the unbelieving Jews being rejected, and the unbelieving Gentiles never received, but that yet personally both Jews and Gentiles, every single Person, shall be punished for his own particular Sin, as appears by the two next Verses.

Gentile.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- worketh good, to the Jew first, and also to the Gentile.
- 11 For there is no respect of Persons with God.
- 12 For as many as have sinned without law, shall also perish without law: and as many as have sinned in the law, shall be judged by the law,
- 13 (For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified.
- 14 For when the Gentiles which have not the law, do by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law, are a law unto themselves:
- 15 Which shew the work of the law written in their hearts, their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the mean while accusing, or else excusing one another)
- 16 In the day when God shall judge the secrets of men by Jesus Christ, according to my gospel.
- 17 Behold, thou art called a Jew, and reatest in the law, and makest thy boast of God;

Gentile. For with God there is no respect of Persons. For all that have sinned without having the positive Law of God, which was given the Israelites, shall perish (s) without the Law; and all who have sinned being under the Law, shall be judged by the Law. (For the bare Hearers of the Law are not thereby just or righteous in the sight of God; but the Doers of the Law, they who exactly perform all that is commanded in it shall be justified. For when the Gentiles, who have no positive Law given them by God (t), do by the Direction of the Light of Nature observe or keep to the moral Rectitude contained in the positive Law given by God to the Israelites, they being without any positive Law given them, have nevertheless a Law within themselves; and shew the Rule of the Law written in their Hearts, their Consciences also bearing witness to that Law, they amongst themselves, in the reasoning of their own Minds, accusing or excusing one another) At the Day of Judgment, when as I make known in my preaching the Gospel (u), God shall judge all the Actions of Men by Jesus Christ. Behold thou art named (w) a Jew; and thou with Satisfaction reatest in the Privilege of having the Law, as a Mark of

11.

12.

13.

14.

15.

16.

17.

NOTES.

12 (s) Ἀπολύντου, shall perish; κρινθήσονται, shall be judged. Those under the Law St. Paul says shall be judg'd by the Law; and this is easy to conceive, because they were under a positive Law, wherein Life and Death were annexed as the Reward and Punishment of Obedience and Disobedience; but of the Gentiles who were not under that positive Law, he says barely that they shall perish. St. Paul does not use these so eminently differing Expressions for nothing; they will, I think, give some Light to ch. 5. 13. and my Interpretation of it, if they lead us no farther.

14 (t) Μὴ νόμον ἔχοντας, having not the Law, or not having a Law. The Apostle by the word Law generally in this Epistle signifying a positive Law given by God, and promulgated by a Revelation from Heaven, with the Sanction of declared Rewards and Punishments annexed to it, it is not improbable that in this Verse (where by the Greek Particle he so plainly points out the Law of Moses) by νόμος, without the Article, may intend Law in general, in his Sense of a Law, and so this Verse may be translated thus; For when the Gentiles who have not a Law, do by Nature the things contained in the Law; these not having a Law, are a Law to themselves. And so ver. 12. As many as have sinned, being under a Law, shall be judged by a Law. For though from Adam to Christ there was no revealed positive Law, but that given to the Israelites; yet it is certain that by Jesus Christ a positive Law from Heaven is given to all Mankind, and that those to whom this has been promulgated by the Preaching of the Gospel, are all under it, and shall be judg'd by it.

16 (u) According to my Gospel, i. e. as I make known in my preaching the Gospel. That this is the Meaning of this Phrase, may be seen, 2 Tim. 2. 8. And of St. Paul's declaring of it in his Preaching, we have an Instance left upon Record, Acts 17. 31.

17 (w) Ἐπώνυμόν σου, thou art named, emphatically said by St. Paul; For he that was such a Jew as he describes in the following Verse, he insists on it, was a Jew only in Name, not in Reality, for so he concludes, ver. 28, and 29. he is not in the Esteem of God a Jew, who is so outwardly only.

God's

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

- God's peculiar Favour (x), whom thou gloriest in, as being thy God, and thou one of his People; a People who alone know and worship the true God;
18. And thou knowest his Will, and hast the Touchstone of things excellent (y), having been educated in the
19. Law. And takest upon thee as one who art a Guide to the Blind (z), a Light to the ignorant Gentiles who are in Darkness (z), an Instructor of the Foolish, (z), a Teacher of Babes, having an exact Draught, and a compleat System (a) of Knowledge and Truth in the Law. Thou therefore who art a Master in this Knowledge, and teachest others, teachest thou not thy self? Thou that preachest that
22. a Man should not steal, dost thou steal? Thou that declarest Adultery to be unlawful, dost thou commit it? Thou that abhorrest Idols, dost thou commit
23. Sacrilege? Thou who gloriest in the Law, dost thou
24. by breaking of the Law dishonour God? For the Name of God is blasphemed amongst the Gentiles, by reason of your Miscarriages, as it is written (b);
25. Circumcision (c) indeed, and thy being a Jew, profiteth (d), if thou keep the Law: But if thou be a Transgressor of the Law, thy Circumcision is made Uncircumcision; thou art no way better than an
26. Heathen. If therefore an uncircumcised Gentile keep the moral Rectitudes (e) of the Law, shall he not be reckon'd and accounted of, as if he were circumcised, and

And knowest his will,¹⁸ and approvest the things that are more excellent, being instructed out of the law.

And art confident that¹⁹ thou thy self art a guide of the blind, a light of them which are in darkness,

An instructor of the²⁰ foolish, a teacher of babes, which hast the form of knowledge, and of the truth in the law.

Thou therefore which²¹ teachest another, teachest thou not thy self? Thou that preachest a man should not steal, dost thou steal?

Thou that sayest a man²² should not commit adultery, dost thou commit adultery? thou that abhorrest idols, dost thou commit sacrilege?

Thou that makest thy²³ boast of the Law, through breaking the law dishonourest thou God?

For the name of God²⁴ is blasphemed among the Gentiles through you, as it is written;

For circumcision verily²⁵ profiteth, if thou keep the law: but if thou be a breaker of the law, thy circumcision is made uncircumcision.

Therefore, if the un-²⁶circumcised keep the righteousness of the law,

NOTES.

17—20 (x) In those four Verses St. Paul makes use of the Titles the Jews assumed to themselves, from the Advantages they had of Light and Knowledge above the Gentiles, to shew them how inexcusable they were in judging the Gentiles, who were even in their own Account so much beneath them in Knowledge, for doing those things which they themselves were also guilty of.

17 (x) Vid. Mic. 3. 11.

18 (y) Τα διαίεγνα, signifies things excellent, convenient, controverted or differing. In either of these Senses it may be understood here, though the last, viz. their Difference in respect of lawful and unlawful, I think may be pitch'd on, as most suited to the Apostle's Design here, and that which the Jews much stood upon, as giving them one great Pre-eminence above the defiled Gentiles.

19, 20 (z) Blind, in Darkness; Foolish, Babes, were Appellations which the Jews gave to the Gentiles, signifying how much inferior to themselves they thought them in Knowledge.

20 (a) Μόρφωσις, Form, seems here to be the same with τύπος, Form, ch. 6. 17. i. e. such a Draught as contained and represented the Parts and Lineaments of the whole. For it is to be remember'd, that the Apostle uses these Expressions and Terms here in the same Sense the Jews spoke of themselves vauntingly over the Gentiles, he thereby aggravating their Fault in judging the Gentiles as they did.

24 (b) See 2 Sam. 12. 14. Ezek. 36. 23.

25 (c) Circumcision is here put for being a Jew, as being one of the chief and most discriminating Rites of that People.

(d) Profiteth if thou keep the Law; Because a Jew that kept the Law was to have Life therein, Lev. 18. 4.

26 (e) Τα δίκαια κατὰ τὴν νόμον, The Righteousness of the Law. I have taken the Liberty to render it, The Rectitudes of the Law, in an appropriated Sense of the word Rectitude, in Imitation

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

shall not his uncircumcision be counted for circumcision? and every way a Jew? And shall not a Gentile, who in his natural State of Uncircumcision fulfils the Law, 27.

27 And shall not uncircumcision which is by nature, if it fulfil the law, judge thee, who by the letter and circumcision dost transgress the law?

NOTES.

Imitation of St. Paul, who uses δικαιοσύνη here for all those Precepts of the Law which contain in them any part of the natural and eternal Rule of Rectitude, which is made known to Men by the Light of Reason. This Rule of their Actions all Mankind, uncircumcised as well as circumcised, had, and is that which St. Paul calls δικαίωμα τῷ θεῷ, ch. 1. 32. Because it came from God, and was made by him; the moral Rule to all Mankind being laid within the Discovery of their Reason, which if they kept to, it was δικαίωμα, Righteousness to them, or they were justified. And this Rule of Morality St. Paul says the Gentile World did acknowledge. So that δικαίωμα τῷ θεῷ, ch. 1. 32. signifies that Rule of Right taken in general, and δικαιοσύνη τῷ νόμῳ here signifies the particular Branches of it contain'd in the Law of Moses. For no other part of the Law of Moses could an Heathen be supposed to observe or be concerned in: And therefore those only can be the δικαιοσύνη τῷ νόμῳ here meant. If we consider the various Senses that Translators and Expositors have given to this Term δικαίωμα, in the several places of St. Paul's Epistles, where it occurs, we shall have occasion to think, that the Apostle used this Word with great Latitude and Variety of Significations; whereas I imagine, that if we carefully read those Passages, we shall find that he used it every where in the same Sense, i. e. for that Rule which, if complied with, justified, or render'd perfect, the Person or thing it refer'd to. For Example:

Rom. 1. 32. δικαίωμα θεῷ, translated the Judgment of God, is that Rule of Right, which if the Heathen World had kept and perfectly obey'd, they had been righteous before God.

Rom. 2. 26. δικαιοσύνη τῷ νόμῳ, The Righteousness of the Law, are those Precepts of the Law of Moses, which if the Uncircumcised whom he there speaks of had kept, they had been righteous before God.

Rom. 5. 16. εἰς δικαίωμα, to Justification, is to the obtaining of Righteousness.

Rom. 5. 18. δι' ἑνὸς δικαίωμα, By one Righteousness, is by one Act whereby he was justified or completely perfected to be what he had undertaken to be, viz. the Redeemer and Saviour of the World. For it was διὰ παθῆματος, or as some Copies read it, διὰ παθίματος, by his Suffering, viz. Death on the Cross, that he was perfected, Heb. 2. 9, 10. and 14, 15. and 5. 7—9. Rom. 5. 10. Phil. 2. 8. Col. 1. 21, 22. Rom. 8. 4. τὸ δικαίωμα τῷ νόμῳ, The Righteousness of the Law. Here, as Rom. 2. 26. it is that Rule of Right contained in the Law, which if a Man exactly performed, he was righteous and perfect before God.

Heb. 9. 1. δικαιοσύνη λατρείας, Ordinances of Divine Service, are those Rules or Precepts concerning the outward Worship of God, which when conformed to render it perfect, and such as was right and unblameable before God.

Heb. 9. 10. δικαιοσύνη σαρκός, Carnal Ordinances, are such Rules concerning ritual Performances, as when observ'd, justified the Flesh. By these Observances, according as they were prescribed, the Flesh or natural outward Man obtain'd a legal outward Holiness or Righteousness, there was no Exception against him, but he was freely admitted into the Congregation, and into the Sanctuary.

In the same Sense δικαιοσύνη is also used in the Apocalypse.

Rev. 15. 4. τὰ δικαιοσύνη σου ἑφανέρωθησαν, Thy Judgments are made manifest, i. e. those Terms whereupon Men were to be justified before God, were clearly and fully made known under the Gospel. Here, as Rom. 1. they are called δικαιοσύνη θεῷ, the Terms which God had prescribed to Men for their Justification. And,

Rev. 19. 8. τὰ δικαιοσύνη τῶν ἁγίων, The Righteousness of the Saints, i. e. The Performances whereby the Saints stand justified before God.

So that if we well observe it, δικαίωμα is the Rule of Right, as having God for its Author, it is δικαίωμα θεῷ; as contain'd in the Precepts of the Law 'tis δικαιοσύνη τῷ νόμῳ; as it concerns the external, instituted Rites of the Levitical Worship of God, it is δικαιοσύνη λατρείας; as it concerns the outward Legal or Ritual Holiness of the Jews, it is δικαιοσύνη σαρκός; as it is in holy Men made perfect, it is δικαιοσύνη ἁγίων.

It may not be amiss to take a little Notice also of St. Paul's Use of the other Term here, νόμος, Law, which he commonly puts for a positive Rule given to Men, with the Sanction of a Penalty annexed; and in particular frequently (sometimes with, sometimes without, the Particle) for the Law of Moses, without naming what Law he means, as if there had been no other Law in the World, as indeed there was not any other in St. Paul's Notion of a Law, from the Fall to our Saviour's time, but only the Law given by God to the Israelites by the Hand of Moses. Under the Gospel the Law of Moses was abrogated: But yet the δικαιοσύνη τῷ νόμῳ were not abrogated. The δικαίωμα τῷ θεῷ not only stood firm, but was by

28. Law, condemn (f) thee who, notwithstanding the Advantage of having the Law and Circumcision (g), art a Transgressor of the Law? For he is not a Jew who is one in outward Appearance and Conformity (h) nor is that the Circumcision which renders a Man acceptable to God, which is outwardly in the Flesh. But
29. he is a Jew, and one of the People of God, who is one in an inward Conformity to the Law: and that is the Circumcision which avails a Man, which is of the Heart (i), according to the spiritual Sense of the Law, which is the purging our Hearts from Iniquity by Faith in Jesus Christ, and not in an external Observance of the Letter, by which a Man cannot attain Life (k); such true Israelites as these, though they are judg'd, condemn'd, and rejected by Men of the Jewish Nation, are nevertheless honoured and accepted by God.

For he is not a Jew,²⁸ which is one outwardly; neither is that circumcision, which is outward in the flesh:

But he is a Jew, which²⁹ is one inwardly, and circumcision is that of the heart, in the spirit, and not in the letter, whose praise is not of men, but of God.

N O T E S.

the divine Authority promulgated anew by Jesus Christ, the King and Saviour of the World. For 'tis of this that he says, that he *is not come to destroy the Law, but to fulfil it*, i. e. to give it positively and plainly its full Latitude and Extent, and set these δικαιώματα τῷ νόμῳ in their due Light and full Force; and accordingly we see all the Branches of it more expressly commanded, and with Penalties more vigorously enforced on all his Subjects by our Saviour and his Apostles, than they were in the Law of Moses.

Thus we see that by the Doctrine of St. Paul and the New Testament, there is one and the same Rule of Rectitude set to the Actions of all Mankind, Jews, Gentiles, and Christians; and that failing of a compleat Obedience to it in every tittle, makes a Man unrighteous, the Consequence whereof is Death. For the Gentiles that have sinned without a Law, shall perish without a Law; the Jews that have sinned having a Law, shall be judg'd by that Law; but that both Jews and Gentiles shall be saved from Death, if they believe in Jesus Christ, and sincerely endeavour after Righteousness, though they do not attain unto it, their Faith being accounted to them for Righteousness, Rom. 3. 19—24.

27 (f) Judge thee. This he saith prosecuting the Design he began with, ver. 1. of shewing the Folly and Unreasonableness of the Jews in judging the Gentiles, and denying them Admittance and Fellowship with themselves in the Kingdom of the Messias.

(g) It is plain that *by Nature*, and *by the Letter and Circumcision*, are there opposed to one another, and mean the one a Man in his natural State, wholly a Stranger to the Law of God revealed by Moses, and the other a Jew observing the external Rites contained in the Letter of that Law.

28 (h) Vid. ch. 9. 6, 7. Gal. 6. 15, 16.

29 (i) St. Paul's Exposition of this, see Phil. 3. 3. Col. 2. 11.

(k) Letter, vid. ch. 7. 6. 2 Cor. 3. 6, 7. compared with 17.

S E C T. III.

C H A P. III. 1—31.

C O N T E N T S.

IN this third Chapter St. Paul goes on to shew that the National Privileges the Jews had over the Gentiles, in being the People of God, gave them no peculiar Right, or better Title to the Kingdom of the Messias, than what the Gentiles had. Because they as well as the Gentiles all sinned, and not being able to attain Righteousness by the Deeds of the Law more than the Gentiles, Justification was to be had only by the Free Grace of God through Faith in Jesus Christ; so that upon their Believing, God, who is the God not of

of the Jews alone, but also of the Gentiles, accepted the Gentiles as well as the Jews; and now admits all who profess Faith in Jesus Christ, to be equally his People. *An. Ch. 57. Neronis 3.*

To clear his way to this, he begins with removing an Objection of the Jews ready to say; If it be so as you have told us in the foregoing Section, that it is the Circumcision of the Heart alone that availeth, what Advantage have the Jews, who keep to the Circumcision of the Flesh, and the other Observances of the Law, by being the People of God? To which he answers, that the Jews had many Advantages above the Gentiles; but yet that in respect of their Acceptance with God under the Gospel, they had none at all. He declares that both Jews and Gentiles are Sinners, both equally incapable of being justified by their own Performances: That God was equally the God both of Jews and Gentiles, and out of his Free Grace justified those, and only those who believ'd, whether Jews or Gentiles.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

¹ What advantage then hath the Jew? or what profit is there of circumcision?

² Much every way: chiefly, because that unto them were committed the oracles of God.

³ For what if some did not believe: shall their unbelief make the faith of God without effect?

⁴ God forbid: yea let God be true, but every man a liar; as it is written, That thou mightest be justified in thy sayings, and mightest overcome when thou art judged.

⁵ But if our unrighteousness commend the righteousness of God, what shall we say? Is God unrighteous who taketh vengeance? (I speak as a man)

If it be thus that Circumcision by a Failure of Obedience to the Law becomes Uncircumcision; and that the Gentiles who keep the Righteousness or moral part of the Law, shall judge the Jews that transgress the Law, what Advantage have the Jews? or what Profit is there of Circumcision? I answer, Much every way (l); chiefly that God particularly present amongst them revealed his Mind and Will, and engaged himself in Promises to them, by Moses and other his Prophets, which Oracles they had, and kept amongst them, whilst the rest of Mankind had no such Communication with the Deity, had no Revelation of his Purposes of Mercy to Mankind, but were, as it were, without God in the World. For though some of the Jews who had the Promises of the Messias, did not believe in him when he came, and so did not receive the Righteousness which is by Faith in Jesus Christ; yet their Unbelief cannot render the Faithfulness and Truth of God of no Effect, who had promised to be a God to Abraham and his Seed after him, and bless them to all Generations (m). No, by no means. God forbid that any one should entertain such a Thought: Yea, let God be acknowledged to be true, and every Man a Liar, as it is written, That thou mightest be justified in thy Sayings, and mightest overcome when thou art judged.

But you will say farther, If it be so that our Sinfulness commendeth the Righteousness of God shewn in keeping his word (n) given to our Forefathers, what shall I say, Is it not Injustice in God to punish us for it, and cast us off (I must be under-

NOTES.

² (l) A List of the Advantages the Jews had over the Gentiles he gives, *ch. 9. 4, 5.* but here mentions only one of them, that was most proper to his present purpose.

(m) How this was made good, St. Paul explains more at large in the following Chapter, and *ch. 9. 6—13.*

⁵ (n) That by the Righteousness of God St. Paul here intends God's Faithfulness in keeping his Promise of saving Believers, Gentiles as well as Jews, by Righteousness through Faith in Jesus Christ, is plain, *ver. 4, 7, 26.* St. Paul's great Design here, and all through the eleven first Chapters of this Epistle being to convince the Romans, that God purposed, and in the Old Testament declared, that he would receive and save the Gentiles by Faith in the Messias, which was the only way whereby Jews or Gentiles (they being all Sinners, and equally destitute of Righteousness by Works) were to be saved. This was a Doctrine which the Jews could not bear, and therefore the Apostle here in the Person of a Jew, urges, and in his own Person answers their Objections against it, confirming to the Romans the Veracity and Faithfulness of God, on whom they might with all Assurance depend for the Performance of whatever he said.

- stood to say this in the Person of a carnal Man pleading for himself) God forbid : For if God be unrighteous, how shall he judge the World (o) ? For (p) if the Truth and Veracity of God hath the more appear'd to his Glory, by reason of my Lie (q), i. e. my Sin, why yet am I condemn'd for a Sinner, and punished for it ? Why rather should not this be thought a right Consequence, and a just Excuse ? Let us do Evil that Good may come of it, that Glory may come to God by it. This (r) some maliciously and slanderously report us Christians to say, for which they deserve, and will from God receive Punishment as they deserve.
9. Are we Jews then in any whit a better Condition than the Gentiles (s) ? Not at all. For I have already (t) brought a Charge of Guilt and Sin both against Jews and Gentiles, and urg'd that there is not one of them clear, which I shall prove now against you Jews ; For it is written,
10. There is none righteous, no not one : there is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable, there is none that doth good, no not one. Their Throat is an open Sepulchre ; with their Tongues they have used Deceit ; the Poison of Asps is under their Lips ; whose Mouth is full of Cursing

God forbid : for then how 6 shall God judge the world ? For if the truth of 7 God hath more abounded through my lie unto his glory ; why yet am I also judged as a sinner ?

And not rather, as we 8 be slanderously reported, and as some affirm that we say, Let us do evil, that good may come ? whose damnation is just.

What then ? are we 9 better than they ? No in no wise : for we have before proved both Jews and Gentiles, that they are all under sin ;

As it is written, There is 10 none righteous, no not one:

There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God.

They are all gone out 11 of the way, they are together become unprofitable, there is none that doth good, no not one.

Their throat is an open 12 sepulchre ; with their tongues they have used deceit ; the poison of asps is under their lips ;

Whose mouth is full of 14 cursing and bitterness.

NOTES.

6 (o) This which is an Argument in the Mouth of *Abraham*, Gen. 18. 25. *St. Paul* very appositly makes use of to stop the Mouths of the blasphemous Jews.

7 (p) *For*. This Particle plainly joyns what follows in this and the next Verse to *Vengeance* in the 5th Verse, and shews it to be, as it is, a Continuation of the Objection begun in that Verse, why *St. Paul* broke it into pieces by intruding the 6th Verse in the middle of it, there is a very plain Reason. In the Objection there were two things to be corrected ; 1st. The charging God with Unrighteousness, which as soon as mentioned, it was a becoming Interruption in *St. Paul*, to quash immediately, and to stop the Jews Mouth with the words of *Abraham*. 2^{dly}. The other thing in the Objection was a false Calumny upon the Christians, as if they preaching Justification by Free Grace, said, *Let us do Evil that Good may come of it*. To which the Apostle's Answer was the more distinct, being subjoyn'd to that Branch separated from the other.

(q) *Lie*. The Sense of the Place makes it plain, that *St. Paul* by *Lie* here means Sin in general, but seems to have used the word *Lie*, as having a more forcible and graceful Antithesis to the Truth of God, which the Objection pretends to be thereby illustrated.

8 (r) *Some*. 'Tis past doubt that these were the Jews. But *St. Paul* always, tender towards his own Nation, forbears to name them, when he pronounces this Sentence, that their casting-off and Destruction now at hand, for this Scandal and other Opposition to the Christian Religion, was just.

9 (s) Having in the six foregoing Verses justified the Truth of God, notwithstanding his casting-off the Jews, and vindicated the Doctrine of Grace against the Cavils of the Jews, which two Objections of their's came naturally in his way, the Apostle takes up here again the Jews question proposed, ver. 1. and urges it home to the case in hand. Τὸ δὲ πρῶτον μὲν, being but the same with Τὸ ἐν ἑαυτῷ τῷ Ἰσραὴλ ; ver. 1. Have Jews then any Preference in the Kingdom of the Messiah ? To which he answers, No, not at all. That this is the meaning, is visible from the whole Chapter, where he lays both Jews and Gentiles in an equal State, in reference to Justification.

(t) *Already*, viz. ch. 2. 3. where *St. Paul* under the gentler Compellation of O Man, charges the Jews to be Sinners as well as the Gentiles : and ver. 17—24. shews, that by having the Law they were no more kept from being Sinners than the Gentiles were without the Law. And this Charge against them, that they were Sinners, he here proves against them from the Testimony of their own sacred Books contain'd in the Old Testament.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 15 Their feet are swift to shed blood.
- 16 Destruction and misery are in their ways :
- 17 And the way of peace have they not known.
- 18 There is no fear of God before their eyes.
- 19 Now we know that what things soever the law saith, it saith to them who are under the law; that every mouth may be stopped, and all the world may become guilty before God.
- 20 Therefore by the deeds of the law there shall no flesh be justified in his sight: for by the law is the knowledge of sin.
- 21 But now the righteousness of God without the law is manifested, being witnessed by the law and the prophets;
- 22 Even the righteousness of God which is by faith of Jesus Christ unto all, and upon all them that believe; for there is no difference:
- 23 For all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God;
- 24 Being justified freely by his grace, through the redemption that is in Jesus Christ:

and Bitterness. Their Feet are swift to shed Blood, Destruction and Misery are in their ways, and the way of Peace have they not known. There is no Fear of God before their Eyes. This is all said in the Sacred Book of our Law (u); And what is said there, we know is said to the Jews, who are under the Law, that the Mouth of every Jew that would justify himself might be stopped, and all the World, Jews as well as Gentiles, may be forced to acknowledge themselves guilty before God. From whence it is evident, that by his own Performances, in Obedience to a Law (w) no (x) Man can attain to an exact Conformity to the Rule of Right, so as to be righteous in the sight of God. For by Law, which is the publishing the Rule with a Penalty, we are not delivered from the Power of Sin, nor can it help Men to Righteousness, (y) but by Law we come experimentally to know Sin in the Force and Power of it, since we find it prevail upon us notwithstanding the Punishment of Death is by the Law annexed to it (z). But now the Righteousness of God, that Righteousness which he intended, and will accept, and is a Righteousness not within the Rule and Rigour of Law, is now made manifest and confirm'd by the Testimony of the Law and the Prophets, which bear Witness to this Truth, that Jesus is the Messias, and that it is according to his Purpose and Promise, That the Righteousness of God by Faith in Jesus the Messias, is extended to, and bestowed on, all who believe in him (a), (For there is no Difference between them. They have all, both Jews and Gentiles, sinned, and fail of attaining that Glory (b) which God hath appointed for the Righteous) being made righteous *gratis* by the Favour of God through

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NOTES.

19 (u) *The Law* here signifies the whole Old Testament, which containing Revelations from God in the time of the Law, and being to those under the Law, of Divine Authority, and a Rule as well as the Law it self, it is sometimes in the New Testament call'd *the Law*, and so our Saviour himself uses the Term *Law*, John 10. 34. The meaning of St. Paul here is, That the Declarations of God, which he had cited out of the Old Testament, were spoken of the Jews, who were under the Dispensation of the Old Testament, and were, by the word of God to them, all of them pronounced Sinners.

20 (w) *Ἐξ ἔργων νόμου*, I should render, *by Deeds of Law*, i. e. by Actions of Conformity to a Law requiring the Performance of the *δικαίωμα θεῶν*, *the Right Rule of God* (mentioned, ch. 1. 32.) with a Penalty annexed, no Flesh can be justified: But every one failing of an exact Conformity of his Actions, to the immutable Rectitude of that eternal Rule of Right, will be found unrighteous, and so incur the Penalty of the Law. That this is the meaning of *ἔργα νόμου*, is evident, because the Apostle's Declaration here is concerning all Men, *πάντα σάρκες*. But we know the Heathen World were not under the Law of *Moses*: And accordingly St. Paul does not say, *Ἐξ ἔργων τοῦ νόμου*, *by the Deeds of the Law*, but *Ἐξ ἔργων νόμου*, *by Deeds of Law*. Though in the foregoing and following Verse, where he would specify the Law of *Moses*, he uses the Article with *νόμου* three times.

(x) *No Man*. St. Paul uses here the word *Flesh*, for Man emphatically, as that wherein the Force of Sin is seated. Vid. ch. 7. 14, 18. and 8. 14.

(y) *The Law cannot help Men to Righteousness*. This, which is but implied here, here he is large and express in, ch. 7. and is said expressly, ch. 8. 3. Gal. 3. 21.

(z) Chap. 7. 13.

22 (a) Vid. ch. 10. 12. Gal. 3. 22—28.

23 (b) Here the Glory that comes from God, or by his Appointment, is called *the Glory of God*, as the Righteousness which comes from him, or by his Appointment, is called *the Righteousness of God*, ch. 1. 17. and the Rule of moral Rectitude which has God for its Author, or is appointed by him, is called *δικαίωμα θεῶν*, ch. 1. 32. That this is the Glory here meant, vid. ch. 2. 7, 10. In the same Sense the *Glory of God* is used, ch. 5. 2.

the

ROMANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

25. the Redemption (c) which is by Jesus Christ; Whom God hath set forth to be the Propitiatory or Mercy-seat (d) in his own Blood (e), for the Manifestation of his [God's] Righteousness (f), by passing over (g) their Transgressions formerly committed, which he hath bore with hitherto, so as to with-hold his Hand from

Whom God hath set forth to be a propitiation, through faith in his blood, to declare his righteousness for the remission of sins that are past, through the forbearance of God.

NOTES.

24 (c) *Redemption* signifies Deliverance, but not Deliverance from every thing, but Deliverance from that to which a Man is in Subjection or Bondage. Nor does Redemption by Jesus Christ import there was any Compensation made to God by paying what was of equal Value, in consideration whereof they were delivered; for that is inconsistent with what St. Paul expressly says here, viz. that Sinners are justified by God *gratis*, and of his free Bounty. What this *Redemption* is, St. Paul tells us, Eph. 1. 7. Col. 1. 14. even the Forgiveness of Sins. But if St. Paul had not been so express in defining what he means by *Redemption*, they yet would be thought to lay too much Stress upon the Criticism of a Word in the Translation, who would there by force from the Word in the Original a necessary Sense, which 'tis plain it hath not. That Redeeming in the Sacred Scripture-Language signifies not precisely paying an Equivalent, is so clear, that nothing can be more. I shall refer my Reader to three or four places amongst a great Number; Exod. 6. 6. Deut. 7. 8. and 15. 15. and 24. 18. But if any one will from the literal Signification of the word in English, persist in it against St. Paul's Declarations, that it necessarily implies an equivalent Price paid, I desire him to consider to whom: And that if we will strictly adhere to the Metaphor, it must be to those whom the Redeemed are in Bondage to, and from whom we are redeemed, viz. Sin and Satan. If he will not believe his own System for this, let him believe St. Paul's Words; Tit. 2. 14. *Who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all Iniquity*. Nor could the Price be paid to God in Strictness of Justice (For that is made the Argument here) unless the same Person ought by that strict Justice to have both the Thing redeem'd, and the Price paid for its Redemption. For 'tis to God we are redeemed by the Death of Christ, Rev. 5. 9. *Thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by thy Blood*.

25 (d) *ἱλαστήριον*, signifies *Propitiatory*, or *Mercy-Seat*, and not *Propitiation*, as Mr. Mede has rightly observed upon this place in his Discourse of God's House, §. 1.

(e) The Alexandrine Copy omits the words *διὰ πίστεως*, by Faith: which seems conformable to the Sense of the Apostle here: He says, that *God hath set forth Christ to be the Propitiatory in his Blood*. The Atonement under the Law, was made by Blood sprinkled on the Propitiatory or Mercy-Seat, Lev. 17. 14. Christ, says St. Paul here, is now set out and shewn by God to be the real Propitiatory or Mercy-Seat in his own Blood; see Heb. 9. 25, 26. where the Sacrifice of himself is opposed to the Blood of others. God has set him out to be so, to declare his Righteousness; the Mercy-Seat being the place wherein God spake and declared his Pleasure, Exod. 25. 22. Numb. 7. 8, 9. And it was there where God always appear'd, Lev. 17. 2. It was the place of his Presence, and therefore he is said to dwell between the Cherubims, Psal. 80. 1. 2 Kings 19. 15. For between the Cherubims was the Mercy-Seat. In all which Respects our Saviour, who was the Antitype, is properly call'd the *Propitiatory*.

(f) *δικαιοσύνη*, *Righteousness*, seems to be used here in the same Sense it is ver. 5. for the Righteousness of God, in keeping his word with the Nation of the Jews, notwithstanding their Provocations. And indeed, with the following words of this Verse, contains in it a farther Answer to the Jews Insinuation of God's being hard to their Nation, by shewing that God had been very favourable to them, in not casting them off as they had deserv'd, till according to his Promise he had sent them the Messiah, and they had rejected him.

(g) *διὰ τῶν ὀφείλων*, by passing over: I do not remember any place where *παρεσις* signifies Remission or Forgiveness, but passing by, or passing over, as our Translation has it in the Margent, i. e. over-looking, or as it were, not minding; in which Sense, it cannot be applied to the past Sins of private Persons, for God neither remits nor passes them by so as not to take notice of them. But this *παρεσις τῶν προγεγονότων ἀμαρτιῶν*, passing over past Sins, is spoken nationally, in respect of the People of the Jews; who though they were a very sinful Nation, as appears by the places here brought against them by St. Paul, yet God passed by all that, and would not be hinder'd by their past Sinfulness, from being just in keeping his Promise, in exhibiting to them Christ the Propitiatory. But though he would not be provoked by their past Sins, so as to cast them off from being his People before he had sent them the promised Messiah to be their Saviour; yet after that, when at the due time he had manifested his Righteousness to them, that he might be just, and the Justifier of those who believe in Jesus, he no longer bore with their sinful Obstinacy; but when they rejected the Saviour (whom he had sent according to his Promise) from being their King, God rejected them from being his People, and took the Gentiles into his Church, and made them his People jointly and equally with the few believing Jews. This is plainly the Sense of the Apostle here, where he is discoursing of the Nation of the Jews, and their State in comparison with the Gentiles; not of the State of private Persons. Let any one without Prepossession attentively read the Context, he will find it to be so.

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TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

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| <p>26 To declare, I say at this time his righteousness, that he might be just, and the justifier of him which believeth in Jesus.</p> <p>27 Where is boasting then? It is excluded. By what law? Of works? Nay: but by the law of faith.</p> <p>28 Therefore we conclude, that a man is justified by faith without the deeds of the law.</p> <p>29 Is he the God of the Jews only? Is he not also of the Gentiles? Yes, of the Gentiles also:</p> <p>30 Seeing it is one God which shall justify the circumcision by faith, and uncircumcision through faith.</p> <p>31 Do we then make void the law through faith?</p> | <p>casting off the Nation of the Jews as their past Sins deserved, for the manifesting of his Righteousness (b) at this time (i), that he might be just in keeping his Promise, and be the Justifier of every one, not who is of the Jewish Nation or Extraction, but of the Faith (k) in Jesus Christ. What Reason then have you Jews to glory (l), and set your selves so much above the Gentiles in judging them as you do? None at all: Boasting is totally excluded. By what Law? By the Law of Works? No, but by the Law of Faith. I conclude therefore (m), that a Man is justified by Faith, and not by the Works of the Law (n). Is God the God of the Jews only, and not of the Gentiles also? Yea certainly of the Gentiles also. Since the time is come that God is no longer one to the Jews, and another to the Gentiles, but he is now become one and the same (o) God to them all, and will justify the Jews by Faith, and the Gentiles also through Faith, who by the Law of Moses were heretofore shut out (p) from being the People of God. Do we then make the Law (q) insignificant or useless by our Doctrine of Faith? By no means:</p> |
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NOTES.

26 (b) Δικαιοσύνης αὐτοῦ, his Righteousness, is here to be understood in both Senses in which St. Paul had used it before in this Chapter, viz. ver. 5, and 22. as it is manifest by St. Paul's explaining of it himself in these Words immediately following: That he might be just, and the Justifier of him who believeth in Jesus, which are the two Senses wherein the Righteousness of God is used.

(i) At this time, viz. The Fulness of Time, according to his Promise.

(k) Τὸν ἐκ πίστεως Ἰησοῦ, If this Phrase had been translated, him that is of the Faith of Jesus, as it is, ch. 4. 16. and Gal. 3. 7. rather than him which believeth in Jesus, it would better have expressed the Apostle's meaning here, which was to distinguish οἱ ἐκ πίστεως, those who are of Faith, from οἱ ἐκ περιτομῆς, or οἱ ἐκ νόμου, those who are of the Circumcision, or those who are of the Law, speaking of them as of two sorts or Races of Men, of two different Extractions. To understand this place fully, let any one read ch. 4. 12—16. Gal. 3. 7—10. where he will find the Apostle's Sense more at large.

27 (l) The Glorifying here spoken of, is that of the Jews, i.e. their judging of the Gentiles, and their Contempt of them, which St. Paul had before in several places taken notice of. And here to take down their Pride and Vanity, he tells them, it is wholly excluded by the Gospel, wherein God, who is the God of the Gentiles, as well as of the Jews, justifieth by Faith alone the Jews as well as the Gentiles, since no Man could be justified by the Deeds of the Law. This seems to be said to the converted Jews, to stop their thinking that they had any Advantage over the Gentiles under the Gospel. No, says he, the Gospel which is the Law of Faith lays you equal with the Gentiles, and you have no Ground to assume any thing to your selves, or set your selves above them now under the Messiah. This, and all the rest to this purpose in this Epistle, is said to establish the converted Romans in their Title to the Favour of God, equally with the Jews, in the Gospel, and to fortify them against any Disturbance might be given them by the pretending Jews, which is the principal Design of this Epistle, as we have already observed.

28 (m) Therefore, this Inference is drawn from what he had taught, ver. 23.

(n) Vid. Acts 13. 39. ch. 8. 3. Gal. 2. 16.

30 (o) Ἐπεὶ πᾶς ὁ θεός, since God is one. He that will see the Force of St. Paul's Reasoning here, must look to Zachary 14. 9. from whence these Words are taken, where the Prophet speaking of the time when the Lord shall be King over all the Earth, and not barely over the little People shut up in the Land of Canaan, he says, In that day there shall be one Lord, i.e. God shall not be as he is now, the God of the Jews alone, whom only he hath known of all the People of the Earth; but he shall be the God of the Gentiles also, the same merciful reconciled God to the People of all Nations. This Prophecy the Jews understood of the Times of the Messiah, and St. Paul here presses them with it.

(p) It was impossible for remote Nations to keep the Law of Moses, a great Part of the Worship required by it being local, and confined to the Temple at Jerusalem.

31 (q) Νόμον, Law, is here repeated twice without the Article, and it is plain that by it St. Paul does not mean precisely the Mosaic Law, but so much of it as is contained in the natural and eternal Rule of Right mentioned, ch. 1. 32. and 11. 26. and is again by a positive Command re-enacted and continued as a Law under the Messiah, Vid. Mat. 23. 20.

but

ROMANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

but on the contrary we establish (r) and confirm the Law.

God forbid : yea, we establish the law.

NOTES.

(r) *Establish.* The Doctrine of Justification by Faith necessarily supposeth a Rule of Righteousness, which those who are justified by Faith come short of; and also a Punishment incurred, from which they are set free by being justified: and so this Doctrine establishes a Law, and accordingly the moral part of the Law of Moses, that δικαιοσύνη τοῦ θεοῦ, as the Apostle calls it in the place above-quoted, ch. 1. 32. is enforced again by our Saviour and the Apostles in the Gospel, with Penalties annexed to the Breach of it.

S E C T. IV.

CHAP. IV. 1—25.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul having in the foregoing Section cut off all glorying from the Jews, upon the account of their having the Law, and shewn that that gave them no manner of Title or Pretence to be the People of God, more than the Gentiles under the Messias; and so they had no Reason to judge or exclude the Gentiles as they did, he comes here to prove that their lineal Extraction from their Father Abraham, gave them no better a Pretence of glorying, or of setting themselves upon that account above the Gentiles now in the time of the Gospel.

1. Because Abraham himself was justified by Faith, and so had not whereof to glory; for as much as he that receiveth Righteousness as a Boon, has no Reason to glory: but he that attains it by Works.

2. Because neither they who had Circumcision derived down to them, as the Posterity of Abraham, nor they who had the Law; but they only who had Faith were the Seed of Abraham, to whom the Promise was made. And therefore the Blessing of Justification was intended for the Gentiles, and bestowed on them as well as on the Jews, and upon the same Ground.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

1. WHAT then shall we say of Abraham our Father according to the Flesh (s), what has he obtained? Has not he found Matter of Glorying? Yes if he were justified by Works, he had Matter of Glorying (t), he might then have gloried over the rest of the Gentile World in having God for his God, and he
- 2.

What shall we say then, that Abraham our father, as pertaining to the flesh, hath found?

For if Abraham were justified by works, he hath whereof to glory, but not before God.

NOTES.

1 (s) *Our Father according to the Flesh.* St. Paul speaks here as lineally descended from Abraham, and joyns himself herein with the rest of his Nation, of whom he calls Abraham the Father according to the Flesh, to distinguish the Jews by Birth, from those who were Abraham's Seed according to the Promise, viz. those who were of the Faith of Abraham, whether Jews or Gentiles, a Distinction which he insists on all through this Chapter.

2 (t) *Καυχῆμα*, translated here *glorying*, I take to signify the same with *καυχᾶσθαι*, translated *Boasting*, ch. 2. 17, 23. in which places it is used to signify the Jews valuing themselves upon some national Privileges above the rest of the World, as if they had thereby some peculiar Right to the Favour of God above other Men. This the Jewish Nation, thinking themselves alone to have a Title to be the People of God, expressed in their judging the Gentiles whom they despised, and looked on as unworthy and incapable to be received into the Kingdom of the Messias, and admitted into Fellowship with their Nation under the Gospel. This Conceit of theirs St. Paul opposes here, and makes it his Business to shew the Falshood and Groundlessness of it all through the eleven first Chapters of this Epistle. I ask whether it would not help the English Reader the better to find and pursue the Sense of St. Paul, if the Greek Term were every where render'd by the same English Word? Whether *Boasting* or *Glorying*, I think of no great Consequence, so one of them be kept to.

and

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 3 For what saith the scripture? Abraham believed God, and it was counted unto him for righteousness.
- 4 Now to him that worketh, is the reward not reckoned of grace, but of debt.
- 5 But to him that worketh not, but believeth on him that justifieth the ungodly, his faith is counted for righteousness.
- 6 Even as David also describeth the blessedness of the man unto whom God imputeth righteousness without works,
- 7 Saying, Blessed are they whose iniquities are forgiven, and whose sins are covered.
- 8 Blessed is the man to whom the Lord will not impute sin.
- 9 Cometh this blessedness then upon the circumcision only, or upon the uncircumcision also? For we say that faith was reckoned to Abraham for righteousness.
- 10 How was it then reckoned? when he was in circumcision, or in uncircumcision? not in circumcision, but in uncircumcision.
- 11 And he received the sign of circumcision, a seal of the righteousness of the faith, which he had yet being uncircumcised: that he might be the father of all them that believe, though they be not circumcised; that righteousness might be imputed unto them also.
- 12 And the father of circumcision to them who are not of the circumcision only, but also walk in the steps of that faith of

and his Family being God's People, but he had no Subject of glorying before God, as it is evident from Sacred Scripture, which telleth us that *Abraham* believed God, and it was counted to him for Righteousness. Now there has been no need of any such Counting, any such Allowance, if he had attained Righteousness by Works of Obedience exactly conformable and coming up to the Rule of Righteousness. For what Reward a Man has made himself a Title to by his Performances, that he receives as a Debt that is due, and not as a Gift of Favour. But to him that by his Works attains not Righteousness, but only believeth on God who justifieth him, being ungodly (*u*), to him Justification is a Favour of Grace: Because his Believing is accounted to him for Righteousness, or perfect Obedience. Even as *David* speaks of the Blessedness of the Man to whom God reckoneth Righteousness without Works, saying, Blessed are they whose Iniquities are forgiven, and whose Sins are covered. Blessed is the Man to whom the Lord will not reckon (*w*) Sin. Is this Blessedness then upon the Circumcised only, or upon the Uncircumcised also? For we say that Faith was reckon'd to *Abraham* for Righteousness. When therefore was it reckon'd to him? When he was in Circumcision or in Uncircumcision? Not in Circumcision, but in Uncircumcision. For he received the Sign of Circumcision, a Seal of the Righteousness of the Faith, which he had being yet uncircumcised (*x*), that he might be the Father of all those who believe, being uncircumcised, that Righteousness might be reckon'd to them also; And the Father of the Circumcised, that Righteousness might be reckon'd not to those who were barely of the Circumcision, but to such of the Circumcision as did also walk in the Steps of the Faith

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NOTES.

5 (*u*) Τὸν ἀσεβῆ, him being ungodly. By these words St. Paul plainly points out *Abraham*, who was ἀσεβής, ungodly, i. e. a Gentile, not a Worshipper of the true God when God called him. Vid. Note, ch. 1. 18.

8 (*w*) λογισαί, reckoneth. What this *imputing* or *reckoning* of Righteousness is, may be seen in ver. 8. viz. the not reckoning of Sin to any one, the not putting Sin to his account: The Apostle in these two Verses using these two Expressions as equivalent. From hence the Expression of blotting out of Iniquity, so frequently used in Sacred Scripture, may be understood, i. e. the striking it out of the account. λογισαί signifies to reckon or account, and with a Dative Case, to put to any one's Account; and accordingly, ver. 3, 4, 5. it is translated counted or reckoned; which word for the sake of English Readers I have kept to in this, and ver. 8, and 11.

11 (*x*) See Gen. 17. 11.

13. of our Father *Abraham*, which he had being uncircumcised (*y*). For the Promise (*z*) that he should be Possessor of the World, was not that *Abraham*, and those of his Seed, who were under the Law, should by virtue of their having and owning the Law, be possessed of it; but by the Righteousness of Faith, whereby those who were without the Law scatter'd all over the World, beyond the Borders of *Canaan*, became his Posterity, and had him for their Father (*a*), and inherited the Blessing of Justification by Faith. For if they
14. only who had the Law of *Moses* given them, were Heirs of *Abraham*, Faith is made void and useless (*b*), it receiving no Benefit of the Promise which was made to the Heirs of *Abraham's* Faith, and so the Promise becomes of no effect. Because the Law procures them
15. not Justification (*c*), but renders them liable to the Wrath and Punishment of God (*d*), who by the Law has made known to them what is Sin, and what Punishment he has annexed to it. For there is no incurring Wrath or Punishment where there is no Law that

our father Abraham, which he had being yet uncircumcised.

For the promise that¹³ he should be the heir of the world, was not to Abraham, or to his seed through the law, but through the righteousness of faith.

For if they which are¹⁴ of the law be heirs, faith is made void, and the promise made of none effect.

Because the law worketh¹⁵ wrath: for where no law is, there is no transgression.

NOTES.

11, 12 (*y*) What Righteousness reckon'd to any one, or as it is usually call'd Imputed Righteousness, is, St. Paul explains, ver. 6—8. Whom this Blessing belongs to, he enquires, ver. 9. and here, ver. 11, and 12. he declares who are the Children of *Abraham*, that from him inherit this Blessing, ver. 11. he speaks of the Gentiles, and there shews that *Abraham*, who was justified by Faith before he was circumcised (the want whereof the Jews look'd on as a distinguishing Mark of a Gentile) was the Father of all those among the Gentiles, who should believe without being circumcised. And here, ver. 12. he speaks of the Jews, and says, that *Abraham* was their Father; but not that all should be justified who were only circumcised; but those who to their Circumcision added the Faith of *Abraham*, which he had before he was circumcised. That which misled those who mistook the Sense of St. Paul here, seems to be their not observing that τοῖς ἐκ τῆς περιτομῆς, is referred to, and governed by εἰς τὸ λογιζόμεναι, which must be supposed repeated here after πατέρα ἐπιστομῆς. Or else the Apostle's Sense and Argument will not stand in its full Force, but the Antithesis will be lost, by preserving of which the Sense runs thus; And the Father of the Circumcised, that Righteousness might be imputed to those who, &c. Another thing very apt to mislead them, was the joining of μόνον only, to ἐκ not, as if it were εἰ μόνον τοῖς, not only those who are of the Circumcision, whereas it should be understood as it stands joyn'd to ἐπιστομῆς, and so ἐπιστομῆς μόνον are best translated barely Circumcision, and the Apostle's Sense runs thus; That he might be the Father of the Gentiles that believe, though they be not circumcised, that Righteousness might be imputed to them also; And the Father of the Jews, that Righteousness might be imputed not to them who have Circumcision only, but to them who also walk in the Steps of the Faith of our Father Abraham, which he had being uncircumcised. In which way of understanding this Passage, not only the Apostle's meaning is very plain, easie and coherent; but the Construction of the Greek exactly corresponds to that of ver. 11. and is genuine, easie, and natural, which any other way will be very perplexed.

13 (*z*) The Promise here meant is that which he speaks of, ver. 11. whereby *Abraham* was made the Father of all that should believe all the World over, and for that Reason he is called καλεσθέντι κόσμῳ, Heir or Lord of the World. For the Believers of all Nations of the World being given to him for a Posterity, he becomes thereby Lord and Possessor (for so Heir amongst the Hebrews signified) of the World. For 'tis plain the Apostle in this Verse pursues the Argument he was upon in the two former. And 'tis also plain that St. Paul makes Circumcision to be the Seal of the Promise made to *Abraham*, Gen. 12. as well as of that made to him, Gen. 17. and so both these to be but one Covenant, and that of ch. 17. to be but a Repetition and farther Explication of the former, as is evident from this Chapter, compared with Gal. 3. In both which the Apostle argues, that the Gentiles were intended to be justified as well as the Jews, and that both Jews and Gentiles, who are justified, are justified by Faith, and not by the Works of the Law.

(a) Gal. 3. 7.

14 (b) See Gal. 3. 18.

15 (c) Ch. 8. 3. Gal. 3. 21.

(d) See ch. 3. 19, 20. and 5. 10, 13, 20. and 7, 7, 8, 10. 1 Cor. 15. 56. Gal. 3. 19. John 4. 1. and 15. 22.

says

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 16 Therefore it is of faith, that it might be by grace; to the end the promise might be sure to all the seed, not to that only which is of the law, but to that also which is of the faith of Abraham, who is the Father of us all,
- 17 (As it is written, I have made thee a father of many Nations) before him whom he believed, even God who quickneth the dead, and calleth those things which be not, as though they were.
- 18 Who against hope believed in hope, that he might become the father of many nations, according to that which was spoken, So shall thy seed be.
- 19 And being not weak in faith, he considered not his own body now dead, when he was about an hundred year old, neither yet the deadness of Sara's womb.
- 20 He staggered not at the promise of God through unbelief; but was strong in faith, giving glory to God:
- 21 And being fully persuaded, that what he had promised, he was able also to perform.
- 22 And therefore it was imputed to him for righteousness.
- 23 Now it was not written for his sake alone, that it was imputed to him;
- 24 But for us also, to whom it shall be imputed, if we believe on him that raised up Jesus our Lord from the dead,

says any thing of it (e): Therefore the Inheritance (f) is of Faith, that it might be merely of Favour, to the end that the Promise might be sure to all the Seed of Abraham; not to that part of it only which has Faith, being under the Law; but to that part also who without the Law inherit the Faith of Abraham, who is the Father of us all who believe, whether Jews or Gentiles; (As it is written (g), I have made thee a Father of many Nations) I say the Father of us all (in the account of God, whom he believed, and who accordingly quicken'd the dead, *i. e.* Abraham and Sarah, whose Bodies were dead; and calleth things that are not as if they were (h):) Who without any Hope, which the natural Course of things could afford, did in Hope believe, that he should become the Father of many Nations, according to what God had spoken, by God's shewing him the Stars of Heaven, saying, *So shall thy Seed be.* And being firm and unshaken in his Faith, he regarded not his own Body now dead, he being about an hundred Years old; nor the Deadness of Sarah's Womb; He stagger'd not at the Promise of God thro' Unbelief, but was strong in Faith, thereby giving Glory to God; By the full Persuasion he had, that God was able to perform what he had promised: And therefore it was accounted to him for Righteousness. Now this of its being reckon'd to him, was not written for his sake alone, But for our's also, to whom Faith also will be reckon'd for Righteousness, *viz.* to as many as believe in him who raised Jesus our Lord from

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NOTES.

(e) ὅτι ἐκ ἐστὶν νόμος, καὶ οὐκ ἐκ πίστεως, of that, concerning which there is no Law with the Sanction of a Punishment annexed, there can be no Transgression incurring Wrath or Punishment. Thus it may be render'd if we read ὅτι with an Aspiration, as some do. But whether it be taken to signify *where* or *whereof*, the Sense will be the same. For *παρὰ νόμον* here to make St. Paul's Argument of Force, must signify such a Transgression as draws on the Transgressor Wrath and Punishment by the Force and Sanction of a Law. And so the Apostle's Proposition is made good, that 'tis the Law alone that exposes us to Wrath, and that is all that the Law can do, for it gives us no Power to perform.

16 (f) The Grammatical Construction does not seem much to favour *Inheritance*, as the Word to be supplied here, because it does not occur in the preceding Verses. But he that observes St. Paul's way of Writing, who more regards Things than Forms of Speaking, will be satisfied, that 'tis enough that he mention'd Heirs, *ver.* 13, and 14. and that he does mean *Inheritance* here, *Gal.* 3. 18. puts it past Doubt.

17 (g) See *Gen.* 17. 16.

(h) *Gen.* 16. 5.

ROMANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

25. the dead (*i*), Who was deliver'd to Death for our Offences (*k*), and was raised again for our (*l*) Justification.

Who was delivered for ²⁵ our offences, and was raised again for our Justification.

NOTES.

24 (*i*) St. Paul seems to mention this here in particular, to shew the Analogy between *Abraham's* Faith, and that of Believers under the Gospel; see *ver. 17*.

25 (*k*) See *Rom. 3. 25.* and *5. 6, 10. Eph. 1. 7, 11, 16.* and *5. 2. Col. 1. 14, 20—22. 1 Tim. 2. 6. Tit. 2. 14.*

(*l*) *1 Cor. 15. 17.* I have set down all these Texts out of St. Paul, that in them might be seen his own Explication of what he says here, *viz.* That our Saviour by his Death atoned for our Sins, and so we were innocent, and thereby freed from the Punishment due to Sin. But he rose again to ascertain to us eternal Life, the Consequence of Justification; for the Reward of Righteousness is eternal Life, which Inheritance we have a Title to by Adoption in Jesus Christ. But if he himself had not that Inheritance, if he had not rose into the Possession of eternal Life, we who hold by and under him, could not have risen from the dead, and so could never have come to be pronounced righteous, and to have receiv'd the Reward of it, everlasting Life. Hence St. Paul tells us, *1 Cor. 15. 17.* that *if Christ be not raised, our Faith is vain, we are yet in our Sins, i. e.* as to the Attainment of eternal Life 'tis all one as if our Sins were not forgiven. And thus he rose for our Justification, *i. e.* to assure to us eternal Life, the Consequence of Justification. And this I think is confirmed by our Saviour in these Words, *Because I live ye shall live also, John 14.*

SECT. V.

CHAP. V. I—II.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul in the foregoing Chapters has examined the Glorifying of the Jews, and their valuing themselves so highly above the Gentiles, and shewn the Vanity of their boasting in Circumcision and the Law, since neither they nor their Father *Abraham* were justified, or found Acceptance with God by Circumcision, or the Deeds of the Law: And therefore they had no Reason so, as they did, to press Circumcision and the Law on the Gentiles, or exclude those who had them not from being the People of God, and unfit for their Communion in and under the Gospel. In this Section he comes to shew what the Convert Gentiles, by Faith without Circumcision or the Law, had to glory in, *viz.* The Hope of Glory, *ver. 2.* Their Sufferings for the Gospel, *ver. 3.* And God as their God, *ver. 11.* In these three it is easy to observe the Thread and Coherence of St. Paul's Discourse here, the intermediate Verses (according to that Abounding with Matter, and Overflowing of Thought he was fill'd with) being taken up with an incidental Train of Considerations, to shew the Reason they had to glory in Tribulations.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

- I. Therefore being justified by Faith, we (*m*) have Peace with God through our Lord Jesus Christ,

Therefore being justified by Faith, we have peace with God, through our Lord Jesus Christ.

NOTES.

I (*m*) *We i. e.* we Gentiles that are not under the Law. 'Tis in their Names that St. Paul speaks in the three last Verses of the foregoing Chapter, and all through this Section, as is evident from the Illation here, *Therefore being justified by Faith, We.* It being an Inference drawn from his having proved in the former Chapter, that the Promise was not to the Jews alone, but to the Gentiles also: And that Justification was not by the Law, but by Faith, and consequently designed for the Gentiles as well as the Jews.

By

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

2 By whom also we have access by faith into this grace wherein we stand, and rejoice in hope of the glory of God.
3 And not only so, but we glory in tribulations also, knowing that tribulation worketh patience;
4 And patience, experience; and experience, hope;
5 And hope maketh not ashamed, because the love of God is shed abroad in our hearts, by the holy Ghost which is given unto us.
6 For when we were yet without strength, in due time, Christ died for the ungodly.
7 For scarcely for a righteous man will one die: yet peradventure for a good man some would even dare to die.
8 But God commendeth his love towards us, in that, while we were yet sinners, Christ died for us.
9 Much more then, being now justified by his blood, we shall be saved from wrath through him.

By whom we have had Admittance through Faith into that Favour in which we have stood, and glory (n) in the Hope of the Glory which God has in store for us. And not only so, but we glory in tribulation also, knowing that Tribulation worketh Patience, And Patience giveth us a Proof of our selves, which furnishes us with Hope; And our Hope maketh not ashamed, will not deceive us, because (o) the Sense of the Love of God is poured out into our Hearts by the Holy Ghost, which is given unto us *. For when we Gentiles were yet without Strength †, void of all Help or Ability to deliver ourselves, Christ in the time that God had appointed and foretold, died for us, who lived without the Acknowledgment and Worship of the true God ‡. Scarce is it to be found, that any one will die for a just Man, if peradventure one should dare to die for a good Man; But God recommends, and herein shews the Greatness of his Love (p) towards us, in that whilst we Gentiles were a Mass of profligate Sinners (q), Christ died for us. Much more therefore now being justified by his Death, shall we through him be delivered

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NOTES.

2 (n) *Καυχόμεθα*, we glory. The same word here for the Convert Gentiles that he had used before for the Boasting of the Jews, and the same word he used where he examin'd what *Abraham* had found. The taking notice whereof, as we have already observed, may help to lead us into the Apostle's Sense: And plainly shews us here, that *St. Paul* in this Section opposes the Advantages the Gentile Converts to Christianity have by Faith, to those the Jews gloried in with so much Haughtiness and Contempt of the Gentiles.

5 (o) *Because*. * The Force of this Inference seems to stand thus. The Hope of eternal Happiness, which we glory in, cannot deceive us, because the Gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon us, assure us of the Love of God towards us, the Jews themselves acknowledging that the Holy Ghost is given to none but those who are God's own People.

8 (p) Another Evidence *St. Paul* gives them here of the Love of God towards them, and the ground they had to glory in the Hopes of eternal Salvation, is the Death of Christ for them, whilst they were yet in their Gentile Estate, which he describes by calling them,

6, 8. (q) † *ἄδυνας*, without strength; *ἀσεβῆς*, ungodly; *ἁμαρτωλοί*, Sinners; *ἔχθροι*, Enemies: These four Epithetes are given to them as Gentiles, they being used by *St. Paul* as the proper Attributes of the Heathen World, as consider'd in Contra-distinction to the Jewish Nation. What *St. Paul* says of the Gentiles in other places, will clear this. The helpless Condition of the Gentile World in the State of Gentilism, signified here by *ἄδυνας*, without Strength, he terms, *Col. 2. 13. dead in Sin*, a State, if any, of Weakness. And hence he says to the Romans converted to Jesus Christ; *Yield your selves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead, and your selves as Instruments of Righteousness unto God, ch. 6. 13.* How he describes *ἀσεβῆς*, Ungodliness, mentioned *ch. 1. 18.* as the proper State of the Gentiles, we may see *ver. 21. 23.* That he thought the Title *ἁμαρτωλοί*, Sinners, belong'd peculiarly to the Gentiles, in Contra-distinction to the Jews, he puts it past doubt in these words, *We who are Jews by Nature, and not Sinners of the Gentiles, Gal. 2. 15.* See also *ch. 6. 17—22.* And as for *ἔχθροι*, Enemies, you have the Gentiles before their Conversion to Christianity so called, *Col. 1. 21.* *St. Paul*, *Eph. 2. 1—13.* describes the Heathens a little more at large, but yet the Parts of the Character he there gives them, we may find comprised in these four Epithetes; the *ἄδυνας*, weak, *ver. 1. 5.* the *ἀσεβῆς* ungodly, and *ἁμαρτωλοί* Sinners, *ver. 23.* and the *ἔχθροι*, Enemies, *ver. 11. 12.*

If

If it were remember'd that St. Paul all along through the eleven first Chapters of this Epistle, speaks nationally of the Jews and Gentiles, as 'tis visible he does, and not personally of single Men, there would be less Difficulty and fewer Mistakes in understanding this Epistle. This one place we are upon is a sufficient Instance of it. For if by these Terms here, we shall understand him to denote all Men personally, Jews as well as Gentiles, before they are savingly ingrafted into Jesus Christ, we shall make his Discourse here disjointed, and his Sense mightily perplex'd, if at all consistent.

That there were some among the Heathen as innocent in their Lives, and as far from Enmity to God as some among the Jews, cannot be question'd. Nay, that many of them were not ἀσέβεις, but ἀσεβήτορες, Worshipers of the true God, if we could doubt of it, is manifest out of the Acts of the Apostles; but yet St. Paul in the Places above quoted, pronounces them all together, ἀσέβεις and ἄθεοι, (for that, by these two Terms applied to the same Persons, he means the same, i. e. such as did not acknowledge and worship the true God, seems plain) ungodly, and Sinners of the Gentiles, as nationally belonging to them in Contra-distinction to the People of the Jews, who were the People of God, whilst the other were the Provinces of the Kingdom of Satan: Not but that there were Sinners, heinous Sinners, among the Jews; but the Nation, consider'd as one Body and Society of Men, disown'd and declared against, and oppos'd it self to those Crimes and Impurities which are mention'd by St. Paul, ch. 1. 24, &c. as woven into the religious and politick Constitutions of the Gentiles. There they had their full Scope and Swing, had Allowance, Countenance and Protection. The Idolatrous Nations had by their Religions, Laws and Forms of Government, made themselves the open Votaries, and were the professed Subjects of Devils. So St. Paul, 1 Cor. 10. 20, 21. truly calls the Gods they worshiped and paid their Homage to. And suitably hereunto, their religious Observances 'tis well known were not without great Impurities, which were of right charg'd upon them, when they had a place in their Sacred Offices, and had the Recommendation of Religion to give them credit. The rest of the Vices in St. Paul's black List, which were not warm'd at their Altars, and foster'd in their Temples, were yet by the Connivance of the Law cherish'd in their private Houses, and made a part of the uncondemn'd Actions of common Life, and had the Countenance of Custom to authorize them, even in the best regulated and most civilized Governments of the Heathens. On the contrary, the Frame of the Jewish Commonwealth was founded on the Acknowledgment and Worship of the only true and invisible God, and their Laws requir'd an extraordinary Purity of Life, and Strictness of Manners.

That the Gentiles were stiled ἐχθροὶ Enemies, in a political or national Sense, is plain from Eph. 2. where they are called, Aliens from the Common-wealth of Israel, and Strangers from the Covenant. Abraham on the other side was called the Friend of God, i. e. one in Covenant with him, and his professed Subject, that owned God to the World: And so were his Posterity, the People of the Jews, whilst the rest of the World were under Revolt, and lived in open Rebellion against him, Vid. Isa. 41. 8. And here in this Epistle St. Paul expressly teaches, that when the Nation of the Jews, by rejecting of the Messias, put themselves out of the Kingdom of God, and were cast off from being any longer the People of God, they became Enemies, and the Gentile World were reconciled. See Ch. 11. 15, 28. Hence St. Paul who was the Apostle of the Gentiles, calls his performing that Office, the Ministry of Reconciliation, 2 Cor. 5. 15. And here in this Chapter, ver. 1. the Privilege which they receive by the accepting of the Covenant of Grace in Jesus Christ, he tells them is this, that they have Peace with God, i. e. are no longer incorporated with his Enemies, and of the Party of the open Rebels against him in the Kingdom of Satan, being return'd to their Natural Allegiance in their owning the one true supreme God, in submitting to the Kingdom he had set up in his Son, and being received by him as his Subjects. Suitably hereunto St. James, speaking of the Conversion of the Gentiles to the Profession of the Gospel, says of it, that God did visit the Gentiles, to take out of them a People for his Name, Acts 15. 14. and ver. 19. he calls the Converts, those who from among the Gentiles are turned to God.

Besides what is to be found in other Parts of St. Paul's Epistles to justify the taking of these Words here, as apply'd nationally to the Gentiles, in Contra-distinction to the Children of Israel, that which St. Paul says, ver. 10, 11. makes it necessary to understand them so. We, says he, when we were Enemies were reconciled to God, and so we now glory in him, as our God. We here must unavoidably be spoken in the Name of the Gentiles, as is plain not only by the whole Tenor of this Section; but from this Passage of glorying in God, which he mentions as a Privilege now of the believing Gentiles, surpassing that of the Jews, whom he had taken notice of before, Ch. 2. 17. as being forward to glory in God as their peculiar Right, though with no great Advantage to themselves. But the Gentiles who were reconciled now to God by Christ's Death, and taken into Covenant with God, as many as received the Gospel, had a new and better Title to this Glorying than the Jews. Those that now are reconciled, and glory in God as their God, he says were Enemies. The Jews who had the same corrupt Nature common to them with the rest of Mankind, are no where that I know called ἐχθροὶ Enemies, or ἀσέβεις ungodly, whilst they publicly owned him for their God, and professed to be his People. But the Heathens were deemed Enemies, for being Aliens to the Commonwealth of Israel, and Strangers from the Covenants of Promise. There were never but two Kingdoms in the World, that of God, and that of the Devil; these were opposite, and therefore the Subjects of the latter could not but be in the State of Enemies, and fall under that Denomination. The Revolt from God was universal, and the Nations of the Earth had given themselves up to Idolatry, when God called Abraham, and took him into Covenant with

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

10 For if when we were enemies, we were reconciled to God by the death of his son: much more being reconciled, we shall be saved by his life.

11 And not only so, but we also joy in God, through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom we have now received the atonement.

deliver'd from Condemnation (r) at the day of Judgment. For if when we were Enemies †, we were reconciled to God by the Death of his Son, much more being reconciled shall we be saved by his Life. And not only (s) do we glory in Tribulation, but also in God through our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom now (t) we have received Reconciliation.

10.

11.

NOTES.

with himself as he did afterwards the whole Nation of the Israelites, whereby they were re-admitted into his Kingdom, came under his Protection, and were his People and Subjects, and no longer Enemies, whilst all the rest of the Nations remain'd in the State of Rebellion the professed Subjects of other Gods, who were Usurpers upon God's Right, and Enemies of this Kingdom. And indeed if the four Epithetes be not taken to be spoken here of the Gentile World in this Political and truly Evangelical Sense, but in the ordinary Systematical Notion applied to all Mankind, as belonging universally to every Man personally, whether by Profession Gentile, Jew or Christian, before he be actually regenerated by a saving Faith, and an effectual thorough Conversion; the illative Particle *Wherefore* in the beginning of ver. 12. will hardly connect it and what follows to the foregoing part of this Chapter. But the eleven first Verses must be taken for a Parenthesis, and then the *Therefore* in the beginning of this 5th Chapter, which joyns it to the 4th with a very clear Connexion, will be wholly insignificant, and after all the Sense of the 12th Verse, will but ill sodder with the end of the 4th Chapter, notwithstanding the *Wherefore* which is taken to bring them in as an Inference. Whereas these eleven first Verses being supposed to be spoken of the Gentiles, makes them not only of a-piece with St. Paul's Design in the foregoing and following Chapters, but the Thread of the whole Discourse goes very smooth, and the Inferences (usher'd in with *Therefore* in the 1st Verse, and with *Wherefore* in the 12th Verse) are very easie, clear and natural from the immediately preceding Verses. That of the 1st Verse may be seen in what we have already said, and that of the 12th Verse in short stands thus; *We Gentiles have by Christ received the Reconciliation, which we cannot doubt to be intended for us as well as for the Jews, since Sin and Death enter'd into the World by Adam, the common Father of us all. And as by the Disobedience of that one, Condemnation of Death came on all; so by the Obedience of one, Justification to Life came upon all.*

9 (r) What St. Paul here calls *Wrath*, he calls the *Wrath to come*, 1 Thess. 1. 10. and generally in the New Testament *Wrath* is put for the Punishment of the Wicked at the last Day.

11 (s) 'Οὐ μόνον δὲ, *And not only so*, I think no body can with the least Attention read this Section without perceiving that these Words joyn on this Verse to the 3d. The Apostle in the 2d Verse says, *We the Gentiles who believe, glory in the hopes of an eternal splendid State of Bliss.* In the 3d Verse he adds, *ἔ μόνον δὲ, And not only so*, but our Afflictions are to us Matter of Glorifying, which he proves in the seven following Verses, and then ver. 11. adds *ἔ μόνον δὲ, And not only so*; but we glory in God also as our God, being reconciled to him in Jesus Christ. And thus he shews that the Convert Gentiles had whereof to glory as well as the Jews, and were not inferior to them, though they had not Circumcision and the Law, wherein the Jews gloried so much, but with no ground in comparison of what the Gentiles had to glory in, by Faith in Jesus Christ, now under the Gospel.

(t) 'Tis true we Gentiles could not formerly glory in God as our God, that was the Privilege of the Jews, who alone of all the Nations owned him for their King and God, and were his People in Covenant with him. All the rest of the Kingdoms of the Earth had taken other Lords, and given themselves up to false Gods, to serve and worship them, and so were in a State of War with the true God, the God of Israel. But now we, being reconciled by Jesus Christ, whom we have received, and own for our Lord, and thereby being return'd into his Kingdom, and to our ancient Allegiance, we can truly glory in God as our God, which the Jews cannot do, who have refused to receive Jesus for their Lord, whom God hath appointed Lord over all things.

SECT.

ROMANS.

S E C T. VI.

C H A P. V. 12—VII. 25.

C O N T E N T S.

THE Apostle here goes on with his Design of shewing that the Gentiles under the Gospel have as good a Title to the Favour of God as the Jews, there being no other way for either Jew or Gentile to find Acceptance with God, but by Faith in Jesus Christ, in the foregoing Section he reckon'd up several Subjects of glorying which the Convert Gentiles had without the Law, and concludes them with this chief and principal matter of glorying, even God himself, whom, now that they were by Jesus Christ their Lord reconciled to him, they could glory in as their God.

To give them a more full and satisfactory Comprehension of this, he leads them back to the Times before the giving of the Law, and the very Being of the Jewish Nation ; and lays before them in short the whole Scene of God's Oeconomy, and his Dealing with Mankind from the beginning, in reference to Life and Death.

1. He teaches them, that by *Adam's* Lapse all Men were brought into a State of Death, and by Christ's Death all are restor'd to Life. By Christ also as many as believe are instated in Eternal Life.

2. That the Law when it came laid the *Israelites* faster under Death, by enlarging the Offence which had Death annexed to it. For by the Law every Transgression that any one under the Law committed, had Death for its Punishment, notwithstanding which by Christ those under the Law who believe, receive Life.

3. That though the Gentiles who believe come not under the Rigor of the Law, yet the Covenant of Grace which they are under, requires that they should not be Servants and Vassals to Sin, to obey it in the Lusts of it, but sincerely endeavour after Righteousness, the End whereof would be Everlasting Life.

4. That the Jews also who receive the Gospel, are deliver'd from the Law, not that the Law is Sin ; but because though the Law forbid the obeying of Sin as well as the Gospel ; yet not enabling them to resist their sinful Lusts, but making each Compliance with any sinful Lust deadly, it settles upon them the Dominion of Sin by Death, from which they are deliver'd by the Grace of God alone, which frees them from the Condemnation of the Law for every actual Transgression, and requires no more but that they should with the whole Bent of their Mind serve the Law of God, and not their carnal Lusts. In all which Cases the Salvation of the Gentiles is wholly by Grace, without their being at all under the Law. And the Salvation of the Jews is wholly by Grace also, without any Aid or Help from the Law : From which also by Christ they are deliver'd.

Thus lies the Thread of *St. Paul's* Argument, wherein we may see how he pursues his Design of satisfying the Gentile Converts at *Rome*, that they were not required to submit to the Law of *Moses* : and of fortifying them against the Jews, who troubled them about it.

For the more distinct and easie Apprehension of *St. Paul's* discoursing on these Four Heads, I shall divide this Section into the Four following Numbers, taking them up as they lie in the Order of the Text.

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SECT. VI. N. I.

CHAP. V. 12—19.

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HERE he instructs them in the State of Mankind in general, before the Law, and before the Separation that was made thereby of the *Israelites* from all the other Nations of the Earth. And here he shews, that *Adam*, transgressing the Law which forbid him the eating of the Tree of Knowledge upon pain of Death, forfeited Immortality, and becoming thereby Mortal, all his Posterity, descending from the Loins of a mortal Man, were mortal too, and all died, though none of them broke that Law but *Adam* himself: But by Christ they are all restored to Life again. And God justifying those who believe in Christ, they are restored to their Primitive State of Righteousness and Immortality; so that the Gentiles, being the Descendants of *Adam* as well as the Jews, stand as fair for all the Advantages that accrue to the Posterity of *Adam* by Christ, as the Jews themselves, it being all wholly and solely from Grace.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

12 **W**herefore as by one man sin entered into the world, and death by sin; and so death passed upon all men, for that all have sinned.

For until the law sin was in the world, but sin is not imputed when there is no law.

Wherefore to give you a State of the whole Matter, from the beginning, you must know, that as by the Act of one Man *Adam*, the Father of us all, Sin entered into the World, and Death, which was the Punishment annexed to the Offence of eating the forbidden Fruit, enter'd by that Sin, for that all *Adam's* Posterity thereby became mortal (*u*). 'Tis true indeed, Sin was universally committed in the World by all Men, all the time before the positive Law of God delivered by *Moses*: but 'tis as true (*w*) that there is no certain determined Punishment affixed to Sin without a positive

12.

13.

NOTES.

12 (*u*) *Have sinned*, I have render'd *became mortal*, following the Rule I think very necessary for the understanding St. Paul's Epistles, (*viz.*) the making him as much as is possible his own Interpreter, 1 Cor. 15. 22. cannot be denied to be parallel to this place. This and the following Verses here being, as one may say, a Comment on that Verse in the *Corinthians*, St. Paul treating here of the same Matter, but more at large. There he says, *As in Adam all die*, which Words cannot be taken literally, but thus, That in *Adam* all became mortal. The same he says here, but in other Words, putting, by a no very unusual Metonymic, the Cause for the Effect, (*viz.*) the Sin of eating the forbidden Fruit for the Effect of it on *Adam*, *viz.* Mortality, and in him on all his Posterity: A mortal Father infected now with Death, being able to produce no better than a mortal Race. Why St. Paul differs in his Phrase here from that which we find he used to the *Corinthians*, and prefers here that which is harder and more figurative, may perhaps be easily accounted for, if we consider his Style and usual way of Writing, wherein is shewn a great liking of the Beauty and Force of Antithesis, as serving much to Illustration and Impression. In the 15th of *Corinthians*, he is speaking of Life restored by Jesus Christ, and to illustrate and fix that in their Minds, the *Death* of Mankind best served: Here to the *Romans* he is discoursing of *Righteousness* restored to Men by Christ, and therefore here the term Sin is the most natural and properest to set that off. But that neither actual or imputed Sin is meant here, or *ver.* 19. where the same way of Expression is used, he that has need of it may see proved in Dr. *Whitby* upon the place. If there can be any need of any other Proof, when it is evidently contrary to St. Paul's Design here, which is to shew, that all Men from *Adam* to *Moses*, died solely in consequence of *Adam's* Transgression, see *ver.* 17.

13 (*w*) *Ουκ ἰμωγῆται*, is not imputed, so our Translation, but possibly not exactly to the Sense of the Apostle; *ἔμωγῆται* signifies to reckon, but cannot be interpreted *reckon so*, which is the meaning of *impute*, without a Person assigned to whom it is imputed. And so we see

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14. positive (x) Law declaring it. Nevertheless we see that in all that space of time, which was before the positive Law of God by *Moses*, Men from the beginning of the World died all as well as their Father *Adam*, though none of them but he alone had eaten of the forbidden Fruit (y), and thereby, as he had committed that Sin, to which Sin alone the Punishment of Death was annexed by the positive Sanction of God denounced to *Adam*, who was the Figure and Type of Christ who was to come. But yet though he were the Type of Christ, yet the Gift or Benefit received by Christ, is not exactly conformed and confined to the Dimensions of the Damage received by *Adam's* Fall. For if by the Lapse of one Man the multitude (z), i. e. all Men died (z) much more did the Favour of God, and the Free Gift by the Bounty or Good-will which is in Jesus Christ, exceed to the multitude (z), i. e. to all Men.

Nevertheless, death¹⁴ reigned from *Adam* to *Moses*, even over them that had not sinned after the similitude of *Adam's* transgression, who is the figure of him that was to come:

But not as the offence, so¹⁵ also is the free gift. For if through the offence of one many be dead, much more the grace of God, and the gift by grace, which is by one man, Jesus Christ, hath abounded unto many.

Further-

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when the word is used in that Sense, the Dative Case of the Person is subjoyn'd. And therefore it is well translated, *Philem.* 18. If he owes thee any thing, *ἑμολ ἱμότεν*, put it to my account, reckon or impute it to me. Besides St. Paul here tells us, the Sin here spoken of as not reckon'd, was in the World, and had actual Existence during the time between *Adam* and *Moses*, but the Sin which is supposed to be imputed, is *Adam's* Sin, which he committed in Paradise, and was not in the World during the time from *Adam* till *Moses*, and therefore *ἱμότεν* cannot here signify imputed. Sins in Sacred Scripture are called Debts, but nothing can be brought to accounts, as a Debt, till a Value be set upon it. Now Sins can no way be taxed, or a rate set upon them, but by the positive Declaration and Sanction of the Law-maker. Mankind, without the positive Law of God, knew by the Light of Nature, that they transgressed the Rule of their Nature, Reason, which dictated to them what they ought to do. But without a positive Declaration of God their Sovereign, they could not tell at what rate God tax'd their Trespases against this Rule; till he pronounced that Life should be the Price of Sin, that could not be ascertained, and consequently Sin could not be brought to account: And therefore we see that where there was no positive Law affixing Death to Sin, Men did not look on Death as the Wages or Retribution for their Sin; they did not account that they paid their Lives as a Debt and Forfeit for their Transgression. This is the more to be consider'd, because St. Paul in this Epistle treats of Sin, Punishment, and Forgiveness, by way of an Account, as it were, of Debtor and Creditor.

He will be farther confirmed in this Sense of these words, who will be at the pains to compare *ch.* 4. 15. and 5. 13, 20. and 7. 8, 9, together. St. Paul, *ch.* 4. 15. says, *The Law worketh Wrath*, i. e. carrieth Punishment with it. For where there is no Law, there is no Transgression. Whereby is not meant, that there is no Sin where there is no positive Law, (the contrary whereof he says in this Verse, viz. that Sin was in the World all the time before the Law) but that there is no Transgression with a Penalty annexed to it without a positive Law. And hence he tells the Romans, *ch.* 1. 32. that they knew not that those things deserved Death, [*vid.* Note, *ch.* 1. 32.] but it was by the positive Law of God only, that Men knew that Death was certainly annexed to Sin as its certain and unavoidable Punishment; and so St. Paul argues, *ch.* 7. 8, 9.

(x) *Nóus*, Law. Whether St. Paul by *νόμος* here means Law in general, as for the most part he does where he omits the Article, or whether he means the Law of *Moses* in particular, in which Sense he commonly joyns the Article to *νόμος*, this is plain that St. Paul's Notion of a Law, was conformable to that given by *Moses*, and so he uses the word *νόμος*, in English Law, for the positive Command of God, with a Sanction of a Penalty annexed to it, of which kind there never having been any one given to any People, but that by *Moses* to the Children of *Israel*, till the Revelation of the Will of God by Jesus Christ to all Mankind, which for several Reasons is always called the Gospel, in Contra-distinction to the Law of *Moses*; when St. Paul speaks of Law in general, it reduces it self in Matter of Fact to the Law of *Moses*.

14 (y) In this Verse St. Paul proves that all Men became mortal by *Adam's* eating the forbidden Fruit, and by that alone, because no Man can incur a Penalty without the Sanction of a positive Law, declaring and establishing that Penalty; but Death was annexed by no positive Law to any Sin, but the eating the forbidden Fruit; and therefore Mens dying before the Law of *Moses*, was purely in Consequence of *Adam's* Sin, in eating the forbidden Fruit, and the positive Sanction of Death annexed to it, an evident Proof of Man's Mortality coming from thence.

15 (z) *Οἱ πολλοί*, and *τῆς κοινῆς*, I suppose may be understood to stand here for the Multitude or collective Body of Mankind. For the Apostle in express words assures us, 1 Cor.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 16 And not as it was by one that sinned, so is the gift: for the judgment was by one to condemnation; but the free gift is of many offences unto justification.
- 17 For if by one man's offence, death reigned by one; much more they which receive abundance of grace, and of the gift of righteousness, shall reign in life by one, Jesus Christ.

Furthermore, neither is the Gift as was the Lapse, by one Sin (a). For the Judgment or Sentence was for one (a) Offence to Condemnation: But the Gift of Favour reaches notwithstanding many (a) Sins, to Justification of Life (b). For if by one Lapse Death reigned by reason of one Offence, much more shall they who receiving the (c) Surplusage of Favour, and of the Gift of Righteousness, reign in Life by one, even Jesus

16.

17.

NOTES.

15. 22. *That in Adam all died, and in Christ all are made alive:* And so here, ver. 18. *All Men* fell under the Condemnation of Death, and *all Men* were restored unto Justification of Life, which *all Men* in the very next words, ver. 19. are called *οἱ πολλοί*, the many. So that *the many*, in the former part of this Verse, and *the many* at the end of it, comprehending all Mankind, must be equal. The Comparison therefore, and the Inequality of the things compared, lies not here between the Numbers of those that died, and the Numbers of those that shall be restored to Life: But the Comparison lies between the Persons by whom this general Death, and this general Restoration to Life came, *Adam* the Type, and *Jesus Christ* the Antitype; And it seems to lie in this, that *Adam's* Lapse came barely for the Satisfaction of his own Appetite and Desire of Good to himself, but the Restoration was from the exuberant Bounty and Good-will of Christ towards Men, who at the Cost of his own painful Death, purchased Life for them. The want of taking the Comparison here right, and the placing it amiss in a greater Number restored to Life by *Jesus Christ*, than those brought into Death by *Adam's* Sin, hath led some Men so far out of the way, as to alledge, that Men in the Deluge died for their own Sins. 'Tis true they did so, and so did the Men of *Sodom* and *Gomorrah*, and the *Philistines* cut off by the *Israelites*, and multitudes of others: But 'tis as true, that by their own Sins they were not made mortal: They were so before by their Father *Adam's* eating the forbidden Fruit; so that what they paid for their own Sins was not Immortality, which they had not, but a few Years of their own finite Lives, which having been let alone, would every one of them, in a short time have come to an end. It cannot be denied therefore but that it is as true of these as any of the rest of Mankind before *Moses*, that they died solely in *Adam*, as *St. Paul* has proved in the three preceding Verses. And 'tis as true of them, as of any of the rest of Mankind in general, that they died in *Adam*. For this *St. Paul* expressly asserts of *all*, that in *Adam* all died, 1 Cor. 15. 22. and in this very Chapter, ver. 18, in other words. It is then a flat Contradiction to *St. Paul* to say, that those whom the Flood swept away did not die in *Adam*.

16 (a) *Δι' ἑνὸς ἀμαρτήματος*, by one Sin, so the Alexandrine Copy reads it more conformable to the Apostle's Sense. For if *ἑνὸς* one in this Verse be to be taken for the Person of *Adam*, and not for his one Sin of eating the forbidden Fruit, there will be nothing to answer *πολλῶν ὀφειλῶν*, many Offences here, and so the Comparison *St. Paul* is upon will be lost, whereas it is plain that in this Verse he shews another Disproportion in the case, wherein *Adam* the Type comes short of Christ the Antitype; and that is, that 'twas but for one only Transgression that Death came upon all Men: But Christ restores Life unto all notwithstanding multitudes of Sins. These two Excesses both of the good Will of the Donor, and of the Greatness of the Gift, are both reckon'd up together in the following Verse, and are there plainly expressed in *ἔπερσεν τὴν χάριν* *ἐν τῇ δωρεᾷ*; The Excess of the Favour in the greater Good-will and Cost of the Donor. And the Inequality of the Gift it self which exceeds, as *many* exceeds *one*; or the Deliverance from the Guilt of *many* Sins, does exceed the Deliverance from the Guilt of *one*.

(b) *Ζωῆς*, Of Life, is found in the Alexandrine Copy. And he that will read ver. 18. will scarce incline to the leaving of it out here.

17 (c) *Surplusage*, so *ἔπερσεν* signifies. The Surplusage of *χάριτος* Favour, was the painful Death of Christ, whereas the Fall cost *Adam* no more pains but eating the Fruit. The Surplusage of *δωρεᾶς*, the Gift or Benefit received, was Justification to Life from a multitude of Sin, whereas the loss of Life came upon all Men only for one Sin; but all Men, how guilty soever of many Sins, are restored to Life.

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Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

18. Christ. Therefore (d) as by one (e) Offence (viz.) Adam's eating the forbidden Fruit, all Men fell under the Condemnation of Death; so by one Act of Righteousness, viz. Christ's Obedience to Death upon the Cross (f), all Men are restored to Life (g). For as by one Man's Disobedience many were brought into a State of Mortality, which is the State of Sinners (h); so by the Obedience of one shall many be made righteous, i. e. be restored to Life again, as if they were not Sinners.

Therefore as by the of-¹⁸ fence of one, judgment came upon all men to condemnation: even so by the righteousness of one, the free gift came upon all men unto justification of life.

For as by one man's dis-¹⁹ obedience many were made sinners: so by the obedience of one shall many be made righteous.

NOTES.

18 (d) *Therefore* here is not used as an Illative, introducing an Inference from the immediately preceding Verses, but is the same *therefore* which began, ver. 12. repeated here again with part of the Inference that was there begun and left incomplete, the Continuation of it being interrupted by the Intervention of the Proofs of the first part of it. The Particle *As* immediately following *therefore*, ver. 12. is a convincing Proof of this, having there or in the following Verses nothing to answer it, and so leaves the Sense imperfect and suspended, till you come to this Verse where the same Reasoning is taken again, and the same *Proposis* or first Part of the Comparison repeated: and then the *Apodosis* or latter part is added to it, and the whole Sentence made complete: Which to take right, one must read thus, ver. 12. *Therefore as by one Man Sin enter'd into the World, and Death by Sin, and so Death passed upon all Men, &c.* ver. 18. I say, *Therefore as by the Offence of one, Judgment came upon all Men to Condemnation, even so by the Righteousness of one, the free Gift came upon all Men to Justification of Life.* A like Interruption of what he began to say, may be seen, 2 Cor. 12. 14. and the same Discourse after the Interposition of eight Verses, began again, ch. 13. 1. not to mention others that I think may be found in St. Paul's Epistles.

(e) That *ἑνὸς ἀδικήματος* ought to be render'd *one Offence*; and not *the Offence of one, Man*; and so *ἑνὸς δικαιώματος*, *one Act of Righteousness*, and not *the Righteousness of one*, is reasonable to think: Because in the next Verse St. Paul compares one Man to one Man, and therefore 'tis fit to understand him here (the Construction also favouring it) of one Fact compared with one Fact, unless we will make him here (where he seems to study Conciseness) guilty of a Tautology. But taken as I think they should be understood, one may see a Harmony, Beauty and Fulness in this Discourse, which at first Sight seems somewhat obscure and perplexed. For thus in these two Verses, 18, 19. he shews the Correspondence of Adam the Type with Christ the Antitype, as we may see, ver. 14. he designed, as he had shewn the Disparity between them, ver. 15, 16, 17.

(f) That this is the meaning of *δι' ἑνὸς δικαιώματος*, is plain by the following Verse. St. Paul every one may observe to be a Lover of Antithesis. In this Verse it is *ἑνὸς ἀδικήματος*, *one perverse Act of Transgression*, and *ἑνὸς δικαιώματος*, *one right Act of Submission*: In the next Verse it is *ἡ ἀνομία* *Disobedience*, and *ἡ ὑπακοή* *Obedience*, the same thing being meant in both Verses. And that this *δικαίωμα*, this Act of Obedience, whereby he procured Life to all Mankind, was his Death upon the Cross, I think no body questions, see v. 7—9. Heb. 2. 10, 14. Phil. 2. 8. And that *δικαιώματα*, when apply'd to Men, signifies Actions conformable to the Will of God, see Rev. 19. 8.

(g) By *δικαιώσις ζωῆς*, *Justification of Life*, which are the words of the Text, is not meant that Righteousness by Faith which is to eternal Life. For eternal Life is no where in Sacred Scripture mentioned as the Portion of all Men, but only of the Saints. But the *Justification of Life* here spoken of, is what all Men partake in by the Benefit of Christ's Death, by which they are justified from all that was brought upon them by Adam's Sin, i. e. they are discharged from Death, the Consequence of Adam's Transgression; and restored to Life, to stand or fall by that Plea of Righteousness, which they can make, either of their own by Works, or of the Righteousness of God by Faith.

19 (h) *Sinners*. Here St. Paul uses the same Metonymie as above, ver. 12. putting *Sinners* for *mortal*, whereby the Antithesis to Righteous is the more lively.

SECT. VI. N. 2.

CHAP. V. 20, 21.

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ST. Paul, pursuing his Design in this Epistle of satisfying the Gentiles that there was no need of their submitting to the Law in order to their partaking of the Benefits of the Gospel, having in the foregoing eight Verses taught them, that Adam's one Sin had brought Death upon them all, from which they were all restored by Christ's Death, with Addition of eternal Bliss and Glory to all those who believe in him; all which being the Effect of God's Free Grace and Favour to those who were never under the Law, excludes the Law from having any part in it, and so fully makes out the Title of the Gentiles to God's Favour through Jesus Christ, under the Gospel, without the Intervention of the Law. Here, for the farther Satisfaction of the Gentile Converts, he shews them in these two Verses, That the Nation of the Hebrews who had the Law, were not deliver'd from the State of Death by it, but rather plunged deeper under it by the Law, and so stood more in need of Favour, and indeed had a greater abundance of Grace afforded them for their Recovery to Life by Jesus Christ, than the Gentiles themselves. Thus the Jews themselves not being saved by the Law, but by an Excess of Grace, this is a farther Proof of the Point St. Paul was upon, (*viz.*) that the Gentiles had no need of the Law for the obtaining of Life under the Gospel.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

20 **M**oreover, the law enter'd, that the offence might abound: but where sin abounded,

THIS was the State of all (*i*) Mankind, before the Law they all died for the one *παράπτωμα*, Lapse or Offence of one Man, which was the only Irregularity that had Death annexed to it: But the Law enter'd and took place over a small part of Mankind, (*k*), that this *παράπτωμα*, Lapse or Offence, to which Death was annexed, might abound, *i. e.* the multiplied Transgressions

20.

NOTES.

20 (*i*) There can be nothing plainer than that St. Paul here in these two Verses makes a Comparison between the State of the Jews, and the State of the Gentiles, as it stands described in the eight preceding Verses, to shew wherein they differ'd or agreed, so far as was necessary to his present purpose of satisfying the Convert Romans, that in reference to their Interest in the Gospel, the Jews had no Advantage over them by the Law. With what reference to those eight Verses St. Paul writ these two, appears by the very Choice of his Words. He tells them, *ver. 12.* that Death by Sin *εἰσῆλθε* enter'd into the World, and here he tells them that the Law (for Sin and Death were enter'd already) *παρεῖσθαι*, enter'd a little, a word that, set in Opposition to *εἰσῆλθε*, gives a distinguishing Idea of the Extent of the Law, such as really it was, little and narrow, as was the People of Israel (whom alone it reached) in respect of all the other Nations of the Earth, with whom it had nothing to do. For the Law of Moses was given to Israel alone, and not to all Mankind. The Vulgate therefore translates this word right, *subintravit*, it enter'd, but not far, *i. e.* the Death which followed upon the account of the Mosaical Law reigned over but a small part of Mankind, *viz.* the Children of Israel, who alone were under that Law, whereas by Adam's Transgression of the positive Law given in Paradise, Death passed upon all Men.

(*k*) *Iva* that. Some would have this signify barely the Event, and not the Intention of the Law-giver, and so understand by these words, *that the Offence might abound*, the Increase of Sin, or the Aggravations of it, as a Consequence of the Law. But it is to be remember'd, that St. Paul here sets forth the Difference which God intended to put, by the Law which he gave them, between the Children of Israel and the Gentile World, in respect of Life and Death, Life and Death being the Subject St. Paul was upon. And therefore to mention barely accidental Consequences of the Law that made the Difference, had come short of St. Paul's Purpose.

All Mankind was in an irrecoverable State of Death by Adam's Lapse. 'Twas plainly the Intention

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TEXT.

21. greffions of many Men, viz. all that were under the Law of *Moses*, might have Death annexed to them by the positive Sanction of that Law, whereby the Offence (l) to which Death was annexed did abound, i. e. Sins that had Death for their Punishment were increased. But by the Goodness of God where *Sin* (m) with Death annexed to it did abound, Grace did much more abound (n). That as *Sin* had reigned or shew'd its Mastery in the Death of the *Israelites*, who were under the Law; so Grace in its turn might reign, or shew its Mastery, by justifying them from all those many Sins which they had committed, each whereof by the Law brought Death with it, and so bestowing on them the Righteousness of Faith, instate them in eternal Life, through *Jesus Christ* our Lord.

grace did much more abound:

That as *sin* hath reigned²¹ ed unto death, even so might grace reign through righteousness unto eternal life by *Jesus Christ* our Lord.

NOTES.

Intention of God to remove the *Israelites* out of this State by the Law: and so he says himself, that he gave them Statutes and Judgments, which if a Man do, he shall live in them, Lev. 18. 5. And so St. Paul tells us here, ch. 7. 10. that the Law was ordained for Life. Whence it necessarily follows, that if Life were intended them for their Obedience, Death was intended them for their Disobedience: And accordingly *Moses* tells them, Deut. 30. 19. that he had set before them Life and Death. Thus by the Law the Children of *Israel* were put into a new State: And by the Covenant God made with them, their remaining under Death, or their Recovery of Life, was to be the Consequence not of what another had done, but of what they themselves did. They were thenceforth put to stand or fall by their own Actions, and the Death they suffer'd was for their Transgressions. Every Offence they committed against the Law, did by this Covenant bind Death upon them. 'Tis not easie to conceive that God should give them a Law, to the end Sin and Guilt should abound amongst them, but yet he might and did give them a Law that the Offence which had Death annexed should abound, i. e. that Death, which before was the declared Penalty of but one Offence, should to the Jews be made the Penalty of every Breach by the Sanction of this new Law, which was not a Hardship, but a Privilege to them. For in their former State, common to them with the rest of Mankind, Death was unavoidable to them. But by the Law they had a Trial for Life: Accordingly our Saviour to the young Man, who asked what he should do to obtain eternal Life, answers, Keep the Commandments. The Law increasing the Offence in this Sense had also another Benefit, viz. That the Jews perceiving they incur'd Death by the Law, which was ordained for Life, might thereby, as by a School-master, be led to Christ, to seek Life by him. This St. Paul takes notice of, Gal. 3. 24.

(l) *Παράνομια* is another word, shewing St. Paul's having an eye in what he says here, to what he said in the foregoing Verses. Our Bibles translate it *Offence*, it properly signifies *Fall*, and is used in the foregoing Verses, for that Transgression which by the positive Law of God had Death annexed to it, and in that Sense the Apostle continues to use it here also. There was but one such Sin before the Law given by *Moses*, viz. *Adam's* eating the forbidden Fruit. But the positive Law of God given to the *Israelites*, made all their Sins such, by annexing the Penalty of Death to each Transgression, and thus the *Offence* abounded, or was increased by the Law.

(m) *Sin*. That by *Sin* St. Paul means here such Failure, as by the Sanction of a positive Law had Death annexed to it, the beginning of the next Verse shews, where it is declared to be such Sin as reigned in or by Death, which all Sin doth not, all Sin is not taxed at that rate, as appears by ver. 13. see the Note. The Article joyn'd here both to *πᾶσι νόμοις* and *ἀμαρτίαις*, for it is τὸ πᾶσι νόμοις, and ἡ ἀμαρτία, the *Offence* and the *Sin*, limiting the general Signification of those Words to some particular sort, seems to point out this Sense. And that this is not a meer groundless Criticism, may appear from ver. 12. and 13. where St. Paul uses *ἀμαρτία* in these two different Senses, with the Distinction of the Article and no Article.

(n) *Grace might much more abound*. The rest of Mankind were in a State of Death only for one Sin of one Man. This the Apostle is express in, not only in the foregoing Verses, but elsewhere. But those who were under the Law (which made each Transgression they were guilty of mortal) were under the Condemnation of Death, not only for that one Sin of another; but also for every one of their own Sins. Now to make any one righteous to Life from many, and those his own Sins, besides that one that lay on him before, is greater Grace, than to bestow on him Justification to Life only from one Sin, and that of another Man. To forgive the Penalty of many Sins, is a greater Grace than to remit the Penalty of one.

S E C T. VI. N. 3.

C H A P. VI. 1—23.

C O N T E N T S.

ST. Paul having in the foregoing Chapter very much magnified Free Grace, by shewing that all Men, having lost their Lives by *Adam's* Sin, were by Grace through Christ restored to Life again; and also as many of them as believed in Christ, were re-established in Immortality by Grace; and that even the Jews, who by their own Trespases against the Law had forfeited their Lives over and over again, were also by Grace restored to Life, Grace superabounding where Sin abounded, he here obviates a wrong Inference, which might be apt to mislead the Convert Gentiles, *viz. Therefore let us continue in Sin, that Grace may abound.* The contrary whereof he shews, their very taking upon them the Profession of Christianity, required of them by the very initiating Ceremony of Baptism, wherein they were typically buried with Christ, to teach them that they, as he did, ought to die to Sin; and as he rose to live to God, they should rise to a new Life of Obedience to God, and be no more Slaves to Sin in an Obedience and Resignation of themselves to its Commands. For if their Obedience were to Sin, they were Vassals of Sin, and would certainly receive the Wages of that Master, which was nothing but Death: But if they obeyed Righteousness, *i. e.* sincerely endeavoured after Righteousness, though they did not attain it, Sin should not have Dominion over them by Death, *i. e.* should not bring Death upon them. Because they were not under the Law, which condemn'd them to Death for every Transgression; but under Grace, which by Faith in Jesus Christ justified them to eternal Life from their many Transgressions. And thus he shews the Gentiles not only the no Necessity, but the Advantage of their not being under the Law.

T E X T.

P A R A P H R A S E.

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| <p>1 WHat shall we say then? shall we continue in sin, that grace may be abound?</p> <p>2 God forbid: how shall we that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?</p> | <p>WHAT shall we say then? Shall we continue in Sin that Grace may abound? God forbid: How can it be that we (o), who by our embracing Christianity have renounced our former sinful Courses, and have professed a Death to Sin, should live any longer</p> | <p>1.</p> <p>2.</p> |
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N O T E S.

2 (o) *We, i. e.* I and all Converts to Christianity. St. Paul in this Chapter shews it to be the Profession and Obligation of all Christians, even by their Baptism, and the typical Signification of it, to be dead to Sin, and alive to God, *i. e.* as he explains it, not to be any longer Vassals to Sin in obeying our Lusts, but to be Servants to God in a sincere Purpose and Endeavour of obeying him. For whether under the Law or under Grace, whoever is a Vassal to Sin, *i. e.* indulges himself in a Compliance with his sinful Lusts, will receive the Wages which Sin pays, *i. e.* Death. This he strongly represents here to the Gentile Converts of *Rome* (for 'tis to them he speaks in this Chapter) that they might not mistake the State they were in, by being not under the Law, but under Grace, of which, and the Freedom and Largeness of it, he had spoken so much, and so highly in the foregoing Chapter, to let them see, that to be under Grace, was not a State of Licence, but of exact Obedience in the Intention and Endeavour of every one under Grace, though in the Performance they came short of it. This strict Obedience, to the utmost reach of every one's Aim and Endeavours, he urges as necessary, because Obedience to Sin unavoidably produces Death, and he urges as reasonable for this very Reason, that they were not under the Law, but under Grace. For as much as all the Endeavours after Righteousness of those who were under the Law were lost Labour, since any one Slip forfeited Life: But the sincere Endeavours after Righteousness of those who were under Grace, were sure to succeed to the attaining the Gift of eternal Life.

in

3. in it? For this I hope you are not ignorant of, that we Christians, who by Baptism were admitted into the Kingdom and Church of Christ, were baptized(p) into
4. a Similitude of his Death; We did own some kind of Death by being buried under Water, which being buried with him, i. e. in Conformity to his Burial, as a Confession of our being dead, was to signifie, that as Christ was raised up from the Dead into a glorious Life with his Father, even so we, being raised from our typical Death and Burial in Baptism, should lead a new sort of Life wholly different from our former in some Approaches towards that heavenly Life that Christ is risen to. For if we have been ingrafted into him in the Similitude of his Death, we shall be also in a Conformity to the Life which he is enter'd into by his Resurrection. Knowing this, that we are to live so, as if our
6. Old Man, our wicked and corrupt fleshly self (q) which we were before, were crucified with him, that the Prevalency of our carnal sinful Propensities, which are from our Bodies, might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve Sin (r) as Vassals to it. For he that is dead is set free from the Vassalage (s) of Sin, as a Slave is from the Vassalage of his Master. Now
8. if we understand by our being buried in Baptism, that we died with Christ, we cannot but think and believe, that we should live a Life conformable to his; knowing that Christ, being raised from the dead, returns no more to a mortal Life, Death hath no more Domi-

Know ye not that so many of us as were baptized into Jesus Christ, were baptized into his death?

Therefore we are buried with him by baptism into death; that like as Christ was raised up from the dead by the glory of the Father, even so we also should walk in newness of Life.

For if we have been planted together in the likeness of his death: we shall be also in the likeness of his resurrection:

Knowing this, that our old man is crucified with him, that the body of sin might be destroyed, that henceforth we should not serve sin.

For he that is dead, is freed from sin.

Now if we be dead with Christ, we believe that we shall also live with him:

Knowing that Christ, being raised from the dead, dieth no more; death hath no more dominion over him.

NOTES.

3 (p) *24* in the Hellenistick Greek sometimes signifies *into*, and so our Translation renders it, *2 Pet. 2. 3.* And if it be not so taken here, the Force of St. Paul's Argument is lost, which is to shew *into* what State of Life we ought to be raised out of Baptism, in Similitude and Conformity to that State of Life Christ was raised into from the Grave.

6 (q) See *Gal. 5. 24. Eph. 4. 22. Col. 2. 11. 1 Pet. 4. 1.*

(r) It will conduce much to the understanding of St. Paul in this and the two following Chapters, if it be minded that these Phrases, to *serve Sin*, to be *Servants of Sin*, *Sin reign in our mortal Bodies*, to *obey Sin in the Lusts of our Bodies*, to *yield our Members Instruments of Unrighteousness unto Sin*, or *Servants of Uncleanness*, and to *Iniquity unto Iniquity*, to be *free from Righteousness*, to *walk, live, or to be after the Flesh*, to be *carnally minded*, all signifie one and the same thing, viz. the giving our selves up to the Conduct of our sinful, carnal Appetites, to allow any of them the Command over us, and the Conduct and Prevalency in determining us. On the contrary, that *walking after the Spirit*, or *in newness of Life*, the *Crucifixion of the Old Man*, the *Destruction of the Body of Sin*, the *Deliverance from the Body of Death*, to be *freed from Sin*, to be *dead to Sin*, *alive unto God*, to *yield your selves unto God*, as *those who are alive from the dead*, *yield your Members Servants of Righteousness unto Holiness*, or *Instruments of Righteousness unto God*, to be *Servants of Obedience unto Righteousness*, *made free from Sin*, *Servants of Righteousness*, to be *after the Spirit*, to be *spiritually minded*, to *mortifie the Deeds of the Body*, do all signifie a constant and steady Purpose, and sincere Endeavour to obey the Law and Will of God in every thing, these several Expressions, being used in several places, as best serves the Occasion, and illustrates the Sense.

7 (s) The Tenor of St. Paul's Discourse here shews this to be the Sense of this Verse; and to be assured that it is so, we need go no farther than *ver. 11, 12, 13.* He makes it his Business in this Chapter, not to tell them what they certainly and unchangeably are, but to exhort them to be what they ought and are engaged to be by becoming Christians, viz. that they ought to emancipate themselves from the Vassalage of Sin, not that they were so emancipated without any danger of Return, for then he could not have said what he does, *ver. 1. 12, 13.* which supposes it in their Power to continue in their Obedience to Sin, or return to that Vassalage if they would.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

10 For in that he died, he died unto sin once: but in that he liveth, he liveth unto God.

11 Likewise reckon ye also your selves to be dead indeed unto sin; but alive unto God through Jesus Christ our Lord.

12 Let not sin therefore reign in your mortal body, that ye should obey it in the lusts thereof.

13 Neither yield ye your members as instruments of unrighteousness unto sin: but yield your selves unto God, as those that are alive from the dead; and your Members as instruments of righteousness unto God.

14 For sin shall not have dominion over you: for ye are not under the law, but under Grace.

nion over him, he is no more subject to Death. For in that he died, he died unto Sin, *i. e.* upon the account of Sin once (*t*) for all: But his Life now after his Resurrection, is a Life wholly appropriated to God, with which Sin or Death shall never have any more to do, or come in reach of. In like manner do you also make your Reckoning, account your selves dead to Sin (*u*), freed from that Master; so as not to suffer your selves any more to be commanded or employed by it, as if it were still your Master; but alive to God, *i. e.* that it is your Business now to live wholly for his Service, and to his Glory (*w*), through Jesus Christ our Lord. Permit not therefore Sin to reign over you, by (*x*) your mortal Bodies, which you will do if you obey your carnal Lusts: Neither deliver up your Members (*y*) to Sin to be employ'd by Sin, as Instruments of Iniquity, but deliver up your selves unto God, as those who have got to a new Life from among the Dead (*z*), and choosing him for your Lord and Master, yield your Members to him, as Instruments of Righteousness. For if you do so, Sin shall not have Dominion over you (*a*), you shall not be as its Slaves in its Power, to be by it deliver'd over to Death. (*b*) For you are not under the Law in the Legal State,

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12.

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NOTES.

10 (*t*) See Heb. 9. 26 ——— 28. 1 Pet. 4. 1, 2.

11 (*u*) Sin is here spoken of as a Person, a *Prosopœia* made use of all through this and the following Chapter, which must be minded if we will understand them right. The like Exhortation upon the same ground, see 1 Pet. 4. 1 ——— 3.

(*w*) See Gal. 2. 19. 2 Cor. 5. 15. Rom. 7. 4. The Force of St. Paul's Argument here seems to be this; In your Baptism you are engaged into a Likeness of Christ's Death and Resurrection. He once died to Sin, so do you count your selves dead to Sin. He rose to Life, wherein he lives wholly to God, so must your new Life, after your Resurrection from your typical Burial in the Water, be under the Vassalage of Sin no more, but you must live entirely to the Service of God, to whom you are devoted in Obedience to his Will in all things.

12 (*x*) In your mortal Bodies, *iv* in the Apostle's Writings often signifies *by*. And he here, as also in the following Chapters, ver. 18, and 24. and elsewhere, placing the Root of Sin in the Body, his Sense seems to be, Let not Sin reign over you by the Lusts of your mortal Bodies.

13 (*y*) Sinful Lusts, at least those to which the Gentiles were most eminently enslaved, seem so much placed in the Body and the Members, that they are called the Members, Col. 3. 5.

(*z*) *Ἐκ νεκρῶν*, From among the dead. The Gentile World were dead in Sins, Eph. 2. 1. 5. Col. 2. 13. those who were converted to the Gospel were raised to Life from among those dead.

14 (*a*) Sin shall not have Dominion over you, *i. e.* Sin shall not be your absolute Master to dispose of your Members and Faculties in its Drudgery and Service as it pleases, you shall not be under its Controul in absolute Subjection to it, but your own Men that are alive, and at your own Disposal, unless by your own Free Choice you intral your selves to it, and by a voluntary Obedience give it the Command over you, and are willing to have it your Master. It must be remember'd, that St. Paul here, and in the following Chapter, personates Sin as striving with Men for Mastery to destroy them.

(*b*) For. The Force of St. Paul's Reasoning here stands thus: You are obliged by your taking on you the Profession of the Gospel, not to be any longer Slaves and Vassals to Sin, nor to be under the Sway of your carnal Lust, but to yield your selves up to God to be his Servants in a constant and sincere Purpose and Endeavour of obeying him in all things; this if you do, Sin shall not be able to procure you Death, for you Gentiles are not under the Law which condemns to Death for every the least Transgression, though it be but a Slip of Infirmity; but by your Baptism are enter'd into the Covenant of Grace, and being under Grace, God will accept of your sincere Endeavours, in the place of exact Obedience; and give you eternal Life through Jesus Christ; but if you by a willing Obedience to your Lusts make your selves Vassals to Sin, Sin, as the Lord and Master to whom you belong, will pay you with Death, the only Wages that Sin pays.

15. but you are under Grace, in the Gospel-State of the Covenant of Grace. What then, shall we sin because we are not under the Law, but under the Covenant of
16. Grace (c)? God forbid. Know ye not that to whom you subject yourselves (d) as Vassals, to be at his Beck, his Vassals you are whom you thus obey, whether it be of Sin, which Vassalage ends in Death; or of Christ in obeying the Gospel, to the obtaining of Righteousness and Life. But God be thanked, that you who were the Vassals of Sin have sincerely, and from your Heart, obeyed so as to receive the Form, or be cast into the Mould of that Doctrine under whose Direction or Regulation (e) you were put, that you might conform yourselves to it. Being therefore set free from the Vassalage of Sin, you became the Servants or Vassals of Righteousness (f). (I make use of this Metaphor
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.

What then? shall we¹⁵ sin, because we are not under the law, but under grace? God forbid.

Know ye not, that to¹⁶ whom ye yield your selves servants to obey, his servants ye are to whom ye obey; whether of sin unto death, or of obedience unto righteousness?

But God be thanked,¹⁷ that ye were the servants of sin; but ye have obeyed from the heart that form of Doctrine which was delivered you.

Being then made free¹⁸ from sin, ye became the servants of Righteousness.

I speak after the man-¹⁹ner of men, because of the infirmity of your flesh,

NOTES.

15 (c) What is meant by being *under Grace*, is easily understood by the undoubted and obvious meaning of the Parallel Phrase *under the Law*. They, 'tis unquestion'd, were *under the Law*, who, having by Circumcision the Ceremony of Admittance been received into the Commonwealth of the Jews, owned the God of the Jews for their God and King, professing Subjection to the Law he gave by *Moses*. And so in like manner, he is *under Grace*, who, having by Baptism the Ceremony of Admittance been received into the Kingdom of Christ, or the Society of Christians, called by a peculiar Name the Christian Church, owns Jesus of *Nazareth* to be the Messiah his King, professing Subjection to his Law deliver'd in the Gospel. By which it is plain, that being under Grace is spoken here, as being under the Law is, in a political and national Sense. For whoever was circumcised, and owned God for his King, and the Authority of his Law, ceased not to be a Jew or Member of that Society by every or any Transgression of the Precepts of that Law, so long as he own'd God for his Lord, and his Subjection to that Law; so likewise he who by Baptism is incorporated into the Kingdom of Christ, and owns him for his Sovereign, and himself under the Law and Rule of the Gospel, ceases not to be a Christian, though he offend against the Precepts of the Gospel, till he denies Christ to be his King and Lord, and renounces his Subjection to his Law in the Gospel. But God, in taking a People to himself to be his, not doing it barely as a temporal Prince, or Head of a Politique Society in this World, but in order to his having as many, as in obeying him perform the Conditions necessary, his Subjects for ever in the State of Immortality restored to them in another World, has since the Fall erected two Kingdoms in this World, the one of the Jews immediately under himself, another of Christians under his Son Jesus Christ, for that farther and more glorious End of attaining eternal Life, which Prerogative and Privilege of eternal Life does not belong to the Society in general, nor is the Benefit granted nationally to the whole Body of the People of either of these Kingdoms of God, but personally to such of them who perform the Conditions required in the Terms of each Covenant. To those who are Jews, or under the Law, the Terms are perfect and complete Obedience to every Tittle of the Law, *Do this and live*: To those who are Christians, or under Grace, the Terms are sincere Endeavours after perfect Obedience, though not attaining it, as is manifest in the remaining part of this Chapter, where St. Paul acquaints those who ask whether *they shall sin, because they are not under the Law, but under Grace*; that though they are *under Grace*, yet they who obey Sin, are the Vassals of Sin; and those who are the Vassals of Sin shall receive Death, the Wages of Sin.

16 (d) Ὑπακοὴ Obedience. That which he calls here simply Ὑπακοὴ Obedience, he in other places calls Ὑπακοὴ πίστεως, Obedience of Faith, and Ὑπακοὴ τῷ Χριστῷ, Obedience of Christ, meaning a Reception of the Gospel of Christ.

17 (e) Ἔως ὃν παρὲς ὧν τε, unto which you were delivered; No harsh, but an elegant Expression, if we observe that St. Paul here speaks of Sin and the Gospel, as of two Masters, and that those he writes to were taken out of the hands of the one, and delivered over to the other, which they having from their Hearts obeyed, were no longer the Slaves of Sin, he whom they obeyed being by the Rule of the foregoing Verse truly their Master.

18 (f) Ἐδουλώθητε τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ, Ye became the Slaves of Righteousness. This will seem an harsh Expression, unless we remember that St. Paul, going on still with the Metaphor of Master and Servant, makes Sin and Righteousness here two Persons, two distinct Masters, and Men passing from the Dominion of the one into the Dominion of the other.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- for as ye have yielded your members servants to uncleanness, and to iniquity, unto iniquity; even so now yield your members servants to righteousness, unto holiness.
- 20 For when ye were the servants of sin, ye were free from righteousness.
- 21 What fruit had ye then in those things whereof ye are now ashamed? for the end of those things is death.
- 22 But now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your Fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life.
- 23 For the wages of sin is death: but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.

of the passing of Slaves from one Master to another (g) well known to you Romans, the better to let my Meaning into your Understandings that are yet weak in these Matters, being more accustomed to fleshly than spiritual things). For as you yielded your natural (b) Faculties obedient slavish Instruments to Uncleanness, to be wholly imployed in all manner of Iniquity (i); so now ye ought to yield up your natural Faculties to a perfect and ready Obedience to Righteousness. For when you were the Vassals of Sin, you were not at all subject to, nor paid any Obedience to Righteousness: Therefore by a Parity of Reason now Righteousness is your Master, you ought to pay no Obedience to Sin. What Fruit or Benefit had you then in those things, in that Course of Things whereof you are now ashamed? For the end of those things, which are done in Obedience to Sin is Death. But now being set free from Sin, being no longer Vassals to that Master, but having God now for your Lord and Master, to whom you are become Subjects or Vassals, your Course of Life tends to Holiness, and will end in everlasting Life. For the Wages (k) that Sin pays is Death: But that which God's Servants receive from his Bounty, is the Gift (l) of eternal Life through Jesus Christ our Lord.

20.

21.

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NOTES.

19 (g) Ἀνθρώπων λέγω, *I speak after the manner of Men.* He had some reason to make some little kind of Apology, for a Figure of Speech which he dwells upon quite down to the end of this Chapter.

(b) *Members*, see ch. 7. 5. Note.

(i) *To Iniquity unto Iniquity*, see Note, ch. 1. 17.

23 (k) *The Wages of Sin*, does not signifie here the Wages that are paid for Sinning, but the Wages that Sin pays. This is evident not only by the Opposition that is put here in this Verse between *the Wages of Sin* and *the Gift of God*, viz. That Sin rewards Men with Death for their Obedience; but that which God gives to those, who believing in Jesus Christ, labour sincerely after Righteousness, is Life eternal. But it farther appears by the whole Tenor of St. Paul's Discourse, wherein he speaks of Sin as a Person and a Master, who hath Servants, and is served and obeyed, and so the Wages of Sin being the Wages of a Person here, must be what it pays.

(l) *The Gift of God*. Sin pays Death to those who are its obedient Vassals: But God rewards the Obedience of those to whom he is Lord and Master by the Gift of eternal Life. Their utmost Endeavours and highest Performances can never entitle them to it of Right; and so it is to them not Wages, but a free Gift. See ch. 4. 4.

S E C T. VI. N. 4.

C H A P. VII. 1—25.

C O N T E N T S.

ST. Paul in the foregoing Chapter, addressing himself to the Convert Gentiles, shews them, that not being under the Law, they were obliged only to keep themselves free from a Vassalage of Sin, by a sincere Endeavour after
Vol. III. Z z 2 Righteous-

An. Ch. 57. Righteousness, forasmuch as God gave eternal Life to all those who being under Grace, i. e. being converted to Christianity, did so.

Neronis 3.

In this Chapter addressing himself to those of his own Nation in the Roman Church, he tells them, that the Death of Christ having put an end to the Obligation of the Law, they were at their Liberty to quit the Observances of the Law, and were guilty of no Disloyalty in putting themselves under the Gospel. And here St. Paul shews the Deficiency of the Law, which render'd it necessary to be laid aside by the Coming and Reception of the Gospel. Not that it allowed any Sin, but on the contrary forbad even Concupiscence, which was not known to be Sin without the Law. Nor was it the Law that brought Death upon those who were under it, but Sin, that herein it might shew the extreme malignant Influence it had upon our weak fleshly Natures, in that it could prevail on us to transgress the Law (which we could not but acknowledge to be holy, just and good) though Death was the declared Penalty of every Transgression: But herein lay the Deficiency of the Law as spiritual, and opposite to Sin as it was, that it could not master and root it out, but Sin remained and dwelt in Men as before, and by the Strength of their carnal Appetites, which were not subdued by the Law, carried them to Transgressions that they approved not. Nor did it avail them to disapprove or struggle, since though the Bent of their Minds were the other way, yet their Endeavours after Obedience deliver'd them not from that Death which their Bodies or carnal Appetites, running them into Transgressions, brought upon them. That Deliverance was to be had from Grace, by which those, who putting themselves from under the Law into the Gospel-State, were accepted, if with the Bent of their Minds, they sincerely endeavour'd to serve and obey the Law of God, though sometimes through the Frailty of their Flesh they fell into Sin.

This is a farther Demonstration to the converted Gentiles of Rome, that they are under no Obligation of submitting themselves to the Law, in order to be the People of God, or partake of the Advantages of the Gospel, since it was necessary even to the Jews themselves to quit the Terms of the Law, that they might be deliver'd from Death by the Gospel. And thus we see how steadily and skilfully he pursues his Design, and with what Evidence and Strength he fortifies the Gentile Converts against all Attempts of the Jews, who went about to bring them under the Observances of the Law of Moses.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

1. **I** Have let those of you who were formerly Gentiles see that they are not under the Law, but under Grace (m): I now apply my self to you, my Brethren of my own Nation (n), who know the Law. You cannot be ignorant that the Authority of the Law reaches or concerns a Man (o) so long as he liveth and no longer. For (p) a Woman who hath an Husband,
- 2.

K Now ye not, brethren, (for I speak to them that know the law) how that the law hath dominion over a man as long as he liveth? For the woman which hath an husband, is bound

NOTES.

1 (m) See ch. 6. 14.

(n) That his Discourse here is addressed to those Converts of this Church, who were of the Jewish Nation, is so evident from the whole Tenor of this Chapter, that there needs no more but to read it with a little Attention to be convinced of it, especially ver. 1. 4, 6.

(o) *Κυριεύει τῷ ἀνδρὶ*, Hath Dominion over a Man. So we render it rightly: But I imagine we understand it in too narrow a Sense, taking it to mean only that Dominion or Force which the Law has to compel or restrain us in things which we have otherwise no mind to, whereas it seems to me to be used in the Conjugation *Hipbil*, and to comprehend here that Right and Privilege also of doing or enjoying, which a Man has by Virtue and Authority of the Law, which all ceases as soon as he is dead. To this large Sense of these words St. Paul's Expressions in the two next Verses seem suited; and sounder stood, have a clear and easy Meaning, as may be seen in the Paraphrase.

2 (p) For. That which follows in the 2d Verse, is no Proof of what is said in the 1st Verse, either as a Reason or an Instance of it, unless *κυριεύει* be taken in the Sense I propose, and then the whole Discourse is easy and uniform.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

by the law to her husband, so long as he liveth: but if the husband be dead, she is loosed from the law of her husband.

3 So then if while her husband liveth, she be married to another man, she shall be called an adulteress: but if her husband be dead, she is free from that law; so that she is no adulteress, though she be married to another man.

4 Wherefore, my brethren, ye also are become dead to the law by the body of Christ; that ye should be married to another, even to him who is raised from the dead, that we should bring forth fruit unto God.

is bound by the Law (q) to her living Husband; but if her Husband dieth, she is loosed from the Law which made her her Husband's, because the Authority of the Law, whereby he had a Right to her, ceased in respect of him as soon as he died. Wherefore she shall be called an Adulteress, if while her Husband liveth she become another Man's. But if her Husband dies, the Right he had to her by the Law ceasing, she is freed from the Law, so that she is not an Adulteress, though she become another Man's. So that even ye, my Brethren (r), by the Body of Christ (s), are become dead (t) to the Law, whereby the Dominion of the Law over you has ceased, that you should subject your selves to the Dominion of Christ in the Gospel, which you may do with as much Freedom from Blame, or the Imputation of Disloyalty (u), as a Woman, whose Husband is dead, may without the Imputation of Adultery marry another Man. And this making your selves another's, even

3.

4.

NOTES.

(q) Ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου τοῦ ἀνδρός, *From the Law of her Husband.* This Expression confirms the Sense above-mentioned. For it can in no Sense be termed the Law of her Husband, but as it is the Law whereby he has the Right to his Wife. But this Law, as far as it is her Husband's Law, as far as he has any Concern in it, or Privilege by it, dies with him, and so she is loosed from it.

4 (r) Καὶ ὑμεῖς, *Ye also, & also,* is not added here by Chance, and without any Meaning, but shews plainly that the Apostle had in his Mind some Person or Persons before mentioned, who were free from the Law, and that must be either the Woman mentioned in the two foregoing Verses, as free from the Law of her Husband, because he was dead; or else the Gentile Converts mentioned, ch. 6. 14. as free from the Law, because they were never under it. If we think ὑ refers to the Woman, then St. Paul's Sense in this, *Ye also are free from the Law, as well as such a Woman, and may without any Imputation subject your selves to the Gospel.* If we take ὑ to refer to the Gentile Converts, then his Sense is this; *Even ye also my Brethren are free from the Law as well as the Gentile Converts, and as much at Liberty to subject your selves to the Gospel as they.* I confess my self most inclin'd to this latter, both because St. Paul's main Drift is to shew, that both Jews and Gentiles are wholly free from the Law: and because ἐξαρὰ τοῦ νεκροῦ νόμου, *Ye have been made dead to the Law,* the Phrase here us'd to express that Freedom, seems to refer rather to the 1st Verse, where he says, *The Law hath Dominion over a Man as long as he liveth,* implying *and no longer,* rather than to the two intervening Verses where he says, not the Death of the Woman, but the Death of the Husband sets the Woman free, of which more by and by.

(s) *By the Body of Christ,* in which you as his Members died with him; see Col. 2. 20. and so by a like Figure Believers are said to be circumcised with him, Col. 2. 11.

(t) *Are become dead to the Law.* There is a great deal of needless Pains taken by some to reconcile this Saying of St. Paul to the two immediately preceding Verses, which they suppose do require he should have said here what he does, ver. 6. viz. that *the Law was dead,* that so the Persons here spoken of might rightly answer to the Wife, who there represents them. But he that will take this Passage together, will find that the first part of this 4th Verse refers to ver. 1. and the latter part of it to ver. 2. and 3. and consequently that St. Paul had spoken improperly, if he had said what they would make him say here. To clear this, let us look into St. Paul's Reasoning, which plainly stands thus; *The Dominion of the Law over a Man ceases when he is dead,* ver. 1. *You are become dead to the Law by the Body of Christ,* ver. 4. *And so the Dominion of the Law over you is ceased, then you are free to put your selves under the Dominion of another, which can bring on you no charge of Disloyalty to him who had before the Dominion over you, any more than a Woman can be charged with Adultery when the Dominion of her former Husband being ceased by his Death, she marrieth her self to another Man.* For the use of what he says, ver. 2. and 3. is to satisfy the Jews that the Dominion of the Law over them being ceased by their Death to the Law in Christ, they were no more guilty of Disloyalty by putting themselves wholly under the Law of Christ in the Gospel, than a Woman was guilty of Adultery, when, the Dominion of her Husband ceasing, she gave her self up wholly to another Man in marriage.

(u) *Disloyalty.* One thing that made the Jews so tenacious of the Law, was, that they looked upon it as a Revolt from God, and a Disloyalty to him their King, if they retain'd not the Law that he had given them. So that even those of them who imbraced the Gospel,

Gospel,

5. even Christ's, who is risen from the dead, is, that *We* (w) should bring forth Fruit unto God (x). For when we were after so fleshly (y) a manner under the Law, as not to comprehend the spiritual Meaning of it, that directed us to Christ the spiritual end of the Law, our sinful Lust (z) that remained in us under the Law (a), or in the State under the Law, wrought in our Members, i. e. set our Members and Faculties (b) on work in doing that whose end was Death (c). But now the Law under which we were heretofore held in Subjecti-

For when we were in the flesh, the motions of sins which were by the law, did work in our members to bring forth fruit unto death.

But now we are delivered from the law, that being dead wherein we were

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spel, thought it necessary to observe those Parts of the Law which were not continued, and as it were re-enacted by Christ in the Gospel. Their Mistake herein is what St. Paul, by the instance of a Woman marrying a second Husband, the former being dead, endeavours to convince them of.

(w) *We*. It may be worth our taking notice of, that St. Paul having all along from the beginning of the Chapter, and even in this very Sentence said *Te*, here with Neglect of Grammar on a sudden changes it into *We*, and says, *that we should*, &c. I suppose to press the Argument the stronger, by shewing himself to be in the same Circumstances and Concern with them, he being a Jew as well as those he spoke to.

(x) *Fruit unto God*. In these words St. Paul visibly refers to ch. 6. 10. where he saith, that Christ in that he liveth he liveth unto God, and therefore he mentions here his being raised from the dead, as a Reason for their bringing forth fruit unto God, i. e. living to the Service of God, obeying his Will to the utmost of their Power, which is the same that he says, ch. 8. 11.

5 (y) *When we were in the Flesh*. The Understanding and Observance of the Law in a bare literal Sense, without looking any farther for a more spiritual Intention in it, St. Paul calls *being in the Flesh*. That the Law had, besides a literal and carnal Sense, a spiritual and evangelical Meaning, see 2 Cor. 3. 6, and 17. compared. Read also ver. 14, 15, 16. where the Jews in the Flesh are described; and what he says of the ritual part of the Law, see Heb. 9. 9, 10. which whilst they lived in the Observance of, they were in the Flesh. That part of the Mosaic Law was wholly about fleshly things, Col. 2. 14—23. was sealed in the Flesh, and proposed no other but temporal fleshly Rewards.

(z) Παθήματα τῶν ἀμαρτιῶν, literally *Passions of Sin*, in the Scripture Greek (wherein the Genitive Case of the Substantive is often put for the Adjective) *sinful Passions or Lusts*.

(a) Τὰ ὑποὺς νόμου, which were by the Law, is a very true literal Translation of the Words, but leads the Reader quite away from the Apostle's Sense, and is fain to be supported (by Interpreters that so understand it) by saying that the Law excited Men to sin by forbidding it. A strange Imputation on the Law of God, such, as if it be true, must make the Jews more defiled with the Pollutions set down in St. Paul's Black List, ch. 1. than the Heathens themselves. But herein they will not find St. Paul of their Mind, who besides the visible Distinction wherewith he speaks of the Gentiles all through his Epistles, in this respect doth here, ver. 7. declare quite the contrary; see also 1 Pet. 4. 3, 4. If St. Paul's Use of the Preposition ὑποὺς a little backwards in this very Epistle were remember'd, this and a like Passage or two more in this Chapter would not have so harsh and hard a Sense put on them as they have. Τῶν περιτομῶν δι' ἀνεγκυρίας, our Translation renders, ch. 4. 11. *that believe though they be not circumcised*, where they make δι' ἀνεγκυρίας, to signify during the State, or during their being under Uncircumcision. If they had given the same Sense to ὑποὺς νόμου here, which plainly signifies their being in the contrary State, i. e. under the Law, and render'd it, *sinful Affections which they had, though they were under the Law*, the Apostle's Sense here would have been easie, clear, and conformable to the Design he was upon. This Use of the word ὑποὺς I think we may find in other Epistles of St. Paul, τὰ ὑποὺς σώματος, 2 Cor. 5. 10. may possibly with better Sense be understood of things done during the Body, or during the bodily State, than by the Body; and so 1 Tim. 2. 15. ὑποὺς τεκνογονίας, during the State of Child-bearing. Nor is this barely an Hellenistical Use of ὑποὺς, for the Greeks themselves say δι' ἡμέρας, during the Day; and ὑποὺς νυκτός, during the Night. And so I think ὑποὺς ἐπαγγελίας, Eph. 3. 6. should be understood to signify in the time of the Gospel, or under the Gospel-Dispensation.

(b) *Members* here doth not signify barely the fleshly Parts of the Body in a restrain'd Sense, but the animal Faculties and Powers, all in us that is employ'd as an Instrument in the Works of the Flesh, which are reckon'd up, Gal. 5. 19—21. some of which do not require the Members of our Body, taken in a strict Sense for the outward gross Parts, but only the Faculties of our Minds for their Performance.

(c) Καρποφορεῖτε τὸ θάνατον, *Bringing forth Fruit unto Death*, here, is opposed to *bringing forth Fruit unto God*, in the end of the foregoing Verse. Death here being consider'd as a Master whom Men serve by Sin, as God in the other place is consider'd as a Master, who gives Life to them who serve him in performing Obedience to his Law.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

held; that we should serve in newness of spirit, and not in the oldness of the letter.

7 What shall we say then? is the law sin? God forbid. Nay, I had not known sin, but by the law: for I had not known lust, except the law had said, Thou shalt not covet.

8 But sin taking occasion by the commandment, wrought in me all manner of concupiscence. For without the law sin was dead.

on being dead, we are set free from the Dominion of the Law, that we should perform our Obedience as under the new (d) and spiritual Covenant of the Gospel, wherein there is Remission of Frailties, and not as still under the old Rigour of the Letter of the Law, which condemns every one who does not perform exact Obedience to every rittle (e). What shall we then think that the Law, because it is set aside, was unrighteous, or gave any Allowance, or contributed any thing to Sin (f)? By no means; For the Law on the contrary tied Men stricter up from Sin, forbidding Concupiscence, which they did not know to be Sin but by the Law. For I (g) had not known Concupiscence to be Sin, unless the Law had said, *Thou shalt not covet*. Nevertheless Sin taking Opportunity (h) during the Law (i), or whilst I was under the Commandment, wrought in me all manner of Concupiscence: For without the Law Sin is dead, (k) not able to hurt me; And there was

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6 (d) *In Newness of Spirit*, i. e. Spirit of the Law, as appears by the Antithesis, *Oldness of the Letter*, i. e. Letter of the Law. He speaks in the former part of the Verse of the Law as being dead, here he speaks of it being revived again with a new Spirit. Christ by his Death abolished the Mosaic Law, but revived as much of it again, as was serviceable to the Use of his spiritual Kingdom under the Gospel, but left all the Ceremonial and purely Typical Part dead, Col. 2. 14—18. The Jews were held before Christ in an Obedience to the whole Letter of the Law, without minding the spiritual Meaning which pointed at Christ. This the Apostle calls here *serving in the Oldness of the Letter*, and this he tells them they should now leave, as being freed from it by the Death of Christ, who was the End of the Law for the attaining of Righteousness, ch. 10. 4. i. e. in the spiritual Sense of it, which 2 Cor. 3. 6. he calls Spirit, which Spirit, ver. 16. he explains to be Christ. That Chapter and this Verse here give light to one another. *Serving in the Spirit* then is obeying the Law, as far as it is revived, and as it is explained by our Saviour in the Gospel, for the attaining of Evangelical Righteousness.

(e) That this Sense also is comprehended in *not serving in the Oldness of the Letter*, is plain from what St. Paul says, 2 Cor. 3. 6. *The Letter killeth, but the Spirit giveth Life*. From this killing Letter of the Law, whereby it pronounced Death for every the least Transgression, they were also delivered, and therefore St. Paul tells them here, ch. 8. 15. that they *have not received the Spirit of Bondage again to fear*, i. e. to live in perpetual Bondage and Dread under the inflexible Rigour of the Law, under which it was impossible for them to expect ought but Death.

7 (f) *Sin*. That *Sin* here comprehends both these Meanings expressed in the Paraphrase, appears from this Verse, where the Strictness of the Law against Sin is asserted in its prohibiting of Desires, and from ver. 12. where its Rectitude is asserted.

(g) *I*. The Skill St. Paul uses in dextrously avoiding as much as possible the giving Offence to the Jews, is very visible in the word *I* in this place. In the beginning of this Chapter, where he mentions their Knowledge in the Law, he says *Ye*. In the 4th Verse he joyns himself with them, and says *We*. But here, and so to the end of this Chapter, where he represents the Power of Sin, and the Inability of the Law to subdue it wholly, he leaves them out, and speaks altogether in the first Person, tho' it be plain he means all those who were under the Law.

8 (h) St. Paul here, and all along this Chapter, speaks of Sin as a Person endeavouring to compass his Death, and the Sense of this Verse amounts to no more but this, that in matter of Fact that Concupiscence, which the Law declared to be Sin, remain'd and exerted it self in him, notwithstanding the Law. For if Sin from St. Paul's Prosopopæia, or making it a Person, shall be taken to be a real Agent, the carrying this Figure too far will give a very odd Sense to St. Paul's Words, and contrary to his Meaning make Sin to be the Cause of it self, and of Concupiscence, from which it has its Rise.

(i) See Note, ver. 5.

(k) *Dead*. It is to be remember'd not only that St. Paul all along this Chapter makes Sin a Person, but speaks of that Person and himself as two incompatible Enemies, the Being and Safety of the one consisting in the Death or Inability of the other to hurt. Without carrying this

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

9. was a time once (l) when I being without the Law, was in a State of Life ; but the Commandment coming, Sin got Life and Strength again, and I found my self
10. a dead Man ; And that very Law which was given me for the attaining of Life (m), was found to produce
11. Death (n) to me. For my mortal Enemy Sin taking the Opportunity of my being under (o) the Law, slew me by the Law, which it inveigled (p) me to disobey i. e. The Frailty and vicious Inclinations of Nature remaining in me under the Law, as they were before, able still to bring me into Transgressions, each whereof was mortal, Sin had by my being under the Law, a sure Opportunity of bringing Death upon me. So

For I was alive without the law once : but when the commandment came, sin revived, and I died.

And the commandment which was ordained to life, I found to be unto death.

For sin taking occasion by the commandment, deceived me, and by it slew me.

NOTES.

this in mind, it will be very hard to understand this Chapter. For instance, in this place St. Paul has declared, ver. 7. that the Law was not abolished, because it at all favour'd or promoted Sin, for it lays Restraints upon our very Desires, which Men without the Law did not take notice to be sinful ; Nevertheless Sin persisting in its Design to destroy me, took the Opportunity of my being under the Law, to stir up Concupiscence in me ; for without the Law which annexes Death to Transgression, Sin is as good as dead, is not able to have its Will on me, and bring Death upon me. Conformable hereunto St. Paul says, 1 Cor. 15. 56. *The Strength of Sin is the Law*, i. e. it is the Law that gives Sin the Strength and Power to kill Men. Laying aside the Figure which gives a lively Representation of the hard State of a well-minded Jew under the Law, the plain Meaning of St. Paul here is this ; " Tho' the Law lays a stricter Restraint upon Sin than Men have without it, yet it better not my Condition thereby, because it enables me not wholly to extirpate Sin, and subdue Concupiscence, though it hath made every Transgression a mortal Crime. So that being no more totally secured from offending under the Law, than I was before, I am under the Law exposed to certain Death. This deplorable Estate could not be more feelingly expressed than it is here, by making Sin (which still remain'd in Man under the Law) a Person who, implacably aiming at his Ruin, cunningly took the Opportunity of exciting Concupiscence in those to whom the Law had made it mortal.

9 (l) *Notè once.* St. Paul declares there was a time *once* when he was in a State of Life. When this was, he himself tells us, viz. when he was without the Law, which could only be before the Law was given. For he speaks here in the Person of one of the Children of Israel, who never ceased to be under the Law, since it was given. This *πότε* therefore must design the Time between the Covenant made with Abraham and the Law. By that Covenant Abraham was made *Blessed*, i. e. delivered from Death. That this is so, *vid. Gal. 3. 9, &c.* And under him the Israelites claim'd the Blessing, as his Posterity, comprehended in that Covenant, and as many of them as were of the Faith of their Father, faithful Abraham, were blessed with him. But when the Law came, and they put themselves wholly into the Covenant of Works, wherein each Transgression of the Law became mortal, then Sin recovered Life again, and a Power to kill, and an Israelite now under the Law, found himself in a State of Death, a dead Man. Thus we see it corresponds with the Design of the Apostle's Discourse here. In the six first Verses of this Chapter, he shews the Jews that they were at Liberty from the Law, and might put themselves solely under the Terms of the Gospel. In the following part of this Chapter he shews them, that it is necessary for them so to do ; since the Law was not able to deliver them from the Power Sin had to destroy them, but subjected them to it. This part of the Chapter shewing at large what he says, ch. 8. 3. and so may be looked on as an Explication and Proof of it.

10 (m) That the Commandments of the Law were given to the Israelites, that they might have Life by them ; see *Lev. 18. 5. Mat. 19. 7.*

(n) The Law which was just, and such as it ought to be, in having the Penalty of Death annexed to every Transgression of it, *Gal. 3. 10.* came to produce Death, by not being able so to remove the Frailty of humane Nature, and subdue carnal Appetites, as to keep Men entirely free from all Trespases against it, the least whereof by the Law brought Death. See *ch. 8. 3. Gal. 3. 21.*

11 (o) The Sense wherein I understand *ἀπὸ τοῦ νόμου*, by the Law, *ver. 5.* is very much confirmed by *ἀπὸ τῆς ἐντολῆς*, in this and *ver. 8.* by which Interpretation the whole Discourse is made plain, easy and consonant to the Apostle's Purpose.

(p) *Inveigled.* St. Paul seems here to allude to what Eve said in a like case, *Gen. 3. 13.* and uses the word *deceived* in the same Sense she did, i. e. drew me in.

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TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 12 Wherefore the law is holy; and the commandment holy and just, and good.
- 13 Was then that which is good, made death unto me? God forbid: But sin that it might appear sin, working death in me by that which is good; that sin by the commandment might become exceeding sinful.
- 14 For we know that the law is spiritual: but I am carnal, sold under sin.
- 15 For that which I do, I allow not: for what I would, that do I not; but what I hate, that do I.
- 16 If then I do that which I would not, I consent unto the law, that it is good.
- 17 Now then, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.

that (g) the Law is holy, just and good, such as the eternal, immutable Rule of Right and Good required it to be. Was then the Law, that in it self was good, made Death to me? No (r), by no means: But it was Sin that by the Law was made Death unto me, to the end that the Power (s) of Sin might appear, by its being able to bring Death upon me, by that very Law that was intended for my Good, that so by the Commandment the Power (r) of Sin and Corruption in me might be shewn to be exceeding great; For we know that the Law is spiritual, requiring Actions quite opposite (u) to our carnal Affections. But I am so carnal as to be enslaved to them, and forced against my Will to do the Drudgery of Sin, as if I were a Slave that had been sold into the hands of that my domineering Enemy. For what I do is not of my own Contrivance. (w) For that which I have a mind to I do not; and what I have an Aversion to, that I do. If then my transgressing the Law be what I in my Mind am against, it is plain the Consent of my Mind goes with the Law, that it is good. If so, then it is not I a willing Agent of my own free Purpose that do what is contrary to the Law, but as a poor Slave in Captivity, not able to follow my own Understanding and Choice, forced by the Prevalency of my own

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NOTES.

12 (g) "Ωστε, so that, ver. 7. he laid down this Position, that the Law was not Sin, ver. 8, 9, 10, 11. he proves it by shewing, that the Law was very strict in forbidding of Sin, so far as to reach the very Mind and the internal Acts of Concupiscence, and that it was Sin that remaining under the Law (which annexed Death to every Transgression) brought Death on the Israelites, he here infers, that the Law was not sinful, but righteous, just, and good, just such as by the eternal Rule of Right it ought to be.

13 (r) No. In the five foregoing Verses the Apostle had proved, that the Law was not Sin. In this and the ten following Verses he proves the Law not to be made Death; but that it was given to shew the Power of Sin which remained in those under the Law, so strong, notwithstanding the Law, that it could prevail on them to transgress the Law, notwithstanding all its Prohibition, with the Penalty of Death annexed to every Transgression. Of what use this, shewing the Power of Sin by the Law, was, we may see, Gal. 3. 24.

(s) That ἀμαρτία καὶ ὑπερβολὴν ἀμαρτωλὸς, Sin exceeding sinful, is put here to signify the great Power of Sin or Lust, is evident from the following Discourse, which wholly tends to shew, that let a Man under the Law be right in his Mind and Purpose; yet the Law in his Members, i. e. his carnal Appetites, would carry him to the committing of Sin, though his Judgment and Endeavours were averse to it. He that remembers that Sin in this Chapter is all along represented as a Person whose very Nature it was to seek and endeavour his Ruin, will not find it hard to understand, that the Apostle here by Sin exceeding sinful, means Sin strenuously exerting its sinful, i. e. destructive Nature with mighty Force.

(t) "ἵνα γίνῃται, that Sin might become, i. e. might appear to be. 'Tis of Appearance he speaks in the former part of this Verse, and so it must be understood here to conform the Sense of the Words, not only to what immediately precedes in this Verse, but to the Apostle's Design in this Chapter, where he takes Pains to prove that the Law was not intended any way to promote Sin, and to understand by these Words that it was, is an Interpretation that neither Holy Scripture nor good Sense will allow: Tho' the Sacred Scripture should not, as it does, give many Instances of putting Being for Appearing. Vid. ch. 3. 20.

14 (u) Πνευματικὸς, spiritual, is used here to signify the Opposition of the Law to our carnal Appetites. The Antithesis in the following Words makes it clear.

15 (w) "Οὐ γινώσκω, I do not know, i. e. it is not from my own Understanding or Forecast of Mind. The following Words, which are a Reason brought to prove this saying, give it this Sense. But if εἰ γινώσκω be interpreted, I do not approve, what in the next Words is brought for a Reason, will be but a Tautologie.

18. sinful Affections, and Sin that remains still in me, notwithstanding the Law. For I know by woful Experience, that in me (*viz.*) in my Flesh, (*x*) that part which is the Seat of carnal Appetites, there inhabits no Good. For in the Judgment and Purpose of my Mind, I am really carried into a Conformity and Obedience to the Law: but the Strength of my carnal Affections not being abated by the Law, I am not able to execute what I judge to be right, and intend to perform. For the Good that is my Purpose and Aim, that I do not: But the Evil that is contrary to my Intention, that in my Practice takes place, *i. e.* I purpose and aim at universal Obedience, but cannot in fact attain it. Now if I do that which is against the full Bent and Intention of me (*y*) my self, it is as I said before, not I my true self who do it, but the true Author of it is my old Enemy Sin, which still remains and dwells in me, and I would fain get rid of. I find it therefore as by a Law settled in me that, when my Intentions aim at Good, Evil is ready at hand, to make my Actions wrong and faulty. For that which my inward Man is delighted with, that which with Satisfaction my Mind would make its Rule, is the Law of God. But I see in my Members (*z*) another Principle of Action equivalent to a Law (*a*) directly waging War against that Law which my Mind would follow, leading me captive into an unwilling Subjection to the constant Inclination and Impulse of my carnal Appetite, which as steadily as if it were a Law, carries me to Sin. O miserable Man that I am, who shall deliver me (*b*) from this
19. For the Good that I would, I do not: but the evil which I would not, that I do.
20. Now if I do that I would not, it is no more I that do it, but sin that dwelleth in me.
21. I find then a law, that when I would do good, evil is present with me.
22. For I delight in the law of God, after the inward man.
23. But I see another law, in my members, warring against the law of my mind, and bringing me into captivity to the law of sin, which is in my members.
24. O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me

NOTES.

18 (*x*) St. Paul considers himself, and in himself other Men, as consisting of two Parts, which he calls *Flesh* and *Mind*, see *ver.* 25. meaning by the one the Judgment and Purpose of his Mind, guided by the Law, or right Reason; by the other, his natural Inclination pushing him to the Satisfaction of his irregular sinful Desires. These he also calls, the one *the Law of his Members*, and the other *the Law of his Mind*, *ver.* 23. and *Gal.* 5. 16, 17. a place parallel to the ten last Verses of this Chapter, he calls the one *Flesh*, and the other *Spirit*. These two are the Subject of his Discourse in all this part of the Chapter, explaining particularly how by the Power and Prevalency of the fleshly Inclinations, not abated by the Law, it comes to pass, which he says, *ch.* 8. 2, 3. that *the Law being weak by reason of the Flesh, could not set a Man free from the Power and Dominion of Sin and Death.*

20 (*y*) *Ὁυ δύναμαι ἵνα, I would not.* I in the Greek is very emphatical, as is obvious, and denotes the Man in that part which is chiefly to be counted himself, and therefore with the like Emphasis, *ver.* 25. is called *αὐτὸς ἑαυτοῦ, I my own self.*

23 (*z*) St. Paul here in the former Chapter, uses the word *Members* for the lower Faculties and Affections of the animal Man, which are as it were the Instruments of Actions.

(*a*) He having in the foregoing Verse spoken of the Law of God as a Principle of Action, but yet such as had not a Power to rule and influence the whole Man, so as to keep him quite clear from Sin, he here speaks of *natural Inclination* as of a *Law*, also a *Law in the Members*, and a *Law of Sin in the Members*, to shew that it is a Principle of Operation in Men even under the Law, as steady and constant in its Direction and Impulse to Sin, as the Law is to Obedience, and failed not through the Frailty of the Flesh often to prevail.

24 (*b*) What is it that St. Paul so pathetically desires to be delivered from? The State he had been describing was that of humane Weakness, wherein notwithstanding the Law, even those who were under it, and sincerely endeavoured to obey it, were frequently carried by their carnal Appetites into the Breach of it. The State of Frailty he knew Men in this World could not be deliver'd from. And therefore if we mind him, it is not that, but the Consequence of it, Death, or so much of it as brings Death, that he inquires after a Deliverer from. *Who shall deliver me*, says he, *from this Body?* He does not say of Frailty, but of Death: *What shall hinder that my carnal Appetites, that so often make me fall into Sin, shall not bring Death*

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

25.

from the body of this death?
25 I thank God, through Jesus Christ our Lord. So then with the mind I my self serve the law of God; but with the flesh the law of sin.

this Body of Death? The Grace of Grace (c) through Jesus Christ our Lord. To comfort my self therefore as that State requires for my Deliverance from Death, I my self (d) with full Purpose and sincere Endeavours of Mind, give up my self to obey the Law of God, though my carnal Inclinations are enslaved, and have a constant Tendency to Sin. This is all I (e) can do, and this is all I being under Grace, that is required of me, and through Christ will be accepted.

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Death upon me, which is awarded me by the Law? And to this he answers, *The Grace of God through our Lord Jesus Christ.* 'Tis the Favour of God alone through Jesus Christ that delivers frail Man from Death. Those under Grace obtain Life upon sincere Intentions and Endeavours after Obedience, and those Endeavours a Man may attain to in this State of Frailty. But good Intention and sincere Endeavours are of no behoof against Death to those under the Law, which requires compleat and punctual Obedience, but gives no Ability to attain it. And so it is Grace alone through Jesus Christ, that accepting of what a frail Man can do, delivers from the Body of Death. And thereupon he concludes with Joy, *So then I being now a Christian, not any longer under the Law, but under Grace, this is the State I am in, whereby I shall be delivered from Death, I wish my whole Bent and Intention devote my self to the Law of God in sincere Endeavours after Obedience, though my carnal Appetites are enslaved to, and have their natural Propensity towards Sin.*

25 (c) Our Translators read *ευχαριστῶ τῷ θεῷ*, I thank God: The Author of the Vulgate reads *gratias agere*, The Grace or Favour of God, which is the reading of the Clermont and other Greek Manuscripts. Nor can it be doubted which of these two Readings should be followed by one who considers, not only that the Apostle makes it his business to shew that the Jews stood in Need of Grace for Salvation as much as the Gentiles; But also that *the Grace of God* is a direct and apposite Answer to *who shall deliver me?* which, if we read it *I thank God*, has no Answer at all, an Omission the like whereof I do not remember any where in St. Paul's way of Writing. This I am sure, it renders the Passage obscure and imperfect in it self. But much more disturbs the Sense, if we observe the Illative *Therefore*, which begins the next Verse, and introduces a Conclusion easie and natural, if the Question, *who shall deliver me?* has for answer, *The Grace of God.* Otherwise it will be hard to find Premises from whence it can be drawn. For thus stands the Argument plain and easie. The Law cannot deliver from the Body of Death, *i. e.* from those carnal Appetites which produce Sin, and so bring Death: But the Grace of God through Jesus Christ, which pardons Lapses where there is sincere Endeavour after Righteousness, delivers us from this Body that it doth not destroy us. From whence naturally results this Conclusion, *There is therefore now no Condemnation, &c.* But what it is grounded on in the other Reading, I confess I do not see.

(d) *ἑαυτῷ*, I my self, *i. e.* I the Man, with all my full Resolution of Mind. *ἑαυτῷ* and *ἑαυτῷ*, might have both of them been spared, if nothing more had been meant here than the Nominative Case to *δουλεύω*. See Note, ver. 20.

(e) *δουλεύω*, I serve, or I make my self a Vassal, *i. e.* I intend and devote my whole Obedience. The terms of Life to those under Grace St. Paul tells us at large, *ch. 6.* are *δουλωσῶμεν τῇ δικαιοσύνῃ*, and *τῷ θεῷ*, to become Vassals to Righteousness and to God; consonantly he says here, *ἑαυτῷ*, I my self, I the Man, being now a Christian, and so no longer under the Law, but under Grace, do what is required of me in that State; *δουλεύω*, I become a Vassal to the Law of God, *i. e.* dedicate my self to the Service of it, in sincere Endeavours of Obedience; and so *ἑαυτῷ*, I the Man, shall be delivered from Death; for he that being under Grace makes himself a Vassal to God in a steady purpose of sincere Obedience, shall from him receive the Gift of eternal Life, though his carnal Appetite, which he cannot get rid of, having its Bent towards Sin, makes him sometimes transgress, which would be certain Death to him if we were still under the Law. See *ch. 6.* 18, and 22.

And thus St. Paul having shewn here in this Chapter, that the being under Grace alone, without being under the Law, is necessary even to the Jews, as in the foregoing Chapter he had shewn it to be to the Gentiles, he hereby demonstratively confirms the Gentile Converts in their Freedom from the Law, which is the Scope of this Epistle thus far.

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S E C T. VII.

CHAP. VIII. 1—39.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul having, *ch. 6.* shewn that the Gentiles who were not under the Law, were saved only by Grace, which required that they should not indulge themselves in Sin, but steadily and sincerely endeavour after perfect Obedience: Having also, *ch. 7.* shewn that the Jews, who were under the Law, were also saved by Grace only, because the Law could not inable them wholly to avoid Sin, which by the Law was in every the least slip made Death; he in this Chapter shews, that both Jews and Gentiles who are under Grace, *i. e.* Converts to Christianity, are free from Condemnation, if they perform what is required of them; and thereupon he sets forth the Terms of the Covenant of Grace, and presses their Observance, *viz.* not to live after the Flesh, but after the Spirit, mortifying the Deeds of the Body; forasmuch as those that do so are the Sons of God. This being laid down, he makes use of it to arm them with Patience against Afflictions, assuring them, that whilst they remain in this State, nothing can separate them from the Love of God, nor shut them out from the Inheritance of eternal Life with Christ in Glory, to which all the Sufferings of this Life bear not any the least Proportion.

P A R A P H R A S E.

T E X T.

- I. **T**here is therefore (f) now (g) no Condemnation (b) to, *i. e.* no Sentence of Death shall pass upon, those who are Christians (i); if so be they obey (k) not the sinful Lusts of the Flesh, but follow with Sincerity of Heart the Dictates of the (l) Spirit
- T**here is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.

NOTES.

(f) *Therefore.* This is an Inference drawn from the last Verse of the foregoing Chapter, where he saith, that it is Grace that delivers from Death, as we have already observed.

(g) *Now.* Now that under the Gospel the Law is abolish'd to those who entertain the Gospel.

(b) The Condemnation here spoken of refers to the Penalty of Death annexed to every Transgression by the Law, whereof he had discoursed in the foregoing Chapter.

(i) *In Christ Jesus,* expressed *ch. 6. 14.* by *under Grace,* and *Gal. 3. 27.* by *having put on Christ,* all which Expressions plainly signifie, to any one that reads and considers the Places, the professing the Religion, and owning a Subjection to the Law of Christ, contain'd in the Gospel, which is in short the Profession of Christianity.

(k) *Perseverance, Walking, or who walk,* does not mean that all who are in Christ Jesus do walk not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit; but all who being in Christ Jesus, omit not to walk so. This, if the Tenor of St. Paul's Discourse here can suffer any one to doubt of, he may be satisfied is so from *ver. 13.* If ye live after the Flesh. The ye he there speaks to, are no less than those that, *ch. 1. 6, 7.* he calls *the Called of Jesus Christ, and the Beloved of God,* Terms equivalent to *being in Jesus Christ,* see *ch. 6. 12—14. Gal. 5. 16—18.* which Places compared together, shew that by Christ we are delivered from the Dominion of Sin and Lust; so that it shall not reign over us unto Death, if we will set our selves against it, and sincerely endeavour to be free; a voluntary Slave, who intrals himself by a willing Obedience, who can set free?

(l) *Flesh and Spirit,* seem here plainly to refer to *Flesh,* wherewith he says he serves Sin, and *Mind* wherewith he serves the Law of God, in the immediately preceding words.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 2 For the law of the Spirit of life in Christ Jesus, hath made me free from the law of sin and death.
- 3 For what the law could not do, in that it was weak through the flesh, God sending his own Son in the likeness of sinful flesh, and for sin condemned sin in the flesh :

(*m*) in the Gospel. For the (*n*) Grace of God which is effectual to Life has set me free from that Law in my Members which cannot now produce Sin in me unto Death (*o*). For this (*viz.* the delivering us from Sin) being beyond the Power of the Law, which was too weak (*p*) to master the Propensities of the Flesh, God sending his Son in Flesh, that in all things except Sin, was like unto our frail sinful Flesh (*q*), and sending (*r*) him also to be an Offering (*s*) for Sin, he put to Death, or extinguished or suppressed Sin (*t*) in the Flesh, *i.e.* sending his Son into the World with the Body wherein the Flesh could never prevail to the producing of any one Sin ; to the end That

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NOTES.

(*m*) *Walking after the Spirit*, is, *ver.* 13. explain'd by *mortifying the Deeds of the Body through the Spirit.*

2 (*n*) That it is *Grace* that delivers from the Law in the Members, which is the Law of Death, is evident from *ch.* 7. 23—25. why it is called a *Law*, may be found in the Antithesis to the *Law of Sin and Death*, *Grace* being as certain a Law to give Life to Christians that live not after the Flesh, as the Influence of sinful Appetites is to bring Death on those who are not under Grace. In the next place, why it is called the *Law of the Spirit of Life*, has a Reason, in that the Gospel which contains this Doctrine of Grace, is dictated by the same Spirit that raised Christ from the dead, and that quickens us to Newness of Life, and has for its end the conferring of eternal Life.

(*o*) *The Law of Sin and Death.* Hereby is meant that which he calls the Law in his Members, *ch.* 7. 23. where it is called the Law of Sin; and *ver.* 24. it is called the Body of Death, from which Grace delivers. This is certain, that no body who considers what St. Paul has said, *ver.* 7, and 13. of the foregoing Chapter, can think that he can call the Law of *Moses* the Law of Sin, or the Law of Death. And that the Law of *Moses* is not meant, is plain from his Reasoning in the very next Words. For the Law of *Moses* could not be complain'd of as being weak, for not delivering those under it from its self; yet its Weakness might, and is all along, *ch.* 7. as well as *ver.* 3. complain'd of, as not being able to deliver those under it from their carnal sinful Appetites, and the Prevalence of them.

3 (*p*) *Weak, the Weakness*, and as he there also calls it the *Unprofitableness* of the Law, is again taken notice of by the Apostle, *Heb.* 7. 18, 19. There were two Defects in the Law whereby it became unprofitable, as the Author to the *Hebrews* says, so as to *make nothing perfect.* The one was its inflexible Rigour against which it provided no Allay or Mitigation, it left no place for Atonement: The least Slip was mortal: Death was the inevitable Punishment of Transgression, by the Sentence of the Law, which had no Temperament: Death the Offender must suffer, there was no Remedy. This St. Paul's Epistles are full of, and how we are delivered from it by the Body of Christ, he shews, *Heb.* 10. 5—10. The other Weakness or Defect of the Law was, that it could not inable those who were under it, to get a Mastery over their Flesh or fleshly Propensities, so as to perform the Obedience required. The Law exacted complete Obedience, but afforded Men no Help against their Frailty or vicious Inclinations. And this reigning of Sin in their mortal Bodies, St. Paul shews here how they are delivered from by the Spirit of Christ inabling them, upon their sincere Endeavours after Righteousness, to keep Sin under in their mortal Bodies in Conformity to Christ, in whose Flesh it was condemned, executed and perfectly extinct, having never had there any Life or Being, as we shall see in the following Note. The Provision that is made in the New Covenant against both these Defects of the Law, is in the Epistle to the *Hebrews* expressed thus: God will make a new Covenant with the House of *Israel*, wherein he will do these two things; *He will write his Law in their Hearts, and he will be merciful to their Iniquities.* See *Heb.* 8. 7—12.

(*q*) See *Heb.* 4. 15.

(*r*) *Kai and*, joins here in the *Likeness*, &c. with *to be an Offering*, whereas if *and* be made to copulate *sending and condemned*, neither Grammar nor Sense would permit it; nor can it be imagined the Apostle should speak thus: *God sending his Son, and condemned Sin:* But *God sending his own Son in the Likeness of sinful Flesh*, and sending him *to be an Offering for Sin*, with very good Sense joyns the Manner and End of his sending.

(*s*) *Περίσσυμψιας*, which in the Text is translated *for Sin*, signifies an *Offering for Sin*, as the Margent of our Bibles takes notice: See 2 *Cor.* 5. 21. *Heb.* 10. 5.—10. So that the plain Sense is, *God sent his Son in the likeness of sinful Flesh, and sent him an Offering for Sin.*

(*t*) *Katixen, condemned.* The *Prosopopæia*, whereby Sin was considered as a Person all the foregoing Chapter, being continued on here, *the condemning of Sin* here cannot mean, as some would

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PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

4. That under this Example of Flesh (*u*) wherein Sin was perfectly master'd and excluded from any Life, the moral Rectitude of the Law might be conformed to (*w*) by us, who, abandoning the Lusts of the Flesh, follow the Guidance of the Spirit in the Law of our Minds, and make it our Business to live not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit. For, as for those who (*x*) are still under the Direction of the Flesh and its sinful Apperites, who are under Obedience to the Law in their Members, they have the Thoughts and Bent of their Minds set upon the Things of the Flesh, to obey it in the Lusts of it: But they who are under the spiritual Law of their Minds, the Thoughts and Bent of their Hearts is to follow the Dictates of the Spirit in that Law. For (*y*) to have our Minds set upon the Satisfaction of the Lusts of the Flesh, in a slavish Obedience to them, does certainly produce and bring Death upon us, but our setting our selves seriously and sincerely to obey the Dictates and Direction of the Spirit, produces Life (*z*) and Peace, which are not to be had in the contrary carnal State: Because to be carnally minded (*a*) is direct Enmity and Opposition against God, for such a Temper of Mind, given up to the Lusts of the Flesh, is in no Subjection to the Law of God, nor indeed can be (*b*), it having a quite contrary Tendency.

That the righteousness of the Law might be fulfilled in us, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit.

For they that are after the flesh, do mind the things of the flesh: but they that are after the Spirit, the things of the Spirit.

For to be carnally minded, is death; but to be spiritually minded, is life and peace:

Because the carnal mind is enmity against God: for it is not subject to the law of God, neither indeed can be.

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would have it, that Christ was condemned for Sin, or in the place of Sin, for that would be to save Sin, and leave that Person alive which Christ came to destroy. But the plain meaning is, that Sin it self was condemned or put to Death in his Flesh, *i. e.* was suffer'd to have no Life nor Being in the Flesh of our Saviour: He was in all Points tempted as we are, yet without Sin, *Heb.* 4. 15. By the Spirit of God the Motions of the Flesh were suppressed in him, Sin was crushed in the Egg, and could never fasten in the least upon him. This farther appears to be the Sense by the following words. The *Antithesis* between *κατάσχημα*, *ver.* 1. and *κατὰ πνεῦμα*, here, will also shew why that word is used here to express the Death or No-being of Sin in our Saviour, *2 Cor.* 5. 2. *1 Pet.* 2. 22. That St. Paul sometimes uses *Condemnation* for putting to Death, see *ch.* 5. 16, and 18.

4 (*u*) Τὸ δικαιοσύνην νόμου, *The Righteousness of the Law.* See Note, *ch.* 2. 26.

(*w*) Fulfilled does not here signify a complete exact Obedience, but such an unblameable Life, by sincere Endeavours after Righteousness, as shews us to be the faithful Subjects of Christ, exempt from the Dominion of Sin, see *ch.* 13. 8. *Gal.* 6. 2. A Description of such, who thus fulfilled the Righteousness of the Law, we have *Luke* 1. 6. As Christ in the Flesh was wholly exempt from all Taint of Sin; so we by that Spirit which was in him shall be exempt from the Dominion of our carnal Lusts, if we make it our Choice and Endeavour to live after the Spirit, *ver.* 9, 10, 11. For that which we are to perform by that Spirit, is the Mortification of the Deeds of the Body, *ver.* 17.

5 (*x*) Οἱ κατὰ σὰρκα ὄντες, *Those that are after the Flesh, and those that are after the Spirit,* are the same with *those that walk after the Flesh, and after the Spirit.* A Description of these two different sorts of Christians, see *Gal.* 5. 16—26.

6 (*y*) For joins what follows here to *ver.* 1. as the Reason of what is here laid down, (*viz.*) Deliverance from Condemnation is to such Christian Converts only who walk not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit. For, &c.

(*z*) See *Gal.* 6. 8.

7 (*a*) φερόμενα τῷ σαρκὶ, should have been translated here to be carnally minded, as it is in the foregoing Verse, which is justified by φερόμενα τὰ τῷ σαρκὶ, *do mind the things of the Flesh,* *ver.* 5. which signifies the employing the Bent of their Minds, or subjecting the Mind entirely to the fulfilling the Lusts of the Flesh.

(*b*) Here the Apostle gives the Reason why even those, that in Christ Jesus have received the Gospel, and are Christians (for to such he is here speaking) are not saved unless they cease to walk after the Flesh, because that runs directly counter to the Law of God, and can never

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 8 So then they that are in the flesh, cannot please God.
- 9 But ye are not in the flesh, but in the Spirit, if so be that the Spirit of God dwell in you. Now if any man have not the Spirit of Christ, he is none of his.
- 10 And if Christ be in you, the body is dead because of sin; but the Spirit is life, because of righteousness.
- 11 But if the Spirit of him that raised up Jesus from the dead, dwell in you; he that raised up Christ from the dead, shall also quicken your mortal bodies, by his Spirit that dwelleth in you.

Tendency. So then (c) they that are in the Flesh, *i. e.* under the fleshly Dispensation of the Law (d), without regarding Christ the Spirit of it, in it cannot please God. But ye are not in that State of having all your Expectation from the Law, and the Benefits that are to be obtained barely by that, but are in the spiritual State of the Law, *i. e.* the (e) Gospel, which is the End of the Law, and to which the Law leads you. And so having received the Gospel, you have therewith received the Spirit of God: For as many as receive Christ, he gives Power to become the (f) Sons of God: And to those that are his Sons God gives his Spirit (g). And if Christ be in you by his Spirit, the Body is dead as to all Activity to Sin (h), Sin no longer reigns in it, but your sinful carnal Lusts are mortified. But the Spirit (i) of your Mind liveth, *i. e.* is enliven'd in order to Righteousness, or living righteously. But if the Spirit of God who had Power able to raise Jesus Christ from the dead, dwell in you, as certainly it does, he that raised Christ from the Dead, is certainly able, and will by his Spirit that dwells in you, enliven even (k) your

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never be brought into Conformity and Subjection to his Commands. Such a settled Contravention to his Precepts cannot be suffer'd by the supreme Lord and Governour of the World in any of his Creatures, without foregoing his Sovereignty, and giving up the eternal immutable Rule of Right, to the overturning the very Foundations of all Order and moral Rectitude in the intellectual World. This even in the Judgment of Men themselves will be always thought a necessary piece of Justice for the keeping out of Anarchy, Disorder and Confusion, that those refractory Subjects, who set up their own Inclinations for their Rule against the Law, which was made to restrain those very Inclinations, should feel the Severity of the Law, without which the Authority of the Law, and Law-maker, cannot be preserved.

8 (c) This is a Conclusion drawn from what went before. The whole Argumentation stands thus: They that are under the Dominion of their carnal Lusts cannot please God; therefore they who are under the carnal or literal Dispensation of the Law, cannot please God, because they have not the Spirit of God: Now 'tis the Spirit of God alone that enlivens Men so as to enable them to cast off the Dominion of their Lusts. See Gal. 4. 3—6.

(d) *Ὁ ἐν σαρκὶ ὄντες*, They that in the Flesh. He that shall consider that this Phrase is applied, *ch.* 7. 5. to the Jews, as resting in the bare literal or carnal Sense and Observance of the Law, will not be averse to the understanding the same Phrase in the same Sense here, which I think is the only place besides in the New Testament, where *ἐν σαρκὶ ὄντες* is used in a moral Sense. This I dare say, it is hard to produce any one Text, wherein *ἐν σαρκὶ ὄντες* is used to signify a Man's being under the Power of his Lusts, which is the Sense wherein it is, and must be, taken here, if what I propose be rejected. Let it be also remember'd that St. Paul makes it the chief Business of this Epistle (and he seldom forgets the Design he is upon) to persuade both Jew and Gentile from a Subjection to the Law, and that the Argument he is upon here, is the Weakness and Insufficiency of the Law, to deliver Men from the Power of Sin, and then perhaps it will not be judg'd that the Interpretation I have given of these words is altogether remote from the Apostle's Sense.

9 (e) See 2 Cor. 3. 6—18. particularly ver. 6. 13, 16.

(f) See John 1. 12.

(g) See Gal. 4. 6.

10 (h) See *ch.* 6. 1—14. which explains this place, particularly ver. 2, 6, 11, 12. Gal. 2. 20. Eph. 4. 22, 23. Col. 2. 11. and 3. 8—10.

(i) See Eph. 4. 23.

11 (k) To lead us into the true Sense of this Verse, we need only observe that St. Paul having in the four first Chapters of this Epistle shewn that neither Jew nor Gentile could be justified by the Law: and in the 5th Chapter how Sin enter'd into the World by Adam, and reigned by Death, from which 'twas Grace and not the Law that deliver'd Men: In the 6th Chapter he sheweth the Convert Gentiles, that though they were not under the Law, but under Grace; yet they could not be saved, unless they cast off the Dominion of Sin, and became the devoted Servants of Righteousness, which was what their very Baptism taught and required

red of them : And in Chap. 7. he declares to the Jews the Weakness of the Law, which they so much stood upon; and shews that the Law could not deliver them from the Dominion of Sin; that Deliverance was only by the Grace of God, through Jesus Christ; from whence he draws the Consequence, which begins this 8th Chapter, and so goes on with it here in two Branches relating to his Discourse in the foregoing Chapter, that compleat it in this. The one is to shew, that the Law of the Spirit of Life, i. e. the New Covenant in the Gospel, required that those that are in Christ Jesus should not live after the Flesh, but after the Spirit. The other is to shew how, and by whom, since the Law was weak, and could not enable those under the Law to do it, they are enabled to keep Sin from reigning in their mortal Bodies, which is the Sanctification required. And here he shews, that Christians are delivered from the Dominion of their carnal sinful Lusts by the Spirit of God that is given to them, and dwells in them, as a new quickening Principle and Power, by which they are put into the State of a spiritual Life, wherein their Members are made capable of being made the Instruments of Righteousness, if they please, as living Men alive now to Righteousness, so to employ them. If this be not the Sense of this Chapter to ver. 14. I desire to know how ἀγ. in the 1st Verse comes in, and what Coherence there is in what is here said? Besides the Connection of this to the former Chapter contain'd in the Illative *Therefore*, the very Antithesis of the Expressions in one and the other, shew that St. Paul in writing this very Verse, had an eye to the foregoing Chapter. There it was *Sin that dwelleth in me*, that was the active and overruling Principle: Here it is *the Spirit of God that dwelleth in you*, that is the Principle of your spiritual Life. There it was, *who shall deliver me from this Body of Death?* Here it is, *God by his Spirit shall quicken your mortal Bodies*, i. e. Bodies which, as the Seat and Harbour of sinful Lusts that possess it, are indispos'd and dead to the Actions of a spiritual Life, and have a natural Tendency to Death. In the same Sense, and upon the same account he calls the Bodies of the Gentiles their *mortal Bodies*, ch. 6. 12. where his Subject is, as here, Freedom from the Reign of Sin, upon which account they are there stiled, ver. 13. *Alive from the Dead*. To make it yet clearer, that it is Deliverance from the Reign of Sin in our Bodies, that St. Paul speaks of here, I desire any one to read what he says, ch. 6. 1—14. to the Gentiles on the same Subject, and compare it with the 13 first Verses of this Chapter; and then tell me whether they have not a mutual Correspondence, and do not give a great light to one another? If this be too much pains, let him at least read the two next Verses, and see how they could possibly be as they are an Inference from this 11th Verse, if the *quicken* of your mortal Bodies in it mean any thing but a quickening to Newness of Life, or to a spiritual Life of Righteousness. This being so, I cannot but wonder to see a late learned Commentator and Paraphrast positive, that ζωοποιῶν τὰ θντὰ σώματα ὑμῶν, shall quicken your mortal Bodies, does here signifie, shall raise your dead Bodies out of the Grave, as he contends in his Preface to his Paraphrase on the Epistles to the Corinthians, ζωοποιῶν quicken, he says imports the same with ἐγείρειν raise. His way of proving it is very remarkable, his words are, ζωοποιῶν and ἐγείρειν, are as to this matter [viz. the Resurrection] words of the same Import, i. e. where, in discoursing of the Resurrection, ζωοποιῶν quicken, is used, it is of the same Import with ἐγείρειν raise. But what if St. Paul, which is the Question, be not here speaking of the Resurrection? Why then according to our Author's own Confession, ζωοποιῶν quicken, does not necessarily import the same with ἐγείρειν raise. So that this Argument to prove that St. Paul here by the words in question means the raising of their dead Bodies out of the Grave, is but a fair begging of the Question, which is enough, I think, for a Commentator that hunts out of his way for Controversie. He might therefore have spared the ζωοποιῶν quicken, which he produces out of St. John 5. 21. as of no Force to his Purpose, till he had proved that St. Paul here in Romans 8. 11. was speaking of the Resurrection of Men's Bodies out of the Grave, which he will never do till he can prove that θντὰ mortal, here signifies the same with νεκρὰ dead. And I demand of him to show θντὰ mortal any where in the new Testament attributed to any thing void of Life, θντὰ mortal always signifies the thing it is joyn'd to, to be living; so that ζωοποιῶν ἢ τὰ θντὰ σώματα ὑμῶν, shall quicken even your mortal Bodies, in that learned Author's Interpretation of these Words of St. Paul, here signifie, God shall raise to life your living dead Bodies, which no one can think, in the softest Terms can be given to it, a very proper way of speaking; though it be very good Sense and very emphatical to say, God shall by his Spirit put into even your mortal Bodies a Principle of Immortality or spiritual Life, which is the Sense of the Apostle here; see Gal. 6. 8. And so he may find ζωοποιῶν used, Gal. 3. 21. to the same purpose it is here. I next desire to know of this learned Writer, how he will bring in the Resurrection of the Dead into this place, and to shew what Coherence it has with St. Paul's Discourse here, and how he can joyn this Verse with the immediately preceding and following, when the words under Consideration are render'd, *Shall raise your dead Bodies out of their Graves at the last day?* It seems as if he himself found this would make but an awkward Sense, standing in this place with the rest of St. Paul's words here, and so never attempted it by any sort of Paraphrase, but has barely given us the English Translation to help us, as it can, to so uncouth a Meaning, as he would put upon this Passage, which must make St. Paul, in the midst of a very serious, strong, and coherent Discourse concerning walking not after the Flesh, but after the Spirit, skip on a sudden into the Mention of the Resurrection of the Dead; and having just mention'd it, skip back again into its former Argument. But I take the liberty to assure him, that St. Paul has no such Starts from the matter he has in hand, to what gives no Light or Strength to his present Argument. I think there is not any where to be found a more pertinent close Arguer, who

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 12 Therefore brethren, we are debtors not to the flesh, to live after the flesh.
- 13 For if ye live after the flesh, ye shall die: but if ye through the Spirit do mortify the deeds of the body, ye shall live.
- 14 For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.
- 15 For ye have not received the spirit of bondage again to fear; but ye have received the spirit of adoption, whereby we cry, Abba, Father.
- 16 The spirit it self beareth witness with our spirit that we are the children of God.
- 17 And if children, then heirs; heirs of God, and joynt-heirs with Christ: if so be that we suffer

your mortal Bodies, (l) that Sin shall not have the sole Power and Rule there) but your Members may be made living Instruments of Righteousness. Therefore Brethren, we are not under any Obligation to the Flesh to obey the Lusts of it. For if ye live after the Flesh, that mortal part shall lead you to Death irrecoverable; but if by the Spirit, whereby Christ totally suppressed and hinder'd Sin from having any Life in his Flesh, you mortify the Deeds of the Body (m), ye shall have Eternal Life. For as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the Sons of God, of an immortal Race, and consequently like their Father immortal (n). For ye have not received the Spirit of Bondage (o) again, (p) to fear; but ye have received the (q) Spirit of God, (which is given to those who having receiv'd Adoption are Sons) whereby we are all enabled to call God our Father (r). The Spirit of God himself beareth witness (s) with our Spirits, that we are the Children of God. And if Children, then Heirs of God, Joynt-heirs with Christ, if so be we suffer (t) with him, that

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has his eye always on the Mark he drives at. This Men would find if they would study him as they ought, with more regard to Divine Authority than to Hypotheses of their own, or to Opinions of the Seafon. I do not say that he is every where clear in his Expressions to us now: But I do say he is every where a coherent pertinent Writer; and where-ever in his Commentators and Interpreters any Sense is given to his words, that dis-joyns his Discourse, or deviates from his Argument, and looks like a wandering Thought, it is easie to know whose it is, and whose the Impertinence, his or theirs that father it on him. One Thing more the Text suggests concerning this matter, and that is, If by quickning your mortal Bodies, &c. be meant here the raising them into Life after Death, how can this be mentioned as a peculiar Favour to those who have the Spirit of God? For God will also raise the Bodies of the Wicked, and as certainly as those of Believers. But that which is promised here, is promised to those only who have the Spirit of God: And therefore it must be something peculiar to them (*viz.*) that God shall so enliven their mortal Bodies by his Spirit, which is the Principle and Pledge of immortal Life, that they may be able to yield up themselves to God, as those that are alive from the dead, and their Members Servants to Righteousness unto Holiness, as he expresses himself, *ch.* 6. 13. and 19. If any one can yet doubt whether this be the Meaning of St. Paul here, I refer him for farther Satisfaction to St. Paul himself, in *Eph.* 11. 4—6. where he will find the same Notion of St. Paul expressed in the same Terms, but so, that it is impossible to understand by ζωοποιῶν or ἐγείρειν (which are both used there as well as here) the Resurrection of the dead out of their Graves. The full Explication of this Verse may be seen, *Eph.* 1. 19. and 2. 10. See also *Col.* 2. 12, 13. to the same purpose; and *Rom.* 7. 4.

(l) ζωοποιῶν *ὑμῶν*, shall quicken even your mortal Bodies, seems more agreeable to the Original, than shall also quicken your mortal Bodies; for the *ὑμῶν* doth not copulate ζωοποιῶν with ὁ ἐγείρειν, for then it must have been *ὑμῶν* ζωοποιῶν; for the place of the Copulative is between the two words that it joyns, and so must necessarily go before the latter of them.

13 (m) Deeds of the Body: what they are may be seen, *Gal.* 5. 19, &c. as we have already remarked.

14 (n) In that lies the Force of his Proof, that they shall live. The Sons of mortal Men are mortal, the Sons of God are like their Father, Partakers of the Divine Nature, and are immortal. See 2 *Pet.* 1. 4. *Heb.* 2. 13—15.

15 (o) What the Spirit of Bondage is, the Apostle hath plainly declared, *Heb.* 2. 15. See Note, *ver.* 21.

(p) Again, i. e. Now again under Christ, as the Jews did from Moses under the Law.

(q) See *Gal.* 4. 5, 6.

(r) Abba, Father. The Apostle here expresses this filial Assurance in the same words that our Saviour applies himself to God, *Mark* 14. 36.

16 (s) See the same thing taught, 2 *Cor.* 4. 17. and 5. 6. *Eph.* 1. 11—14. and *Gal.* 4. 6.

17 (t) The full Sense of this you may take in St. Paul's own words, 2 *Tim.* 2. 11, 12.

18. we may also be glorified with him. For I count that the Sufferings of this transitory Life, bear no Proportion to that glorious State that shall be hereafter (u) revealed, and set before the Eyes of the whole World,
19. at our Admittance into it. For the whole Race of (w) Mankind, in an earnest Expectation of this unconceivable glorious (x) Immortality that shall be bestowed on the (y) Sons of God (For Mankind created in a better State, was made subject to the (z) Vanity of this calamitous fleeting Life, not of its own Choice, but by the Guile of the Devil (a), who brought Mankind into this mortal State) Waiteth in hope (b), that even they also shall be delivered from this Subjection to Corruption (c), and shall be brought into that glorious Freedom from Death which is the proper Inheritance of the Children of God. For we know that Mankind, all (d) of them, groan together, and unto this day are in pain, as a Woman in Labour, to be delivered out of the Uneasiness of this mortal State. And not only they, but even those who have the first Fruits of the Spirit, and therein the Earnest (e) of Eternal Life, we our selves groan (f) within our selves, waiting for the Fruit of our Adoption, which is, that as we are by Adoption made Sons, and Co-heirs with Jesus Christ, so we may have Bodies like unto his most glorious Body, Spiritual and

with him, that we may be also glorified together.

For I reckon, that these sufferings of this present time, are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us.

For the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God.

For the creature was made subject to vanity, not willingly, but by reason of him who hath subjected the same in hope:

Because the creature itself also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the children of God.

For we know that the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now:

And not only they, but our selves also, which have the first fruits of the Spirit, even we our selves groan within our selves, waiting for the adoption, to wit, the redemption of our body.

NOTES.

18 (u) *Revealed.* St. Paul speaks of this Glory here, as what needs to be revealed to give us a right Conception of it. It is impossible to have a clear and full Comprehension of it till we taste it. See how he labours for Words to express it, 2 Cor. 4. 17. &c. a place to the same purpose with this here.

19 (w) *Kτίσις Creature*, in the Language of St. Paul and of the New Testament, signifies Mankind; especially the Gentile World, as the far greater part of the Creation. See Col. 1. 23. Mark 16. 15. compared with Mat. 28. 19.

(x) *Immortality.* That the thing here expected was immortal Life, is plain from the Context, and from that parallel place, 2 Cor. 4. 17. and 5. 5. the Glory whereof was so great, that it could not be comprehended, till it was by an actual exhibiting of it revealed. When this Revelation is to be, St. Peter tells us, 1 Pet. 14. 7.

(y) Ἀποκάλυψιν τῶν υἱῶν, *Revelation of the Sons*, i. e. *Revelation to the Sons.* The Genitive Case often in the New Testament denotes the Object. So Rom. 1. 5. ὑπακοὴ πίστεως signifies Obedience to Faith: Ch. 3. 22. δικαιοσύνη Θεοῦ διὰ πίστεως Χριστοῦ, *The Righteousness that God accepts by Faith in Christ*: Ch. 4. 11. δικαιοσύνη πίστεως, *Righteousness by Faith*. If ἀποκάλυψις here be render'd *Revelation*, as ἀποκαλυφθῆναι in the foregoing Verse is render'd *revealed*, (and 'twill be hard to find a Reason why it should not) the Sense in the Paraphrase will be very natural and easie. For the Revelation in the foregoing Verse is not of, but to the Sons of God. The words are ἀποκαλυφθῆναι εἰς ἡμᾶς.

20 (z) The State of Man in this frail short Life, subject to Inconveniencies, Sufferings, and Death, may very well be called *Vanity*, compared to the impassible Estate of eternal Life, the Inheritance of the Sons of God.

(a) *Devil.* That by *he that subjected it*, is meant the Devil, is probable from the History, Gen. 3. and from Heb. 2. 14, 15. Col. 2. 15.

21 (b) Ἀπεκδέχεται ἐν ἰσχύϊ, *Waiteth in hope*, that the not joyning *in hope* to *waiteth*, by placing it in the beginning of the 21st Verse, as it stands in the Greek, but joyning it to *subjected the same*, by placing it at the end of the 20th Verse, has mightily obscured the Meaning of this Passage, which taking all the words between of *God* and *in hope* for a Parenthesis, is as easie and clear as any thing can be, and then the next word ὅτι will have its proper Signification *that*, and not *because*.

(c) Δαλὰ καὶ φόβος, *Bondage of Corruption*, i. e. the Fear of Death, see ver. 15. and Heb. 2. 15. *Corruption* signifies Death or Destruction, in opposition to Life everlasting. See Gal. 6. 8.

21 (d) How David groaned under the Vanity and Shortness of this Life, may be seen, Psal. 89. 47, 48. which Complaint may be met with in every Man's Mouth; so that even those, who have not the first Fruits of the Spirit, whereby they are assured of a future happy Life in Glory, do also desire to be freed from a Subjection to Corruption, and have uneasy Longings after Immortality.

23 (e) See 2 Cor. 5. 2, 5. Eph. 1. 13, 14.

(f) Read the parallel place, 2 Cor. 4. 17. and 5. 5.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 24 For we are saved by hope: but hope that is seen, is not hope: for what a man seeth, why doth he yet hope for?
- 25 But if we hope for that we see not, then do we with patience wait for it.
- 26 Likewise the Spirit also helpeth our infirmities: for we know not what we should pray for as we ought: but the Spirit it self maketh Intercession for us with groanings which cannot be uttered.
- 27 And he that searcheth the hearts, knoweth what is the mind of the Spirit, because he maketh intercession for the saints, according to the will of God.
- 28 And we know that all things work together for good to them that love God, to them who are the called according to his purpose.
- 29 For whom he did fore-know, he also did predestinate to be conformed to the image of his Son, that he might be the first-born among many brethren.
- 30 Moreover, whom he did predestinate, them he also called: and whom he called, them he also justified; and whom he justified, them he also glorified.
- 31 What shall we then say to these things? if God be for us, who can be against us?
- 32 He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he

immortal. But we must wait with Patience, for we have hitherto been saved but in Hope and Expectation: But Hope is of things not in present Possession or Enjoyment. For what a Man hath, and seeth in his own hands, he no longer hopes for. But if we hope for what is out of sight, and yet to come, then do we with Patience wait for it (g). Such therefore are our Groans, which the Spirit in aid to our Infirmary makes use of. For we know not what Prayers to make as we ought, but the Spirit it self layeth for us our Requests before God in Groans that cannot be expressed in Words. And God the Searcher of Hearts, who understandeth this Language of the Spirit, knoweth what the Spirit would have, because the Spirit is wont to make Intercession for the Saints (h) acceptably to God. Bear therefore your Sufferings with Patience and Constancy, for we certainly know that all things work together for good to those that love God, who are the Called according to his Purpose of calling the Gentiles (i). In which Purpose the Gentiles, whom he fore-knew as he did the Jews (k), with an Intention of Kindness, and of making them his People, he pre-ordained to be conformable to the Image of his Son, that he might be the first-born, the chief amongst many Brethren (l). Moreover, whom he did thus pre-ordain to be his People, them he also called, by sending Preachers of the Gospel to them: And whom he called if they obey'd the Truth (m), those he also justified, by counting their Faith for Righteousness: And whom he justified, them he also glorified, viz. in his Purpose. What shall we say then to these things? If God be for us, as by what he has already done for us it appears he is, who can be against us? He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up to Death for us all, Gentiles as

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25 (g) What he says here of Hope, is to shew them, that the Groaning in the Children of God before spoken of, was not the Groaning of Impatience, but such wherewith the Spirit of God makes Intercession for us, better than if we expressed our selves in Words, ver. 19—23.

27 (h) The Spirit promised in the time of the Gospel, is called the Spirit of Supplications, Zach. 12. 10.

28 (i) Which purpose was declared to Abraham, Gen. 18. 18. And is largely insisted on by St. Paul, Eph. 3. 1—11. This and the Remainder of this Chapter, seems said to confirm the Gentile Converts in the Assurance of the Favour and Love of God to them through Christ, though they were not under the Law.

29 (k) See ch. 11. 2. Amos 3. 2.

(l) See Eph. 1. 3—7.

30 (m) Many are called, and few are chosen, says our Saviour, Mat. 20. 16. Many, both Jews and Gentiles, were called, that did not obey the Call. And therefore, ver. 32. 'Tis those who are chosen, who he saith are justified, i. e. such as were called, and obeyed, and consequently were chosen.

33. well as Jews, how shall he not with him also give us all things? Who shall be the Prosecutor of those whom God hath chosen? Shall God who justifieth them (n)?
34. Who as Judge shall condemn them? Christ that died for us, yea rather that is risen again for our Justification, and is at the right Hand of God, making Intercession for us? Who shall separate us from the Love of Christ? Shall Tribulation, or Distress, or Persecution, or Famine, or Nakedness, or Peril, or Sword?
36. For this is our Lot, as it is written, *For thy sake we are kill'd all the day long, we are accounted as Sheep for the Slaughter.* Nay in all these things we are already more than Conquerors by the Grace and Assistance of him that loved us. For I am stedfastly persuaded, that neither the Terrors of Death, nor the Allurements of Life, nor Angels, nor the Princes and Powers of this World; nor things present; nor any thing future;
39. Nor the Height of Prosperity; nor the Depth of Misery; nor any thing else whatsoever, shall be able to separate us from the Love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

not with him also freely give us all things?

Who shall lay any thing³³ to the charge of God's elect? It is God that justifieth:

Who is he that condemneth? It is Christ that died, yea rather that is risen again, who is even at the right hand of God, who also maketh intercession for us.

Who shall separate us³⁵ from the love of Christ? shall tribulation, or distress, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword?

(As it is written, For³⁶ thy sake we are killed all the day long; we are accounted as sheep for the slaughter)

Nay in all these things³⁷ we are more than conquerors, through him that loved us.

For I am persuaded,³⁸ that neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come;

Nor height, nor depth,³⁹ nor any other creature, shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.

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33 (n) Reading this with an Interrogation, makes it needless to add any Words to the Text to make out the Sense, and is more conformable to the Scheme of his Argumentation here, as appears by ver. 35. where the Interrogation cannot be avoided; and is as it were an Appeal to them, themselves to be Judges, whether any of those things he mentions to them (reckoning up those which had most Power to hurt them) could give them just Cause of Apprehension, *Who shall accuse you? Shall God who justifies you? Who shall condemn you? Christ that died for you?* What can be more absurd than such an Imagination?

S E C T. VIII.

CHAP. IX. 1.—X. 21.

CONTENTS.

THERE was nothing more grating and offensive to the Jews, than the Thoughts of having the Gentiles joyn'd with them, and partake equally in the Privileges and Advantages of the Kingdom of the Messiah: And which was yet worse, to be told that those Aliens should be admitted, and they, who presumed themselves Children of that Kingdom, to be shut out. *St. Paul*, who had

had insisted much on this Doctrine, in all the foregoing Chapters of this Epistle, to shew that he had not done it out of any Aversion or Unkindness to his Nation and Brethren the Jews, does here express his great Affection to them, and declares an extream Concern for their Salvation. But withal he shews, that whatever Privileges they had received from God above other Nations, whatever Expectation the Promises made to their Forefathers might raise in them, they had yet no just Reason of Complaining of God's dealing with them now under the Gospel, since it was according to his Promise to Abraham, and his frequent Declarations in Sacred Scripture. Nor was it any Injustice to the Jewish Nation, if God by the same Sovereign Power where-with he prefer'd Jacob (the younger Brother, without any Merit of his) and his Posterity to be his People, before Esau and his Posterity whom he rejected. The Earth is all his; nor have the Nations that possess it any Title of their own, but what he gives them, to the Countries they inhabit, nor to the good things they enjoy, and he may dispossess or exterminate them when he pleaseth. And as he destroy'd the Egyptians for the Glory of his Name, in the Deliverance of the Israelites; so he may according to his good Pleasure raise or depress, take into Favour or reject the several Nations of this World. And particularly as to the Nation of the Jews, all but a small Remnant were rejected, and the Gentiles taken-in in their room, to be the People and Church of God, because they were a gain-saying and disobedient People, that would not receive the Messiah whom he had promised, and in the appointed time sent to them. He, that will with moderate Attention and Indifferency of Mind read this Ninth Chapter, will see that what is said of God's exercising of an absolute Power, according to the good Pleasure of his Will, relates only to Nations or Bodies Politique of Men incorporated in civil Societies, which feel the Effects of it only in the Prosperity or Calamity they meet with in this World, but extends not to their eternal State in another World, consider'd as particular Persons, wherein they stand each Man by himself upon his own Bottom, and shall so answer separately at the Day of Judgment. They may be punished here with their Fellow-Citizens, as part of a sinful Nation, and that be but temporal Chastisement for their Good, and yet be advanced to eternal Life and Bliss in the World to come.

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 1 I Say the truth in Christ, I lie not, my conscience also bearing me witness in the Holy Ghost.
- 2 That I have great heaviness and continual sorrow in my heart.
- 3 For I could wish that my self were accursed from Christ for my brethren, my kinsmen according to the flesh:
- 4 Who are Israelites; to whom pertaineth the adoption, and the glory,

As a Christian speak Truth, and my Conscience, guided and enlighten'd by the Holy Ghost, bears me witness, That I lie not in my Profession of great Heaviness and continual Sorrow of Heart, I could even wish that (o) the Destruction and Extermination, to which my Brethren the Jews are devoted by Christ, might, if it could save them from Ruine, be executed on me in the stead of those my Kinsmen after the Flesh; Who are Israelites, a Nation dignified with these Privileges, which were peculiar to them; Adoption, whereby they were in a particular manner the Sons of God (p); The Glory (q) of the Divine Presence amongst

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3 (o) *Anathema*, accursed, *ἄναθεμα*, which the Septuagint render *Anathema*, signifies Persons, or Things devoted to Destruction and Extermination. The Jewish Nation were an *Anathema*, destin'd to Destruction. St. Paul, to express his Affection to them, says, he could wish, to save them from it, to become an *Anathema*, and be destroy'd himself.

4 (p) *Adoption*, Exod. 4. 22. Jer. 31. 9.

(q) *Glory*, which was present with the Israelites, and appear'd to them in a great shining Brightness out of a Cloud. Some of the Places which mention it are these following, Exod. 13. 21. Lev. 9. 6, and 23. 24. Numb. 16. 42. 2 Chron. 7. 1—3. Ezek. 10. 4. and 43. 2, 3. compared with ch. 1. 4, 28.

them;

- them; Covenants (*r*) made between them and the great God of Heaven and Earth; The moral Law (*s*) a Constitution of Civil Government, and a Form of Divine Worship prescribed by God himself, and all the Promises of the Old Testament, had the Patriarchs to whom the Promises were made for their Fore-fathers (*t*); And of them as to his fleshly Extraction Christ is come, he who is over all, God be blessed for ever, Amen. I commiserate my Nation for not receiving the promised Messiah now he is come, and I speak of the great Prerogatives they had from God above other Nations, but I say not this as if it were possible that the Promise of God should fail of Performance, and not have its effect (*u*). But it is to be observed, for a right understanding of the Promise, that the sole Descendants of *Jacob* or *Israel*, do not make up the whole Nation of *Israel* (*w*), or the People of God comprehended in the Promise; Nor are they who are the Race of *Abraham* all Children, but only his Posterity by *Isaac*, as it is said, In *Isaac* shall thy Seed be called. That is, the Children of the Flesh descended out of *Abraham's* Loins, are not thereby the Children of God (*x*), and to be esteemed his People, but the Children of the Promise, as *Isaac* was, are alone to be accounted his Seed. For thus runs the Word of Promise, *At this time I will come, and Sara shall have a Son*. Nor was this the only Limitation of the Seed of *Abraham*, to whom the Promise belong'd; but also when *Rebecca* had conceived by that one of *Abraham's* Issue to whom the Promise was made, viz. our Father *Isaac*, and there were Twins in her Womb, of that one Father, before the Children were born, or had done any Good or Evil (*y*), to shew that his making any Stock or Race of Men his

and the covenants, and the giving of the law, and the service of God, and the promises;

Whose are the fathers, and of whom as concerning the flesh, Christ came, who is over all. God blessed for ever. Amen.

Not as though the word of God hath taken none effect. For they are not all *Israel*, which are of *Israel*:

Neither because they are the seed of *Abraham*, are they all children: but in *Isaac* shall thy seed be called.

That is, They which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God: but the children of the promise are counted for the seed.

For this is the word of promise, At this time will I come, and Sara shall have a son.

And not only this, but when *Rebecca* also had conceived by one, even by our father *Isaac*,

(For the children being not yet born, neither ha-

NOTES.

(*r*) Covenants. See *Gen.* 17. 4. *Exod.* 34. 27.

(*s*) *Nous Thola*, The giving of the Law, whether it signifies the extraordinary giving of the Law by God himself, or the exact Constitution of their Government in the moral and judicial part of it (for the next word *ναρτελα*, Service of God, seems to comprehend the religious Worship) this is certain, that in either of these Senses it was the peculiar Privilege of the Jews, and what no other Nation could pretend to.

5 (*t*) Fathers, who they were, see *Exod.* 3. 6, 16. *Acts* 7. 32.

6 (*u*) See *ch.* 3. 3. Word of God, i. e. Promise, see *ver.* 9.

(*w*) See *ch.* 4. 16. St. Paul uses this as a Reason to prove that the Promise of God failed not to have its Effect, though the Body of the Jewish Nation rejected Jesus Christ, and were therefore nationally rejected by God from being any longer his People. The Reason he gives for it is this, That the Posterity of *Jacob* or *Israel* were not those alone who were to make that *Israel*, or that chosen People of God, which were intended in the Promise made to *Abraham*, others besides the Descendants of *Jacob* were to be taken into this *Israel*, to constitute the People of God under the Gospel: and therefore the calling and coming in of the Gentiles was a fulfilling of that Promise. And then he adds in the next Verse, that neither were all the Posterity of *Abraham* comprehended in that Promise, so that those who were taken in, in the time of the Messiah, to make the *Israel* of God, were not taken in, because they were the natural Descendants from *Abraham*, nor did the Jews claim it for all his Race. And this he proves by the Limitation of the Promise to *Abraham's* Seed by *Isaac* only. All this he does to shew the Right of the Gentiles to that Promise, if they believed: Since that Promise concerned not only the natural Descendants either of *Abraham* or *Jacob*, but also those who were of the Faith of their Father *Abraham*, of whomsoever descended, see *ch.* 4. 11—17.

8 (*x*) Children of God, i. e. People of God, see *ver.* 26.

11 (*y*) Neither having done good nor evil. These Words may possibly have been added by St. Paul to the foregoing (which may perhaps seem full enough of themselves) the more expressly

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- ving done any good or evil, that the purpose of God according to election might stand, not of works, but of him that calleth)
- 12 It was said unto her, The elder shall serve the younger.
- 13 As it is written, Jacob have I loved, but Esau have I hated.
- 14 What shall we say then? Is there unrighteousness with God? God forbid.
- 15 For he saith to Moses, I will have mercy on whom I will have mercy, and I will have compassion on whom I will have compassion.
- 16 So then it is not of him that willeth, nor of him that runneth, but of God that sheweth mercy.
- 17 For the scripture saith unto Pharaoh, Even for

his peculiar People, depended solely on his own Purpose and good Pleasure in choosing and calling them, and not on any Works or Deserts of theirs, he acting here in the Case of *Jacob* and *Esau*, according to the Predetermination of his own Choice, it was declared unto her, that there were two Nations (z) in her Womb, and that the Descendants of the Elder Brother should serve those of the Younger, as it is written, *Jacob have I loved* (z), so as to make his Posterity my chosen People, and *Esau* I put so much behind him (b), as to lay his Mountains and his Heritage waste (c). What shall we say then, is there any Injustice with God in choosing one People to himself before another, according to his good Pleasure? By no means. My Brethren, the Jews themselves cannot charge any such thing on what I say, since they have it from *Moses* himself (d), that God declared to him that he would be gracious to whom he would be gracious; and shew Mercy on whom he would shew Mercy. So then neither the Purpose of *Isaac* who design'd it for *Esau*, and willed (e) him to prepare himself for it; Nor the Endeavours of *Esau*, who ran a hunting for Venison to come and receive it, could place on him the Blessing; but the Favour of being made in his Posterity a great and prosperous Nation, the peculiar People of God preferred to that which should descend from his Brother, was bestowed on *Jacob* by the mere Bounty and good Pleasure of God himself. The like hath *Moses* left us upon Record of God's Dealing with *Pharaoh* and

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pressly to obviate an Objection of the Jews, who might be ready to say, that *Esau* was rejected because he was wicked; as they did of *Ishmael*, that he was rejected because he was the Son of a Bond-woman.

12 (z) See *Gen.* 25. 23. And it was only in a national Sense that it is there said, *The Elder shall serve the Younger*, and not personally, for in that Sense it is not true, which makes it plain, that these Words of Verse

13 (a) *Jacob have I loved*, and *Esau have I hated*, are to be taken in a national Sense, for the Preference God gave to the Posterity of one of them to be his People, and possess the promised Land before the other. What this Love of God was, see *Deut.* 7. 6—8.

(b) *Hated*. When it is used in Sacred Scripture, as it is often comparatively, it signifies only to post-pone in our Esteem and Kindness, for this I need only give that one Example, *Luke* 14. 26. See *Mal.* 1. 2, 3.

(c) From the 7th to this 13th Verse proves to the Jews, that though the Promise was made to *Abraham* and his Seed, yet it was not to all *Abraham's* Posterity, but God first chose *Isaac* and his Issue; And then again of *Isaac*, (who was but one of the Sons of *Abraham*) when *Rebecca* had conceived Twins by him, God of his sole good Pleasure chose *Jacob* the younger, and his Posterity to be his peculiar People, and to enjoy the Land of Promise.

15 (d) See *Exod.* 33. 19. It is observable that the Apostle, arguing here with the Jews to vindicate the Justice of God in casting them off from being his People, uses three sorts of Arguments, the first is the Testimony of *Moses*, of God's asserting this to himself by the Right of his Sovereignty, and this was enough to stop the Mouths of the Jews. The second from Reason, *ver.* 19—24. and the third from his Predictions of it to the Jews, and the Warning he gave them of it before-hand, *ver.* 25—29. which we shall consider in their places.

16 (e) *Willeth* and *runneth*, consider'd with the Context, plainly direct us to the Story, *Gen.* 27. where *ver.* 3—5. we read *Isaac's* purpose, and *Esau's* going a hunting, and *ver.* 28, 29. we find what the Blessing was.

his

- his Subjects the People of *Egypt*, to whom God saith (f), *Even for this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might shew my Power in thee, and that my Name might be renowned through all the Earth.* (g) Therefore that his Name and Power may be made known and taken notice of in the World, he is kind and bountiful (h) to one Nation, and lets another go on obstinately in their Opposition to him, that his taking them off by some signal Calamity and Ruin brought on them by the visible Hand of his Providence, may be seen and acknowledged to be an Effect of their standing-out against him, as in the Case of *Pharaoh*: For this End he is bountiful to whom he will be bountiful, and whom he will, he permits to make such an Use of his Forbearance towards them, as to persist obdurate in their Provocation of him, and draw on themselves exemplary Destruction (i). To this some may be ready to say, Why then does he find fault? For who at any time hath been able to resist his Will? Say you so indeed? But who art thou, O Man, that replyest thus to God? Shall the Nations (k) that are made great or little, shall Kingdoms that are raised or depressed, say to him in whose hands they are, to dispose of them as he pleases, Why hast thou made us thus? Hath not the Potter Power over the Clay of the same Lump, to make this a Vessel of Honour, and that of Dis-

this same purpose have I raised thee up, that I might shew my power in thee, and that my name might be declared throughout all the earth.

Therefore hath he mercy on whom he will have mercy, and whom he will, he hardeneth.

Thou wilt say then unto me, Why doth he yet find fault: For who hath resisted his will?

Nay, but O man, who art thou that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed say to him that formed it, Why hast thou made me thus?

Hath not the potter power over the clay, of the same lump to make one vessel unto honour, and another unto dishonour?

NOTES.

17 (f) *Exod. 9. 16.*

18 (g) *Therefore.* That his Name and Power may be made known, and taken notice of in all the Earth, he is kind and bountiful to one Nation, and lets another go on in their Opposition and Obstinacy against him, till their taking off, by some signal Calamity and Ruin brought on them, may be seen and acknowledged to be the Effect of their standing-out against God, as in the case of *Pharaoh*.

(h) *Exod. Hath Mercy.* That by this word is meant being bountiful in his outward Dispensations of Power, Greatness and Protection to one People above another, is plain from the three preceding Verses.

(i) *Hardeneth.* That God's *Hardenings* spoke of here is what we have explained it in the Paraphrase, is plain in the Instance of *Pharaoh*, given ver. 17. as may be seen in that Story; *Exod. 7—14.* which is worth the reading, for the understanding of this place: see also ver. 22.

20 (k) Here St. Paul shews that the Nations of the World, Who are by a better Right in the hands and disposal of God, than the Clay in the Power of the Potter, may without any Question of his Justice be made great and glorious, or be pulled down, and brought into Contempt as he pleases. That he here speaks of Men nationally and not personally, in reference to their eternal State, is evident not only from the beginning of this Chapter, where he shews his Concern for the Nation of the Jews being cast off from being God's People, and the Instances he brings of *Isaac*, of *Jacob* and *Esau*, and of *Pharaoh*; but it appears also very clearly in the Verses immediately following, where by *the Vessels of Wrath fitted for Destruction*, he manifestly means the Nation of the Jews, who were now grown ripe, and fit for the Destruction he was bringing upon them. And by *Vessels of Mercy* the Christian Church, gather'd out of a small Collection of Convert-Jews, and the rest made up of the Gentiles, who together were from thence-forwards to be the People of God in the room of the Jewish Nation, now cast off, as appears by ver. 24. The Sense of which Verses is this; "How darest thou, O Man, to call God to account, and question his Justice in casting off his ancient People the Jews? What if God willing to punish that sinful People, and to do it so as to have his Power known, and taken notice of in the doing of it: (For why might he not raise them to that purpose as well as he did *Pharaoh* and his *Egyptians*?) What, I say, if God bore with them a long time, even after they had deserved his Wrath, as he did with *Pharaoh*, that his Hand might be the more eminently visible in their Destruction; and that also at the same time he might with the more Glory make known his Goodness and Mercy to the Gentiles, whom according to his purpose he was in a readiness to receive into the glorious State of being his People under the Gospel?"

honour

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

22 What if God willing to shew his wrath, and to make his power known, endured with much long-suffering the vessels of wrath fitted to destruction:
23 And that he might make

nour (l)? But what hast thou to say, O Man of Judea, if God, willing to shew his Wrath, and have his Power taken notice of in his Execution of it, did with much long-suffering (m) bear with the sinful Nation of the Jews, even when they were proper Objects of that Wrath, fit to have it poured out upon them in their Destruction; That (n) he might make

22.

23.

NOTES.

21 (l) *Vessel unto Honour*, and *Vessel unto Dishonour*, signifies a thing designed by the Maker to an honourable or dishonourable Use: Now why it may not design Nations as well as Persons, and Honour and Prosperity in this World as well as eternal Happiness and Glory, or Misery and Punishment in the World to come, I do not see. In common Reason this figurative Expression ought to follow the sense of the Context: And I see no peculiar Privilege it hath to wrest and turn the visible Meaning of the place to something remote from the Subject in hand. I am sure no such Authority it has from such an appropriated sense settled in Sacred Scripture. This were enough to clear the Apostle's sense in these words, were there nothing else; but *Jer. 18. 6, 7.* from whence this Instance of a Potter is taken, shews them to have a temporal Sense, and to relate to the Nation of the Jews.

22 (m) *Endured with much long-suffering*, Immediately after the Instance of *Pharaoh*, whom God said he raised up to shew his Power in him, *ver. 17* 'tis subjoin'd, *ver. 18. and whom he will be hardeneth*, plainly with Reference to the Story of *Pharaoh*, who is said to harden himself, and whom God is said to harden, as may be seen *Exod. 7. 3, 22, 23. and 8. 15, 32. and 9. 7, 12, 34. and 10. 1, 20, 27. and 11. 9, 10. and 14. 5.* What God's part in hardening is, is contained in these words, *endured with much long-suffering*. God sends *Moses* to *Pharaoh* with Signs, *Pharaoh's* Magicians do the like, and so he is not prevailed with. God sends Plagues; whilst the Plague is upon him, he is mollified, and promises to let the People go: But as soon as God takes off the Plague, he returns to his Obstinacy, and refuses, and thus over and over again; God's being intreated by him to withdraw the Severity of his Hand, his gracious Compliance with *Pharaoh's* Desire to have the Punishment removed, was what God did in the Case, and this was all Goodness and Bounty: But *Pharaoh* and his People made that ill use of his Forbearance and Long-suffering, as still to harden themselves the more for God's Mercy and Gentleness to them, till they bring on themselves exemplary Destruction from the visible Power and Hand of God employ'd in it. This Carriage of their's God fore-saw, and so made use of their obstinate perverse Temper for his own Glory, as he himself declares, *Exod. 7. 3—5. and 8. 18. and 9. 14. 16.* The Apostle, by the Instance of a Potter's Power over his Clay, having demonstrated, that God by his Dominion and Sovereignty, had a Right to set up or pull down what Nation he pleased; and might without any injustice take one Race into his particular Favour to be his peculiar People, or reject them as he thought fit, does in this verse apply it to the Subject in hand, (*viz.*) the casting off the Jewish Nation, whereof he speaks here in Terms that plainly make a Parallel between this and his dealing with the *Egyptians*, mentioned *ver. 17.* and therefore that Story will best explain this verse, that thence will receive its full Light. For it seems a some-what strange sort of Reasoning, to say, God, to shew his Wrath, endured with much Long-suffering those who deserved his Wrath, and were fit for Destruction. But he that will read in *Exodus*, God's Dealing with *Pharaoh* and the *Egyptians*, and how God passed over Provocation upon Provocation, and patiently endured those who by their first Refusal, nay by their former Cruelty and Oppression of the *Israelites*, deserved his Wrath, and were fitted for Destruction, that in a more signal Vengeance on the *Egyptians*, and glorious Deliverance of the *Israelites*, he might shew his Power, and make himself be taken notice of, will easily see the strong and easy sense of this and the following Verse.

23 (n) *Kai'oua, And that*: The Vulgate has not *And*, and there are *Greek MSS.* that justify that Omission, as well as the sense of the place, which is disturb'd by the Conjunction *And*. For with that reading it runs thus; *And God that he might make known the riches of his Glory, &c.* A learned Paraphrast, both against the Grammar and Sense of the place, by his own Authority adds, *shew'd mercy*, where the Sacred Scripture is silent, and says no such thing, by which we may make it say any thing. If a *Verb* were to be inserted here, 'tis evident it must some way or other answer to *endured* in the foregoing Verse; but such an one will not be easy to be found that will suit here. And indeed there is no need of it, for *And* being left out, the sense suitable to *St. Paul's* Argument here, runs plainly and smoothly thus; *What have you Jews to complain of for God's rejecting you from being any longer his people? and giving you up to be over-run and subjected by the Gentiles? and his taking them in to be his people in your room? He has as much power over the Nations of the Earth, to make some of them mighty and flourishing, and others mean and weak, as a Potter has over his Clay, to make what sort of Vessels he pleases of any part of it. This you cannot deny. God might from the beginning have made you a small neglected people: But he did not. He made you the posterity of Jacob, a greater and mightier people than the posterity of his elder brother Esau, and made you also his own people,*

- make known the Riches of his Glory (o) on those whom, being Objects of his Mercy, he had before prepared to
24. Glory? Even us Christians, whom he hath also called,
25. not only of the Jews, but also of the Gentiles, as he hath declared in *Osee*: *I will call them my people, who*
26. *were not my people, and her beloved, who was not beloved. And it shall come to pass, that in the place where it was said unto them, Ye are not my People; there shall they be called, the*
27. *Children of the living God.* *Isaiah* crieth also concerning *Israel*: *Though the number of the Children of Israel be as the sand of the Sea, yet it is but (p) a remnant that shall be saved.*
28. *For the Lord finishing and contracting the account in righteousness, shall make a short or small remainder (q) in the earth.*
29. *And as Isaiah said before, unless the Lord of Hosts had left us a seed (r) we had been as Sodom, and been made like unto*
30. *Gomorrhah, we had utterly been extirpated.* What then remains to be said but this? That the Gentiles, who fought not after Righteousness, have obtained the Righteousness which is by Faith, and thereby are become the People of God; but the Children of *Israel*, who followed the Law, which contained the Rule of Righteousness, have not attained to that Law whereby Righteousness is to be attained, *i. e.* have not received the Gospel (s), and so are not the People of God.

How

known the riches of his glory on the vessels of mercy, which he had afore prepared unto glory?

Even us whom he hath called, not of the Jews only, but also of the Gentiles. As he saith also in *Osee*, I will call them my people, which were not my people; and her beloved, which was not beloved.

And it shall come to pass, that in the place where it was said unto them, ye are not my people; there shall they be called, The Children of the living God.

Esaias also crieth concerning *Israel*, Though the number of the children of *Israel* be as the sand of the sea, a remnant shall be saved.

For he will finish the work, and cut it short in righteousness: because a short work will the Lord make upon the earth.

And as *Esaias* said before, Except the Lord of Sabaoth had left us a seed, we had been as Sodom, and been made like unto Gomorrhah.

What shall we say then? That the Gentiles which followed not after righteousness, have attained to righteousness, even the righteousness which is of faith.

But *Israel*, which followed after the law of righteousness, hath not attained to the law of righteousness.

NOTES.

plentifully provided for in the land of Promise. Nay, when your frequent revolts and repeated provocations had made you fit for destruction, he with long-suffering forbore you, that now under the gospel, executing his wrath on you, he might manifest his glory on us whom he hath called to be his people, consisting of a small remnant of Jews, and of Converts out of the Gentiles, whom he had prepared for this glory, as he had foretold by the prophets *Hosea* and *Isaiah*. This is plainly *St. Paul's* meaning, That God dealt as is described, *ver. 22.* with the Jews, that he might manifest his Glory on the Gentiles; for so he declares over and over again, *Chap. 11. ver. 11. 12, 15, 19, 20, 28, 30.*

(o) *Make known the riches of his Glory, on the vessels of Mercy.* *St. Paul* in a parallel place, *Col. 1.* has so fully explain'd these words, that he that will read *ver. 27.* of that Chapter with the Context there, can be in no manner of doubt what *St. Paul* means here.

27 (p) *But a remnant.* There needs no more but to read the Text, to see this to be the meaning.

28 (q) *Λόγον συλειτουργικόν ποιήσει;* Shall make a contracted or little Account, or Overplus, a Metaphor taken from an Account wherein the matter is so order'd, that the Overplus or Remainder, standing still upon the Account, is very little.

29 (r) *A Seed, Isaiah 1. 9.* The words are, *a very small remnant.*

31 (s) See *Chap. 10. 3.* and *11. 6, 7.* The Apostle's Design in this and the following Chapter, is to shew the Reason why the Jews were cast off from being the People of God, and the Gentiles admitted. From whence it follows, that by attaining to righteousness, and to the law of

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

32 Wherefore ? Because they sought it, not by faith, but as it were by the works of the law: for they stumbled at that stumbling stone;

33 As it is written, Behold, I lay in Sion a stumbling stone, and rock of offence: and whosoever believeth on him, shall not be ashamed.

1 Brethren, my hearts desire and prayer to God for Israel, is that they might be saved.

2 For I bear them record, that they have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.

3 For they being ignorant of God's righteousness, and going about to establish their own righteousness, have not submitted themselves unto the righteousness of God.

4 For Christ is the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth.

5 For Moses describeth the righteousness which is of the law, That the man which doth those things, shall live by them.

6 But the righteousness which is of faith, speaketh on this wise, Say not in thine heart, Who shall ascend into heaven? (that is to bring Christ down from above)

7 Or, who shall descend into the deep? (that is to bring up Christ again from the dead)

8 But what saith it? The word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth, and in thy heart: that is the word of faith which we preach,

9 That if thou shalt con-

How came they to miss it? Because they sought not to attain it by Faith; but as if it were to be obtained by the Works of the Law. A crucified Messiah was a stumbling-block to them (t); and at that they stumbled, as it is written, *Behold I lay in Sion a stumbling-block, and a rock of offence, and whosoever believeth in him shall not be ashamed.* Brethren, my hearty Desire and Prayer to God for Israel is, that they may be saved. For I bear them Witness, that they are zealous (u), and as they think for God and his Law; but their Zeal is not guided by true Knowledge: For they being Ignorant of the Righteousness that is of God, viz. That Righteousness which he graciously bestows and accepts of; and going about to establish a Righteousness of their own, which they seek for in their own Performances, have not brought themselves to submit to the Law of the Gospel, wherein the Righteousness of God i. e. Righteousness by Faith, is offered. For the End of the Law (w) was to bring Men to Christ, that by believing in him every one that did so might be justified by Faith; For Moses describeth the Righteousness that was to be had by the Law thus: *That the Man which doth the Things required in the Law, shall have Life thereby.* But the Righteousness which is of Faith speaketh after this manner: *Say not in thine heart, who shall ascend into Heaven, that is to bring down the Messiah from thence, whom we expect personally here on Earth to deliver us? Or who shall descend into the deep, i. e. to bring up Christ again from the Dead to be our Saviour? You mistake the Deliverance you expect by the Messiah, there needs not the fetching him from the other World to be present with you: The Deliverance by him is a Deliverance from Sin, that you may be made Righteous by Faith in him, and that speaks thus; The Word is nigh thee, even in thy mouth and in thy heart; that is, the Word of Faith, or the Doctrine of the Gospel which we preach, (x) viz. If thou shalt confess*

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of righteousness here, is meant not attaining to the Righteousness which puts particular Persons into the State of Justification and Salvation; but the Acceptance of that Law, the Profession of that Religion wherein that Righteousness is exhibited; which Profession of that which is now the only true Religion, and owning our selves under that Law which is now solely the Law of God, puts any collective Body of Men into the State of being the People of God. For every one of the Jews and Gentiles that attain'd to the Law of Righteousness, or to Righteousness in the sense St. Paul speaks here, i. e. became a Professor of the Christian Religion, did not attain to eternal Salvation. In the same sense must Chap. 10. 3. and 11. 7, 8. be understood.

33 (t) See 1 Cor. 1. 23.

2 (u) This their Zeal for God, see described, Acts 21. 27—31. and 22. 3.

4 (w) See Gal. 3. 24.

8 (x) St. Paul had told them, ver. 4. that the End of the Law was to bring them to Life by Faith in Christ, that they might be justified, and so be saved. To convince them of this, he

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brings

- feels with thy mouth* (y), i. e. openly own Jesus the Lord, i. e. Jesus to be the Messiah, thy Lord, and shalt believe in thy Heart, that God hath raised him from the Dead, (z) otherwise he cannot be believed to be the Messiah, thou shalt be saved. 'Twas not for nothing that *Moses* in the place above-cited mentioned both Heart and Mouth, there is Use of both in the case. For with the Heart Man believeth unto Righteousness, and with the Mouth Confession (a) is made unto Salvation.
10. For the Scripture saith, *whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed*, shall not repent his having believed, and owning it. The Scripture saith, *whosoever*, for in this case there is no Distinction of Jew and Gentile. For it is he the same who is Lord of them all, and is abundantly bountiful to all that call upon him. For
11. whosoever shall call (b) upon his name shall be saved.
- 12.
- 13.

feels with thy mouth the Lord Jesus, and shalt believe in thine heart, that God hath raised him from the dead, thou shalt be saved.

For with the heart man¹⁰ believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto salvation.

For the Scripture saith,¹¹ Whosoever believeth on him shall not be ashamed.

For there is no difference¹² between the Jew and the Greeks: for the same Lord over all, is rich unto all that call upon him.

For whosoever shall call¹³ upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved.

But

NOTES.

brings three Verses out of the Book of the Law it self, declaring that the Way to Life was by hearkening to that Word which was ready in their Mouth and in their Heart, and that therefore they had no reason to reject Jesus the Christ, because he died and was now removed into Heaven, and was remote from them; their very Law proposed Life to them by something nigh them, that might lead them to their Deliverer: By Words and Doctrines that might be always at hand in their Mouths and in their Hearts, and so lead them to Christ, i. e. to that Faith in him which the Apostle preached to them: I submit to the attentive Reader, whether this be not the Meaning of this place.

9 (y) The Expectation of the Jews was, that the Messiah, who was promised them, was to be their Deliverer, and so far they were in the right. But that which they expected to be delivered from, at his appearing, was the Power and Dominion of Strangers. When our Saviour came, their Reckoning was up; and the Miracles which Jesus did, concurr'd to persuade them that it was he: But his obscure Birth and mean Appearance, suited not with that Power and Splendor they had fancied to themselves he should come in. This with his denouncing to them the Ruine of their Temple and State at hand, set the Rulers against him, and held the Body of the Jews in Suspense till his Crucifixion, and that gave a full Turn of their Minds from him. They had figured him a mighty Prince at the Head of their Nation, setting them free from all foreign Power, and themselves at Ease, and happy under his glorious Reign. But when at the Passover the whole People were Witnesses of his Death, they gave up all thought of Deliverance by him. He was gone, they saw him no more, and 'twas past doubt a dead Man could not be the Messiah or Deliverer, even of those who believed him. 'Tis against these Prejudices that what *Paul* says in this and the three preceding Verses seem directed, wherein he teaches them, that there was no need to fetch the Messiah out of Heaven, or out of the Grave, and bring him personally among them. For the Deliverance he was to work for them, the Salvation by him was Salvation from Sin, and Condemnation for that; and that was to be had by barely believing and owning him to be the Messiah their King, and that he was raised from the Dead; by this they would be saved without his Personal Presence amongst them.

(z) *Raised him from the dead.* The Doctrine of the Lord Jesus being raised from the Dead, is certainly one of the most fundamental Articles of the Christian Religion; but yet there seems another Reason why *St. Paul* here annexes Salvation to the Belief of it, which may be found *ver. 7.* where he teaches that it was not necessary for their Salvation, that they should have Christ out of his Grave personally present amongst them; and here he gives them the Reason, because if they did but own him for their Lord, and believe that he was raised, that sufficed, they should be saved.

10 (a) Believing, and an open avowed Profession of the Gospel, are required by our Saviour, *Mark 16. 16.*

13 (b) Whoever hath with Care look'd into *St. Paul's* Writings, must own him to be a close Reasoner that argues to the Point; and therefore if in the three preceding verses he requires an open Profession of the Gospel, I cannot but think that *all that call upon him, ver. 12.* signifies all that are open professed Christians; and if this be the meaning of calling upon him, *ver. 12.* it is plain it must be the meaning of *calling upon his name, ver. 13.* a Phrase not very remote from *naming his name*, which is used by *St. Paul* for professing Christianity, *2 Tim. 2. 19.* If the meaning of the Prophet *Joel*, from whom these words be taken, be urged, I shall only say, that it will be an ill Rule for interpreting *St. Paul*, to tie up his use of any

Text

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 14 How then shall they call on him, in whom they have not believed? and how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? and how shall they hear without a preacher?
- 15 And how shall they preach, except they be sent? as it is written, How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things?
- 16 But they have not all obeyed the gospel. For Esaias saith, Lord, who hath believed our report?
- 17 So then faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the word of God.
- 18 But I say, have they not heard? yes, verily, their sound went into all the earth, and their words unto the ends of the world.
- 19 But I say, Did not Israel know? First Moses saith, I will provoke you to jealousy by them that are no people, and by a foolish nation I will anger you.
- 20 But Esaias is very bold, and saith, I was found of

But how shall they call upon him on whom they have not believed? And how shall they believe in him of whom they have not heard? And how shall they hear without a Preacher? And how shall they preach except they be sent (c)? As it is written, *How beautiful are the feet of them that preach the gospel of peace, and bring glad tidings of good things?* But though there be Messengers sent from God to preach the Gospel; yet it is not to be expected that all should receive and obey it (d). For *Isaiah* hath foretold that they should not, saying, *Lord, who hath believed our Report?* That which we may learn from thence is, that Faith cometh by Hearing, and Hearing from the Word of God, *i. e.* the Revelation of the Gospel in the Writings of the Sacred Scriptures, communicated by those whom God sends as Preachers thereof, to those who are ignorant of it; and there is no need that Christ should be brought down from Heaven, to be personally with you, to be your Saviour. It is enough that both Jews and Gentiles have heard of him by Messengers, whose Voice is gone out into the whole Earth, and Words unto the Ends of the World, far beyond the Bound of *Judea*.

But I ask, did not *Israel* know (e) this, that the Gentiles were to be taken in and made the People of God? First *Moses* tells it them from God, who says, *I will provoke you to jealousy by them who are no people; and by a foolish Nation I will anger you.* But *Isaiah* declares it yet much plainer in these words; *I was found of them that*

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NOTES.

Text he brings out of the Old Testament, to that which is taken to be the meaning of it there. We need go no farther for an Example than the 6, 7, 8 Verses of this Chapter, which I desire any one to read as they stand, *Deut.* 30. 11—14. and see whether *St. Paul* uses them here in the same Sense.

15 (c) *St. Paul* is careful every where to keep himself, as well as possibly he can, in the Minds and fair Esteem of his Brethren the *Jews*; may not therefore this, with the two foregoing verses, be understood as an Apology to them for professing himself an Apostle of the Gentiles, as he does by the Tenor of this Epistle, and in the next Chapter in words at length, *ver.* 13? In this Chapter *ver.* 12. he had shewed that both *Jews* and *Greeks* or *Gentiles* were to be saved only by receiving the Gospel of Christ: And if so, it was necessary that somebody should be sent to teach it them, and therefore the *Jews* had no reason to be angry with any that was sent on that Employment.

16 (d) *But they have not all obeyed.* This seems an Objection of the *Jews* to what *St. Paul* had said, which he answers in this and the following verse. The Objection and Answer seems to stand thus: You tell us that you are sent from God to preach the Gospel; If it be so, how comes it that all that have heard, have not received and obeyed; and since, according to what you would insinuate, the Messengers of good Tidings (which is the Import of *Evangel* in Greek, and *Gospel* in English) were so welcome to them? To this he answers out of *Isaiah*, that the Messengers sent from God were not believed by all. But from those words of *Isaiah*, he draws an Inference to confirm the Argument he was upon, *viz.* that Salvation cometh by hearing and believing the Word of God. He had laid it down, *ver.* 8. that it was by their having *ῥῆμα* *ῥῆμα*, *the word of faith*, nigh them or present with them, and not by the bodily Presence of their Deliverer amongst them, that they were to be saved. This *ῥῆμα* word, he tells them, *ver.* 17. is by Preaching brought to be actually present with them and the Gentiles; so that it was their own Fault if they believed it not to Salvation.

19 (e) *Did not Israel know?* In this, and the next Verses, *St. Paul* seems to suppose a reasoning of the *Jews* to this Purpose, *viz.* That they did not deserve to be cast off, because they did not know that the Gentiles were to be admitted, and so might be excused if they did not embrace a Religion, wherein they were to mix with the Gentiles; and to this he answers in the following Verses.

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PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

21. sought me not; I was made manifest to them that asked not after me. And to Israel, to shew their Refusal, he saith; All day long have I stretched forth mine hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying people.

them that sought me not; I was made manifest unto them that asked not after me.

But to Israel he saith; 21 All day long have I stretched forth my hands unto a disobedient and gainsaying People.

S E C T. IX.

CHAP. XI. 1—36.

C O N T E N T S.

THE Apostle in this Chapter goes on to shew the future State of the Jews and Gentiles, in respect of Christianity, viz. That tho' the Nation of the Jews were for their Unbelief rejected, and the Gentiles taken in their room to be the People of God; yet there was a few of the Jews that believed in Christ, and so a small Remnant of them continued to be God's People, being incorporated with the converted Gentiles into the Christian Church. But they shall, the whole Nation of them, when the Fulness of the Gentiles is come in, be converted to the Gospel, and again be restored to be the People of God.

The Apostle takes Occasion also from God's having rejected the Jews, to warn the Gentile Converts, that they take Heed: Since if God cast off his ancient People the Jews for their Unbelief, the Gentiles could not expect to be preserved, if they apostatized from the Faith, and kept not firm in their Obedience to the Gospel.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

1. **I** Say then, Has (f) God wholly cast away his People the Jews from being his People? By no means. For I my self am an Israelite, of the Seed of Abraham,
2. of the Tribe of Benjamin. God hath not utterly cast off his People whom he formerly owned (g) with so peculiar a Respect. Know ye not what the Scripture saith concerning Eliah? How he complain'd to the
3. God of Israel in these Words: Lord, they have killed thy Prophets, and have digged down thine Altars, and of all that worshipped thee, I alone am left, and they seek my Life also.

I Say then, Hath God cast away his people? God forbid. For I also am an Israelite, of the seed of Abraham, of the tribe of Benjamin.

God hath not cast away his people which he foreknew. Wot ye not what the scripture saith of Eliah? how he maketh intercession to God against Israel, saying,

Lord, they have killed thy Prophets, and digged down thine altars; and I am left alone, and they seek my life.

NOTES.

1 (f) This is a Question in the Person of a Jew, who made the Objections in the foregoing Chapter, and continues on to object here.

2 (g) See Chap. 8. 29.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

4 But what faith the answer of God unto him? I have reserved to my self seven thousand men, who have not bowed the knee to the image of Baal.
5 Even so then at this present time also there is a remnant according to the election of grace.
6 And if by Grace, then is it no more of works; otherwise grace is no more grace. But if it be of works, then it is no more grace; otherwise work is no more work.
7 What then? Israel hath not obtained that which he seeketh for; but the election hath obtained it, and the rest were blinded:
8 According as it is written, God hath given them the spirit of slumber, eyes that they should not see, and ears that they should not hear, unto this day.
9 And David saith, Let their table be made a snare, and a trap, and a stumbling-block, and a recompence unto them.
10 Let their eyes be dark-

But what faith the Answer of God to him? *I have reserved to my self seven thousand Men, who have not bowed the Knee to Baal* (b) i. e. have not been guilty of Idolatry. Even so at this time also there is a Remnant reserved and segregated by the Favour and free Choice of God. Which Reservation of a Remnant, if it be by Grace and Favour, it is not of Works (i), for then Grace would not be Grace. But if it were of Works, then is it not Grace. For then Work would not be Work, i. e. Work gives a Right, Grace bestows the Favour where there is no Right to it; so that what is confer'd by the one cannot be ascribed to the other. How is it then? Even thus; *Israel*, or the Nation of the Jews, obtained not what it seeks (k) but the Election (l), or that part which was to remain God's Elect chosen People, obtained it, but the rest of them were blinded (m): According as it is written (n), *God hath given them the Spirit of Slumber; Eyes that they should not see, and Ears that they should not hear, unto this day.* And David saith (o), *Let their Table be made a Snare and a Trap, and a Stumbling-block, and a Recompence unto them: Let their Eyes be*

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NOTES.

4 (b) *Baal* and *Baalim* was the Name whereby the false Gods and Idols which the Heathens worshipped were signified in Sacred Scripture; See *Judges* 11. 11—13. *Hos.* 11. 2.

6 (i) *It is not of works.* This Exclusion of Works, seems to be mistaken by those who extend it to all manner of Difference in the Person chosen, from those that were rejected; for such a Choice as that, excludes not Grace in the Chooser, but Merit in the Chosen. For it is plain that by *Works* here St. Paul means Merit, as is evident also from *Chap.* 4. 2—4. The Law required compleat perfect Obedience: He that performed that, had a Right to the Reward; but he that failed and came short of that, had by the Law no Right to any thing but Death. And so the Jews being all Sinners, God might without Injustice have cast them all off; none of them could, plead a Right to his Favour. If therefore he chose out and reserv'd any, it was of meer Grace, tho' in his Choice he prefer'd those who were the best disposed and most inclined to his Service. A whole Province revolts from their Prince, and takes Arms against him; He resolves to pardon some of them. This is a Purpose of Grace. He reduces them under his Power, and then chooseth out of them, as Vessels of Mercy, those that he finds least infected with Malice, Obstinacy and Rebellion. This Choice neither voids nor abates his Purpose of Grace, that stands firm; but only executes it so as may best comport with his Wisdom and Goodness. And indeed without some Regard to a Difference in the things taken from those that are left, I do not see how it can be called Choice. An handful of Pebbles, for Example, may be taken out of a Heap; they are taken and separated indeed from the rest, but if it be without any Regard to any Difference in them from others rejected, I doubt whether any body can call them chosen.

7 (k) *What it seeks*, i. e. That Righteousness whereby it was to continue the People of God; see *ch.* 9. 31. It may be observed, that St. Paul's Discourse being of the National Privilege of continuing the People of God, he speaks here, and all along of the Jews in the collective term *Israel*. And so likewise the *Remnant*, which were to remain his People, and incorporate with the Convert Gentiles, into one Body of Christians, owning the Dominion of the one true God, in the Kingdom he had set up under his Son, and owned by God for his People, he calls the *Election*.

(l) *Election*, a collective Appellation of the Part elected, which in other places he calls *Remnant*. This *Remnant* or *Election*, call it by which name you please, were those who sought Righteousness by Faith in Christ, and not by the Deeds of the Law, and so became the People of God, that People which he had chosen to be his.

(m) *Blinded*, see 2 *Cor.* 3. 13—16.

8 (n) *Written*, *Isa.* 29. 10. and 6. 9, 10.

9 (o) *Saith*, *Psal.* 69. 22, 23.

darkned,

- darkned, that they may not see, and bow down their back alway. What then do I say, that they have so stumbled as to be fallen past Recovery? By no means: But this I say, that by their Fall, by their Rejection for refusing (p) the Gospel, the Privilege of becoming the People of God, by receiving the Doctrine of Salvation, is come to the Gentiles, to provoke the Jews to Jealousy. Now if the Fall of the Jews hath been to the enriching of the rest of the World, and their Damage an Advantage to the Gentiles, by letting them into the Church, how much more shall their Completion be so, when their whole Nation shall be restored? This I say to you Gentiles, forasmuch as being Apostle of the Gentiles, I magnifie (q) mine Office: If by any means I may provoke to Emulation the Jews, who are my own Flesh and Blood, and bring some of them into the way of Salvation. For if the casting them off be a Means of reconciling the World, what shall their Restoration be, when they are taken again into Favour, but as it were Life from the Dead, which is to all Mankind of all Nations? For if the First-fruits (r) be holy (s) and accepted, the whole Product of the Year is holy, and will be accepted. And if *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, from whom the Jewish Nation had their Original, were holy, the Branches also that sprang from this Root are holy. If then some of the natural Branches were broken off: If some of the natural Jews, of the Stock of *Israel*, were broken off and rejected, and thou a Heathen of the wild Gentile-Race, were taken in, and ingrafted into the Church of God in their room: And there partakest of the Blessings promised to *Abraham* and his Seed, be not so conceited of thy self, as to shew any Disrespect (t) to the Jews. If any such Vanity possesses thee, remember that the Privilege thou hast in being a Christian, is derived to thee from the Promise made to *Abraham* and his Seed, but nothing accrues to *Abraham* or his

ned, that they may not see, and bow down their back alway.

I say then, Have they 11 stumbled that they should fall? God forbid: but rather through their fall salvation is come unto the Gentiles, for to provoke them to jealousy.

Now if the fall of them 12 be the riches of the world, and the diminishing of them the riches of the Gentiles: how much more their fulness?

For I speak to you Gen- 13 tiles in as much as I am the Apostle of the Gentiles, I magnifie mine office:

If by any means I may 14 provoke to emulation them which are my flesh, and might save some of them.

For if the casting away 15 of them be the reconciling of the world; what shall the receiving of them be, but life from the dead?

For if the first-fruit be 16 holy, the lump is also holy: and if the root be holy, so are the branches.

And if some of the 17 branches be broken off, and thou being a wild olive-tree, were grafted in amongst them, and with them partakest of the root and fatness of the olive-tree;

Boast not against the 18 branches: but if thou boast, thou bearest not the root, but the root thee.

NOTES.

11 (p) That this is the meaning of *Fall* here, see *Acts* 13. 46.

13 (q) *St. Paul* magnified his Office of Apostle of the Gentiles, not only by preaching the Gospel to the Gentiles; but in assuring them farther, as he does, *ver.* 12. that when the Nation of the Jews shall be restored, the Fulness of the Gentiles shall also come in.

16 (r) These Allusions the Apostle makes use of here, to shew that the Patriarchs, the Root of the Jewish Nation, being accepted by God; and the few Jewish Converts which at first enter'd into the Christian Church, being also accepted by God, are, as it were, *first Fruits* or Pledges, that God will in due time admit the whole Nation of the Jews into his visible Church, to be his peculiar People again.

(s) *Holy*: By *Holy* is here meant that relative Holiness whereby any thing hath an Appropriation to God.

18 (t) *Boast not against the Branches*. Tho' the great Fault that most disorder'd the Church, and principally exercis'd the Apostle's Care in this Epistle, was from the Jews pressing the Necessity of legal Observances, and not brooking that the Gentiles, tho' Converts to Christianity, should be admitted into their Communion, without being circumcised; yet it is plain from this Verse, as also *ch.* 14. 3, 10. that the Convert Gentiles were not wholly without Fault on their side, in treating the Jews with Disesteem and Contempt. To this also, as it comes in his way, he applies fit Remedies, particularly in this Chapter, and *ch.* 14.

Race

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 19 Thou wilt say then,
The branches were broken off, that I might be grafted in.
- 20 Well; because of unbelief they were broken off, and thou standest by faith. Be not high-minded, but fear.
- 21 For if God spared not the natural branches, take heed lest he also spare not thee.
- 22 Behold therefore the goodness and severity of God: on them which fell, severity, but towards thee, goodness, if thou continue in his goodness: otherwise thou also shalt be cut off.
- 23 And they also, if they abide not still in unbelief, shall be grafted in: for God is able to graff them in again.
- 24 For if thou wert cut out of the olive-tree, which is wild by nature, and wert grafted contrary to nature into a good olive-tree; how much more shall these which be the natural branches, be grafted into their own olive-tree?
- 25 For I would not, brethren, that ye should be ignorant of this mystery (lest ye should be wise in your own conceits) that blindness in part is happened to Israel, until the fulness of the Gentiles be come in.
- 26 And so all Israel shall be saved: as it is written, There shall come out of Sion the deliverer, and shall turn away ungodliness from Jacob.

Race by any thing derived from thee. Thou wilt perhaps say, the Jews were rejected to make way for me. Well, let it be so: But remember that 'twas because of Unbelief that they were broken off, and that 'tis by Faith alone that thou hast obtained, and must keep thy present Station. This ought to be a Warning to thee, not to have any haughty Conceit of thy self, but with Modesty to fear. For if God spared not the Seed of *Abraham*, but cast off even the Children of *Israel* for their Unbelief, he will certainly not spare thee, if thou art guilty of the like Miscarriage. Mind therefore the Benignity and Rigour of God, Rigour to them that stumbled at the Gospel and fell, but Benignity to thee, if thou continue within the Sphere of his Benignity, *i. e.* in the Faith by which thou partakest of the Privilege of being one of his People: Otherwise even thou also shalt be cut off. And the Jews also, if they continue not in Unbelief, shall be again grafted into the Stock of *Abraham*, and be re-established the People of God. For however they are now scatter'd, and under Subjection to Strangers, God is able to collect them again into one Body, make them his People, and set them in a flourishing Condition in their own Land (*u*). For if you who are Heathens by Birth, and not of the promised Seed, were, when you had neither Claim nor Inclination to it, brought into the Church, and made the People of God; how much more shall those who are the Posterity and Descendants of him to whom the Promise was made, be restored to the State which the Promise vested in that Family? For to prevent your being conceited of your selves, my Brethren, let me make known to you, which has yet been undiscovered to the World, *viz.* That the Blindness, which has fallen upon part of *Israel*, shall remain upon them but till the time be come, wherein the whole (*w*) Gentile World shall enter into the Church, and make Profession of Christianity. And so all *Israel* shall be converted (*x*) to the Christian Faith, and the whole Nation become the People of God: As it is written, *There shall come out of Sion the Deliverer, and shall turn away Un-*

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23 (*u*) This *grafting in again*, seems to import, that the Jews shall be a flourishing Nation again, professing Christianity in the Land of Promise, for that is to be re-instated again in the Promise made to *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*. This *St. Paul* might, for good Reasons, be withheld from speaking out here: But in the Prophets there are very plain Intimations of it.

25 (*w*) Πλήρωμα, The *Fulness* of the Jews, *ver. 12.* is the whole Body of the Jewish Nation professing Christianity: And therefore here πλήρωμα τῶν ἑθνῶν, The *Fulness* of the *Gentiles*, must be the whole Body of the *Gentiles* professing Christianity. And this *ver. 15.* seems to teach. For the Resurrection is of all.

26 (*x*) Σωθήσεται, *shall be saved.* 'Tis plain that the Salvation that *St. Paul* in this Discourse concerning the Nation of the Jews, and the Gentile World in gross, speaks of, is not eternal Happiness in Heaven, but he means by it the Profession of the true Religion here on Earth. Whether it be that that is as far as Corporations or Bodies Politick can go, towards the Attainment of eternal Salvation, I will not enquire. But this is evident, that being saved, is used by the Apostle here in this Sense. That all the Jewish Nation may become the People of God again, by taking up the Christian Profession, may be easily conceived. But that every Person of such a Christian Nation, shall attain eternal Salvation in Heaven, I think no body can imagine to be here intended.

27. godliness from Jacob. For this is my Covenant to them, when
 28. I shall take away (y) their Sins. They are indeed at present Strangers to the Gospel, and so are in the State of Enemies (z), but this is for your sakes: Their Fall and Loss is your enriching, you having obtain'd Admittance through their being cast out: But yet they, being within the Election that God made of *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob*, and their Posterity, to be his People, are still his beloved People, for *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob's* sake, from whom they are descended. For the Favours that God shew'd those their Fathers, in calling them and their Posterity to be his People, he doth not repent of; but his Promise, that they shall be his People, shall stand good (a). For as you the Gentiles formerly stood out, and were not the People of God, but yet have now obtained Mercy so as to be taken in through the standing out of the Jews, who submit not to the Gospel (b): Even so they now have stood out by reason of your being in Mercy admitted, that they also, through the Mercy you have receiv'd, may again hereafter be admitted. For God hath put up together in a State of Revolt from their Allegiance (c) to him, as it were in one Fold, all Men, both Jews and Gentiles, that through his Mercy they might all, both Jews and Gentiles, come to be his People, i. e. he hath suffer'd both Jews and Gentiles in their turns not to be his People, that he might bring the whole Body, both of

For this is my covenant unto them, when I shall take away their sins.

As concerning the Gospel, they are enemies for your sake: but as touching the election, they are beloved for the fathers sakes.

For the gifts and calling of God are without repentance.

For as ye in times past have not believed God, yet have now obtained mercy through their unbelief:

Even so have these also now not believed, that through your mercy they also may obtain mercy.

For God hath concluded them all in unbelief, that he might have mercy upon all.

NOTES.

27 (y) Take away, i. e. Forgive their Sins, and take away the Punishment they live under for them.

28 (z) Ἐχθροί, *Enemies*, signifies Strangers or Aliens, i. e. such as are no longer the People of God. For they are called *Enemies* in opposition to *Beloved*, in this very Verse. And the Reason given why they are *Enemies*, makes it plain, that this is the Sense, (viz) For the Gentiles sake, i. e. They are rejected from being the People of God, that you Gentiles may be taken in to be the People of God in their room, ver. 30. The same Signification has Ἐχθροί, *Enemies*, ch. 5. 10. καὶ ὑμᾶς ἔχθροί, as concerning the Gospel, *Enemies*, i. e. all those, who not embracing the Gospel, not receiving Christ for their King and Lord, are Aliens from the Kingdom of God, and all such Aliens are called Ἐχθροί, *Enemies*. And so indeed were the Jews now: but yet they were καὶ ἐκλογὴν ἀγαπῶντες, as touching the Election, *beloved*, i. e. were not actually within the Kingdom of God his People, but were within the Election which God had made of *Abraham, Isaac* and *Jacob*, and their Posterity to be his People, and so God had still Intentions of Kindness to them for their Fathers sake, to make them again his People.

29 (a) So God's Repenting is explain'd, Numb. 23. 19—24.

30 (b) See Acts 13. 46.

32 (c) Ἐν ἀπιστίᾳ, *In Unbelief*. The *Unbelief* here charged nationally on Jews and Gentiles in their turns, in this and the two preceding Verses, whereby they ceased to be the People of God, was evidently the disowning of his Dominion, whereby they put themselves out of the Kingdom which he had and ought to have in the World, and so were no longer in the State of Subjects, but Aliens and Rebels. A general View of Mankind will lead us into an easier Conception of St. Paul's Doctrine, who all through this Epistle considers the Gentiles, Jews and Christians, as three distinct Bodies of Men.

God by Creation had no doubt an unquestionable Sovereignty over Mankind, and this was at first acknowledg'd in their Sacrifices and Worship of him. Afterwards they withdrew themselves from their Submission to him, and found out other Gods, whom they worshiped and served. This Revolt from God, and the Consequence of it, God's abandoning them, St. Paul describes, ch. 1. 18—32.

In this State of Revolt from God were the Nations of the Earth in the times of *Abraham*; and then *Abraham, Isaac*, and *Jacob*, and their Posterity the Israelites, upon God's gracious Call, return'd to their Allegiance to their ancient and rightful King and Sovereign, to own the

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PARAPHRASE.

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| <p>33 O the depth of the riches both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out!</p> <p>34 For who hath known the mind of the Lord, or who hath been his counsellor?</p> <p>35 Or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again?</p> <p>36 For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things: to whom be glory for ever. Amen.</p> | <p>of Jews and Gentiles, to be his People. O the Depth of the Riches of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God (d)! How unsearchable are his Judgments, and his Ways not to be traced! For who hath known the Mind of the Lord? Or who hath sat in Counsel with him? Or who hath been before-hand with him, in bestowing any thing upon him, that God may repay it to him again (e)? The Thought of any such thing is absurd. For from him all things have their Being and Original; By him they are all order'd and disposed of, and for him and his Glory they are all made and regulated, to whom be Glory for ever. Amen.</p> | <p>33.</p> <p>34.</p> <p>35.</p> <p>36.</p> |
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one invisible God, Creator of Heaven and Earth, for their God, and so become his People again, to whom he, as to his peculiar People, gave a Law. And thus remain'd the Distinction between Jews and Gentiles, i. e. the Nations, as the word signifies, till the time of the Messiah, and then the Jews ceased to be the People of God, not by a direct Renouncing the God of *Israel*, and taking to themselves other false Gods whom they worshiped: but by opposing and rejecting the Kingdom of God, which he purposed at that time to set up with new Laws and Institutions, and to a more glorious and spiritual Purpose under his Son Jesus Christ: Him God sent to them, and him the Nation of the Jews refus'd to receive as their Lord and Ruler, tho' he was their promised King and Deliverer, answering all the Prophecies and Types of him, and evidencing his Mission by his Miracles. By this Rebellion against him, into whose hand God had committed the Rule of his Kingdom, and appointed Lord over all things, the Jews turn'd themselves out of the Kingdom of God, and ceas'd to be his People, who had now noother People but those who receiv'd and obey'd his Son as their Lord and Ruler. This was the *ἀπειθεία*, *Unbelief*, here spoken of. And I would be glad to know any other Sense of *Believing* or *Unbelief*, wherein it can be nationally attributed to a People (as visibly here it is) whereby they shall cease, or come to be the People of God, or visible Subjects of his Kingdom here on Earth. Indeed to enjoy Life and Estate in this, as well as other Kingdoms, not only the owning of the Prince, and the Authority of his Laws, but also Obedience to them is required. For a Jew might own the Authority of God, and his Law given by *Moses*, and so be a true Subject, and as much a Member of the Commonwealth of *Israel*, as any one in it, and yet forfeit his Life by Disobedience to the Law. And a Christian may own the Authority of Jesus Christ, and of the Gospel, and yet forfeit eternal Life by his Disobedience to the Precepts of it, as may be seen, *ch. 7, 8, and 9.*

33 (d) This emphatical Conclusion seems in a special manner to regard the Jews, whom the Apostle would hereby teach Modesty and Submission to the over-ruling Hand of the All-wise God, whom they are very unfit to call to account for his dealing so favourably with the Gentiles. His Wisdom and Ways are infinitely above their Comprehension, and will they take upon them to advise him what to do? Or is God in their Debt? Let them say for what, and he shall repay it to them. This is a very strong Rebuke to the Jews, but delivered, as we see, in a way very gentle and inoffensive. A Method which the Apostle endeavours every where to observe towards his Nation.

35 (e) This has a manifest Respect to the Jews, who claim'd a Right to be the People of God so far, that *St. Paul*, *ch. 9. 14.* finds it necessary to vindicate the Justice of God in the Case, and does here in this Question expose and silence the Folly of any such Pretence.

ROMANS.

S E C T. X.

C H A P. XII. 1—21.

C O N T E N T S.

ST. Paul in the end of the foregoing Chapter, with a very solemn Epiphonema, closes that admirable Evangelical Discourse to the Church at *Rome*, which had taken up the eleven foregoing Chapters. It was addressed to the two sorts of Converts, *viz.* Gentiles and Jews, into which, as into two distinct Bodies, he all along through this Epistle divides all Mankind, and considers them as so divided into two separate Corporations.

1. As to the Gentiles, he endeavours to satisfy them, that tho' they, for their Apostacy from God to Idolatry, and the Worship of false Gods, had been abandon'd by God, had lived in Sin and Blindness, without God in the World, Strangers from the Knowledge and Acknowledgment of him; yet that the Mercy of God through Jesus Christ was extended to them, whereby there was a Way now open'd to them to become the People of God. For since no Man could be saved by his own Righteousness, no not the Jews themselves, by the Deeds of the Law; the only Way to Salvation, both for Jews and Gentiles, was by Faith in Jesus Christ. Nor had the Jews any other Way now to continue themselves the People of God, than by receiving the Gospel, which Way was open'd also to the Gentiles, and they as freely admitted into the Kingdom of God now erected under Jesus Christ, as the Jews, and upon the sole Terms of Believing. So that there was no need at all for the Gentiles to be circumcised to become Jews, that they might be Partakers of the Benefits of the Gospel.

2. As to the Jews, the Apostle's other great Aim in the foregoing Discourse, is to remove the Offence the Jews took at the Gospel, because the Gentiles were received into the Church as the People of God, and were allowed to be Subjects of the Kingdom of the Messiah. To bring them to a better Temper, he shews them from the Sacred Scripture, that they could not be saved by the Deeds of the Law, and therefore the Doctrine of Righteousness by Faith ought not to be so strange a thing to them. And as to their being for their Unbelief rejected from being the People of God, and the Gentiles taken-in in their room, he shews plainly, that this was foretold them in the Old Testament; and that herein God did them no Injustice. He was Sovereign over all Mankind, and might choose whom he would to be his People, with the same Freedom that he chose the Posterity of *Abraham* among all the Nations of the Earth, and of that Race chose the Descendants of *Jacob* before those of his elder Brother *Esau*, and that before they had a Being, or were capable of doing Good or Evil. In all which Discourse of his, 'tis plain the Election spoken of, has for its Object only Nations or collective Bodies Politick in this world, and not particular Persons, in reference to their eternal State in the World to come.

Having thus finished the principal Design of his Writing, he here in this, as is usual with him in all his Epistles, concludes with practical and moral Exhortations, whereof there are several in this Chapter, which we shall take in their Order.

P A R A P H R A S E.

T E X T.

1. **I**T being so then, that you are become the People of God in the room of the Jews, do not ye fail to offer him that Sacrifice that it is reasonable for you to

I beseech you therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living do,

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service.

2 And be not conformed to this world: but be ye transformed by the renewing of your mind, that ye may prove what is that good, and acceptable and perfect will of God.

3 For I say, through the grace given unto me, to every man that is among you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think; but to think soberly according as God hath dealt to every man the measure of faith.

4 For as we have many members in one body, and all members have not the same office:

5 So we being many are one body in Christ, and every one members one of another.

6 Having then gifts, differing according to the grace that is given to us, whether prophesie, let us prophesie according to the proportion of faith:

do, I mean your Bodies (f) not to be slain, but the Lusts thereof being mortified, and the Body cleansed from the Spots and Blemishes of Sin, will be an acceptable Offering to him, and such a way of Worship as becomes a rational Creature, which therefore I beseech you by the Mercies of God to you, who has made you his People, to present to him. And be not conformed to the Fashion of this World (g): But be ye transform'd in the renewing of your Minds (h), that you may upon Examination find out what is the good, the acceptable and perfect Will of God, which now under the Gospel has shewn it self to be in Purity and Holiness of Life: the ritual Observances which he once instituted not being that, his good, acceptable, and perfect Will, which he always intended, they were made only the Types and preparatory Way to this more perfect State under the Gospel (i). For by Virtue of that Commission, to be the Apostle of the Gentiles, which by the Favour of God is bestowed on me, I bid every one of you, not to think of himself more highly than he ought to think, but to have sober and modest Thoughts of himself, according to that Measure of spiritual Gifts (k), which God has bestowed upon him. For as there are many Members in one and the same Body, but all the Members are not appointed to the same Work; So we who are many make all but one Body in Christ, and are all Fellow-Members one of another (l). But having according to the respective Favour that is bestowed upon us, every one of us different Gifts; whether it be Prophecie (m), let us prophesie, according to the

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NOTES.

1 (f) *Your Bodies.* There seem to be two Reasons why St. Paul's first Exhortation to them is, to present their Bodies undefiled to God: (1) Because he had before, especially ch. 7. so much insisted on this, that the Body was the great Source from whence Sin arose. (2.) Because the Heathen World, and particularly the Romans, were guilty of those vile Affections which he mentions, ch. 1. 24—27.

2 (g) *To the Fashion of this World;* or, as St. Peter expresses it, *not fashioning your selves according to your former Lusts in the time of Ignorance.*

(h) *Transformed in the renewing of your Minds.* The State of the Gentiles is thus described, Eph. 4. 17—19. *As walking in the Vanity of their Minds, having the Understanding darkened, being alienated from the Life of God through the Ignorance that is in them, because of the Blindness of their Hearts, who being past feeling, have given themselves over unto Lasciviousness, to work all Uncleaness with Greediness, fulfilling the Lusts of the Flesh and of the Mind.* And Col. 1. 21. *Alienated and Enemies in their Minds by wicked Works.* The renewing therefore of their Minds, or as he speaks, Eph. 4. *in the Spirit of their Minds,* was the getting into an Estate contrary to what they were in before, (*viz.*) to take it in the Apostle's own words; *That the Eyes of their Understandings might be enlighten'd; and that they may put on the new Man, that is renewed in Knowledge after the Image of him that created him, that ye walk as Children of the Light, proving what is acceptable to the Lord, having no fellowship with the Works of Darkness: That they be not unwise, but understanding what is the Will of the Lord: For this is the Will of God, even your Sanctification. That you should abstain from Fornication. That every one of you should know how to possess his Vessel in Sanctification and Honour, not in the Lusts of Concupiscence, even as the Gentiles that know not God.*

(i) In these two first Verses of this Chapter is shewn the Preference of the Gospel to the Gentile State and the Jewish Institution.

3 (k) *Μετρον πισως, Measure of Faith,* some Copies read *χάριτος, of Favour,* either of them express the same thing, *i. e.* Gifts of the Spirit.

5 (l) The same Simile to the same purpose, see 1 Cor. 12.

6 (m) *Prophecie* is enumerated in the new Testament among the Gifts of the Spirit, and means either the Interpretation of Sacred Scripture, and explaining of Prophecies already deliver'd, or foretelling things to come.

Propor-

- Proportion of Faith (n), or Gift of Interpretation, which is given us, *i. e.* as far forth as we are enabled by Revelation, and an extraordinary Illumination to understand and expound it, and no farther: Or if it be Ministry, let us wait on our Ministering: He that is a Teacher let him take care to teach. He whose Gift is Exhortation, let him be diligent in exhorting: He that giveth, let him do it liberally, and without the Mixture of any Self-Interest: He that presideth (o), let him do it with Diligence: He that sheweth Mercy, let him do it with Chearfulness. Let Love be without Dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil, stick to that which is good. Be kindly affectioned one towards another with brotherly Love; in Honour preferring one another. Not slothful in Business; but active and vigorous in Mind, directing all to the Service of Christ and the Gospel. Rejoicing in the Hope you have of Heaven and Happiness; patient in Tribulation; frequent and instant in Prayer: Forward to help Christians in Want, according to their

Or ministry, let us wait⁷ on our ministering; or he that teacheth, on teaching;

Or he that exhorteth,⁸ on exhortation: he that giveth, let him do it with simplicity; he that ruleth, with diligence; he that sheweth mercy, with chearfulness.

Let love be without dissimulation. Abhor that which is evil, cleave to that which is good.

Be kindly affectioned¹⁰ one to another; with brotherly love, in honour preferring one another:

Not slothful in business;¹¹ fervent in spirit; serving the Lord:

Rejoicing in hope; patient in tribulation; continuing instant in prayer:

Distributing to the necessity of saints; given to hospitality.

NOTES.

(n) *According to the Proportion of Faith.* The Context in this and the three preceding Verses leads us, without any difficulty, into the meaning of the Apostle in this Expression: 1 Cor. 12, and 14. shew us how apt the new Converts were to be put up with the several Gifts that were bestowed on them; and every one, as in like cases is usual, forward to magnifie his own, and to carry it farther than in reality it extended. That it is St. Paul's Design here to prevent or regulate such Disorder, and to keep every one in the exercising of his particular Gift within its due Bounds, is evident in that exhorting them, *ver. 3.* to a sober Use of their Gifts (for 'tis in reference to their spiritual Gifts he speaks in that Verse) he makes the measure of that Sobriety to be that Measure of Faith or spiritual Gift which every one in particular enjoy'd by the Favour of God, *i. e.* That no one should go beyond that which was given him, and he really had. But besides this, which is very obvious, there is another Passage in that Verse, which, rightly consider'd, strongly inclines this way. *I say through the Grace that is given unto me,* says St. Paul. He was going to restrain them in the Exercise of their distinct spiritual Gifts, and he could not introduce what he was going to say in the case with a more persuasive Argument than his own Example; "I exhort, (says he) that every one of you in the Exercise and Use of his spiritual Gift, keep within the Bounds and Measure of that Gift which is given him. I myself in giving you this Exhortation do it *by the grace given unto me*, I do it by the Commission and Power given me by God, and beyond that I do not go. In one that had before declared himself an Apostle, such an Expression as this here (if there were not some particular Reason for it) might seem superfluous, and to some idle, but in this View it has a great Grace and Energie in it. There wants nothing but the Study of St. Paul's Writings, to give us a just Admiration of his great Address, and the Skill wherewith all that he says is adapted to the Argument he has in hand: "I, (says he) according to the Grace given me, direct you every one in the use of your Gifts, which according to the Grace given you are different, whether it be the Gift of Prophecy, to prophecy according to the Proportion or Measure of that Gift or Revelation that he hath. And let him not think that because some things are, therefore every thing is revealed to him. The same Rule concerning the same matter St. Paul gives, *Eph. 4. 6.* that every Member should act according to the measure of its own Strength, Power and Energie; 1 Cor. 14. 29—32. may also give light to this place. This therefore is far from signifying that a Man in interpreting of Sacred Scripture should explain the Sense according to the System of his particular Sect, which each Party is pleased to call the *Analogie of Faith*. For this would be to make the Apostle to set that for a Rule of Interpretation, which had not its Being till long after, and is the Product of fallible Men.

The *measure of Faith*, *ver. 3.* and *proportion of Faith*, in this Verse, signifies the same thing, viz. so much of that particular Gift which God was pleased to bestow on any one.

8 (o) *Ὁ προϊστάμενος*, He that ruleth, says our Translation; the Context inclines to the Sense I have taken it in: See *Vitringa de Synagog. l. 2. c. 3.*

Necessities;

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

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|----|--|--|-----|
| 14 | Bless them which persecute you: bless and curse not. | Necessities; given to Hospitality. Bless them who persecute you: bless and curse not. Rejoice with them that rejoice, and weep with them that weep. | 14. |
| 15 | Rejoice with them that do rejoice, and weep with them that weep. | Be of the same Mind one towards another. Do not mind only high things; but suit your selves to the mean Condition and low Concerns of Persons beneath you. Be not wise in your own Conceits. Render to no Man Evil for Evil: But take care that your Carriage be such as may be approved by all Men. If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all Men. Dearly Beloved, do not avenge your selves, but rather leave that to God. For it is written, <i>Vengeance is mine, and I will repay it, saith the Lord.</i> | 15. |
| 16 | Be of the same mind one towards another. Mind not high things, but condescend to men of low estate. Be not wise in your own conceits. | | 16. |
| 17 | Recompense to no man evil for evil. Provide things honest in the sight of all men. | | 17. |
| 18 | If it be possible, as much as lieth in you, live peaceably with all men. | | 18. |
| 19 | Dearly beloved, avenge not your selves, but rather give place unto wrath: for it is written, <i>Vengeance is mine; I will repay, saith the Lord.</i> | | 19. |
| 20 | Therefore if thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: for in so doing thou shalt heap coals of fire on his head. | | 20. |
| 21 | Be not overcome of evil, but overcome evil with good. | | 21. |

SECT. XI.

CHAP. XIII. 1—7.

CONTENTS.

THis Section contains the Duty of Christians to the Civil Magistrate. For the understanding this right we must consider these two things.

1. That these Rules are given to Christians that were Members of a Heathen Commonwealth, to shew them that by being made Christians and Subjects of Christ's Kingdom, they were not by the Freedom of the Gospel exempt from any Ties of Duty or Subjection, which by the Laws of their Country they were in, and ought to observe, to the Government and Magistrates of it, though Heathens, any more than any of their Heathen Subjects. But on the other side, these Rules did not tie them up any more than any of their Fellow-Citizens, who were not Christians, from any of those due Rights, which by the Law of Nature, or the Constitutions of their Country, belong'd to them. Whatsoever any other of their Fellow-Subjects, being in a like Station with them, might do without sinning, that they were not abridged of, but might do still being Christians. The Rule here being the same with that given by St. Paul, 1 Cor. 7. 17. *As God has called every one, so let him walk.* The Rules of Civil Right and Wrong, that he is to walk by, are to him the same they were before.

2. That

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

2. That St. Paul in this Direction to the *Romans*, does not so much describe the Magistrates that then were in *Rome*, as tells whence they, and all Magistrates every where, have their Authority; and for what end they have it, and should use it. And this he does as becomes his Prudence, to avoid bringing any Imputation on Christians from Heathen Magistrates, especially those insolent and vitious ones of *Rome*, who could not brook any thing to be told them as their Duty, and so might be apt to interpret such plain Truths laid down in a dogmatical way, into Sauciness, Sedition, or Treason, a Scandal cautiously to be kept off from the Christian Doctrine. Nor does he, in what he says, in the least flatter the Roman Emperor, let it be either *Claudius*, as some think, or *Nero*, as others, who then was in Possession of that Empire. For he speaks here of the *Higher Powers*, i. e. the Supreme Civil Power, which is in every Commonwealth derived from God, and is of the same Extent every where, i. e. is absolute and unlimited by any thing but the End for which God gave it, (*viz.*) the Good of the People sincerely pursued, according to the best of the Skill of those who share that Power, and so not to be resisted. But how Men come by a rightful Title to this Power; or who has that Title, he is wholly silent, and says nothing of it. To have meddled with that would have been to decide of Civil Rights, contrary to the Design and Business of the Gospel, and the Example of our Saviour, who refused meddling in such Cases with this decisive Question: *Who made me a Judge or Divider over you?* Luke 12. 14.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

1. LET every one of you, none excepted (p), be subject unto the over-ruling Powers (q) of the Government he lives in. There is no Power but what is from God: The Powers that are in being are ordained by God: So that he who resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God; and they that resist will be punished by those Powers that they resist.
2. What

LET every soul be subject unto the higher powers. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God.

Whosoever therefore resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God: and they that resist, shall receive to themselves damnation.

NOTES.

1 (p) *Every one*, however endowed with miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost, or advanced to any Dignity in the Church of Christ. For that these things were apt to make Men over-value themselves, is obvious from what St. Paul says to the Corinthians, 1 Cor. 12. and here to the Romans, ch. 12. 3—5. But above all others, the Jews were apt to have an inward Reluctancy and Indignation against the Power of any Heathen over them, taking it to be an unjust and tyrannical Usurpation upon them, who were the People of God, and their Betters. These the Apostle thought it necessary to restrain, and therefore says in the Language of the Jews, *Every Soul*, i. e. every Person among you, whether Jew or Gentile, must live in Subjection to the Civil Magistrate. We see by what St. Peter says on the like occasion, that there was great need that Christians should have this Duty inculcated to them, lest any among them should use their Liberty for a Cloak of Maliciousness or Misbehaviour, 1 Pet. 11. 13—16. The Doctrine of Christianity was a Doctrine of Liberty. And St. Paul in this Epistle had taught them, that all Christians were free from the Mosaic Law. Hence corrupt and mistaken Men, especially Jewish Converts, impatient, as we have observed, of any Heathen Dominion, might be ready to infer, that Christians were exempt from Subjection to the Laws of Heathen Governments. This he obviates by telling them, That all other Governments derived the Power they had from God, as well as that of the Jews, tho' they had not the whole Frame of their Government immediately from him as the Jews had.

(q) Whether we take Powers here in the Abstract for Political Authority, or in the Concrete for the Persons *de facto*, exercising Political Power and Jurisdiction, the Sense will be the same, (*viz.*) That Christians, by virtue of being Christians, are not any way exempt from Obedience to the Civil Magistrates, nor ought by any means to resist them, tho' by what is said, ver. 3. it seems that St. Paul meant here Magistrates having and exercising a lawful Power. But whether the Magistrates in being were or were not such, and consequently were or were not to be obeyed, that Christianity gave them no peculiar Power to examine. They had the common Right of others their Fellow-Citizens, but had no distinct Privilege as Christians. And therefore we see ver. 7. where he enjoins the paying of Tribute and Custom, &c. It is in these words;

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

3 For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou then not be afraid of the power? do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same:

4 For he is the minister of God to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid; for he beareth not the sword in vain: for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doth evil.

5 Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake.

6 For, for this cause pay tribute also: for they are God's ministers, attending continually upon this very thing.

7 Render therefore to all their dues: tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour.

What should you be afraid of? Rulers are no Terror to those that do well, but to those that do ill. Wilt thou then not live in dread of the Civil Power? Do that which is good and right, and then Praise only is thy Due from the Magistrate. For he is the Officer and Minister of God appointed only for thy Good. But if thou doest amiss, then thou hast reason to be afraid. For he bears not the Sword in vain. For he is the Minister of God, and Executioner of Wrath and Punishment upon him that doth ill. This being the End of Government, and the Business of the Magistrate, to cherish the good, and punish ill Men, it is necessary for you to submit to Government, not only in Apprehension of the Punishment which Disobedience will draw on you, but out of Conscience, as a Duty required of you by God. This is the Reason why also you pay Tribute, which is due to the Magistrates, because they employ their Care, Time and Pains, for the Publick Weal, in punishing and restraining the Wicked and Vicious; and in countenancing and supporting the Virtuous and Good. Render therefore to all their Dues: Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Custom to whom Custom, Fear to whom Fear, and Honour to whom Honour.

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NOTES.

words; *Render to all their Dues, Tribute to whom Tribute is due, Honour to whom Honour, &c.* But who it was to whom any of these, or any other Dues of Right belong'd, he decides not, for that he leaves them to be determined by the Laws and Constitutions of their Country.

S E C T. XII.

C H A P. XIII. 8—14.

C O N T E N T S.

HE exhorts them to Love, which is in effect the fulfilling of the whole Law.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

8 **O**WE no man any thing, but to love one another: for he that loveth another, hath fulfilled the law.

9 For this, Thou shalt not commit adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false witness, Thou shalt not covet; and if there be any other com-

OWE nothing to any body but Affection and good Will mutually to one another; for he that loves others sincerely, as he does himself, has fulfilled the Law. For this Precept, Thou shalt not commit Adultery, Thou shalt not kill, Thou shalt not steal, Thou shalt not bear false Witness, Thou shalt not covet; and whatever other Command there be concerning social Duties, it in short is comprehended in this,

8.

9.

ROMANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

10. Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self. Love permits us to do no harm to our Neighbour, and therefore is the fulfilling of the whole Law of the second Table.
11. And all this do, considering that it is now high time that we rouse our selves up, shake off Sleep, and betake our selves with Vigilancy and Vigour to the Duties of a Christian Life. For the time of your Removal out of this place of Exercise and Probationership is nearer than when you first enter'd into the Profession of Christianity (r). The Night, the dark State of this World, wherein the Good and the Bad can scarce be distinguished, is far spent. The Day that will shew every one in his own Dress and Colours is at hand. Let us therefore put away the Works that we should be ashamed of but in the dark; and let us put on the Dress (s) and Ornaments, that we should be willing to appear in in the Light. Let our Behaviour
13. be decent, and our Carriage such, as fears not the Light nor the Eyes of Men, not in disorderly Feastings and Drunkenness; nor in Dalliance and Wantonness (t): nor in Strife and Envy (u). But walk in Newness of Life, in Obedience to the Precepts of the Gospel, as becomes those who are baptized into the Faith of Christ, and let not the great Employment of your Thoughts and Cares be wholly in making Provision for the Body, that you may have wherewithal to satisfy your carnal Lusts.
- 14.

mandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thy self.

Love worketh no ill to his neighbour: therefore love is the fulfilling of the law.

And that, knowing the time, that now it is high time to awake out of sleep: for now is our salvation nearer than when we believed.

The night is far spent, the day is at hand: let us therefore cast off the works of darkness, and let us put on the armour of light.

Let us walk honestly in the day; not in rioting and drunkenness, not in chambering and wantonness, not in strife and envying.

But put ye on the Lord Jesus Christ, and make not provision for the flesh, to fulfil the lusts thereof.

NOTES.

11, 12 (r) It seems by these two Verses, as if St. Paul look'd upon Christ's Coming as not far off, to which there are several other concurrent Passages in his Epistles: See 1 Cor. 1. 7.

12 (s) Ὀπλά, *Armour*. The word in the Greek is often used for the Apparel, Clothing, and Accoutrements of the Body.

13 (t) These he seems to name with reference to the Night which he had mentioned, these being the Disorders to which the Night is usually set apart.

(u) These probably were set down, with regard to universal Love and Good-will, which he was principally here pressing them to.

S E C T. XIII.

C H A P. XIV. 1—XV. 13.

C O N T E N T S.

ST. Paul instructs both the Strong and the Weak in their mutual Duties one to another, in respect of Things indifferent, teaching them that the Strong should not use their Liberty where it might offend a weak Brother: Nor the Weak censure the Strong for using their Liberty.

P A R A P H R A S E.

T E X T.

1. HIM that is weak in the Faith, i. e. not fully persuaded of his Christian Liberty in the Use of some indifferent thing, receive you into your Friend-

HIM that is weak in the faith receive

ship

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- you, but not to doubtful disputations.
- 2 For one believeth that he may eat all things: another who is weak, eateth herbs.
- 3 Let not him that eateth, despise him that eateth not; and let not him which eateth not, judge him that eateth; for God hath received him.
- 4 Who art thou that judgest another man's servant? to his own master he standeth or falleth: yea, he shall be holden up: for God is able to make him stand.
- 5 One man esteemeth one day above another: another esteemeth every day alike. Let every man be fully persuaded in his own mind.
- 6 He that regardeth the day, regardeth it unto the Lord; and he that regardeth not the day, to the Lord he doth not re-

ship and Conversation (*w*), without any Coldness or Distinction, but do not engage him in Disputes and Controversies about it. For such Variety is there in Men's Persuasions about their Christian Liberty, that one believeth that he may without Restraint eat all Things; another is so scrupulous that he eateth nothing but Herbs. Let not him that is persuaded of his Liberty, and eateth, despise him that through Scruple eateth not: And let not him that is more doubtful and eateth not, judge or censure him that eateth, for God hath received (*x*) him into his Church and Family: And who art thou that takest upon thee to judge the Domestick of another, whether he be of his Family or no? 'Tis his own Master alone who is to judge whether he be or shall continue his Domestick or no: What hast thou to do to meddle in the Case? But trouble not thy self, he shall stand and stay in the Family. For God is able to confirm and establish him there (*x*). One Man judgeth (*y*) one Day to be set apart to God more than another, another Man judgeth every Day to be God's alike. Let every one take care to be satisfied in his own Mind touching the Matter. But let him not censure (*z*) another in what he doth. He that observeth a Day, observeth it as the Lord's Servant, in Obedience to him: And he that observeth it not, passes by that Observance as the Lord's Servant in Obedience also

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NOTES.

1 (*w*) That the Reception here spoken of is the receiving into familiar and ordinary Conversation, is evident from *ch. 15. 7.* where he, directing them to receive one another mutually, uses the same word *παραμυθεῖσθε*, *i. e.* live together in a free and friendly manner, the weak with the strong, and the strong with the weak, without any regard to the Differences among you about the Lawfulness of any indifferent things. Let those that agree or differ concerning the Use of any indifferent thing, live together all alike.

4 (*x*) By *him that eateth*, *v. 3.* St. Paul seems to mean the Gentiles, who were less scrupulous in the Use of indifferent things; and by *him that eateth not*, the Jews who made a great Distinction of Meats and Drinks and Days, and placed in them a great, and as they thought, necessary Part of the Worship of the true God. To the Gentiles the Apostle gives this Caution, that they should not condemn the Jews, as weak narrow-minded Men, that laid so much Stress on Matters of so small moment, and thought Religion so much concerned in those indifferent things. On the other side, he exhorts the Jews not to judge that those who neglected the Jewish Observances of Meats and Days, were still Heathens, or would soon apostatize to Heathenism again: No, says he; God has received them, and they are of his Family; and thou hast nothing to do to judge, whether they are or will continue of his Family, or no; that belongs only to him, the Master of the Family, to judge, whether they shall stay or leave his Family, or no. But, notwithstanding thy Censure or hard Thoughts of them, they shall not fall off or apostatize; for God is able to continue them in his Family, in his Church, notwithstanding thou suspectest, from their free Use of things indifferent, they incline too much, or approach too near to Gentilism.

5 (*y*) The Apostle having in the foregoing Verse used *κρίνει ἀμότερον διακρίτω*, for judging anyone to be or not to be another Man's Servant or Domestick, he seems here to continue the use of the word *κρίνει* in the same Signification, *i. e.* for judging a Day to be more peculiarly God's.

(?) This may be concluded to be the Apostle's Sense, because the thing he is upon here, is to keep them from censuring one another in the use of things indifferent; particularly the Jews from judging the Gentiles in their Neglect of the Observance of Days or Meats. This judging being what St. Paul principally endeavour'd here to restrain, as being opposite to the Liberty of the Gospel, which favoured a Neglect of these Rituals of the Law which were now antiquated. See *Gal. 4. 9* — *11.* and *5. 1, 2.*

- to the Lord. He that eateth what another out of
 Scruple forbears, eateth it as the Lord's Servant: For
 he giveth God Thanks. And he that out of Scruple
 forbearerh to eat, does it also as the Lord's Servant:
 For he giveth God Thanks even for that which he
 doeth, and thinks he may not eat. For no one of us
 Christians liveth as if he were his own Man, perfectly
 at his own Disposall: And no one (a) of us dies so. For
 whether we live, our Life is appropriated to the Lord:
 or whether we die, to him we die as his Servants. For
 whether we live or die we are his, in his Family, his
 Domesticks (b), appropriated to him. For to this End
 Christ died, and rose, and lived again that he might
 be Lord and Proprietor of us (c) both dead and living.
 What hast thou then to do to judge thy Brother, who
 is none of thy Servant, but thy equal? Or how darest
 thou to think contemptibly of him. For we shall, thou,
 and he, and all of us, be brought before the Judgment-
 Seat of Christ, and there we shall answer every one
 for himself to our Lord and Master. For it is written,
 As I live, saith the Lord, every Knee shall bow to me, and
 every Tongue shall confess to God. So then every one of us
 shall give an Account of himself to God. Let us not
 therefore take upon us to judge one another; but ra-
 ther come to this Judgment or Determination of Mind,
 that no Man put (d) a Stumbling-block, or an Occasion
 of falling in his Brother's way. I know and am fully
 assured by the Lord Jesus, that there is nothing un-
 clean or unlawful to be eaten of it self. But to him
 that accounts any thing to be unclean, to him it is un-

gard it. He that eateth,
 eateth to the Lord, for he
 giveth God thanks; and
 he that eateth not, to the
 Lord he eateth not, and
 giveth God thanks.

For none of us liveth to
 himself, and no Man dieth
 to himself.

For whether we live,
 we live unto the Lord;
 and whether we die, we
 die unto the Lord: whe-
 ther we live therefore, or
 die, we are the Lord's.

For to this end Christ
 both died, and rose, and
 revived, that he might be
 Lord both of the dead and
 living.

But why dost thou
 judge thy brother? or why
 dost thou set at nought thy
 brother? for we shall all
 stand before the judgment-
 seat of Christ.

For it is written, As I live,
 saith the Lord, every
 knee shall bow to me
 and every tongue shall con-
 fess to God.

So then every one of us
 shall give account of him-
 self to God.

Let us not therefore
 judge one another any
 more: but judge this ra-
 ther, that no man put a
 stumbling-block, or an oc-
 casion to fall in his bro-
 ther's way.

I know, and am per-
 swaded by the Lord Jesus,
 that there is nothing un-
 clean of it self: but to him
 that esteemeth any thing
 to be unclean, to him it is
 unclean.

NOTES.

7 (a) *ὅτι* should, I suppose, be taken here with the same Limitation it hath in the former part of the Verse with the Pronoun *ἡμῶν*; and so should here, as there, be render'd in English, *no one of us*, and not, *no Man*, St. Paul speaking here only of Christians; this sense of *ὅτι* the next Verse seems to confirm.

8 (b) These words, *we are the Lord's*, give an easie Interpretation to these Phrases of *eating and living*, &c. *to the Lord*; For they make them plainly refer to what he had said at the latter end of ver. 3. *For God hath received him*; signifying, that God had received all those who profess the Gospel, and had given their Names up to Jesus Christ, into his Family, and had made them his Domesticks. And therefore we should not judge or censure one another, for that every Christian was the Lord's Domestick, appropriated to him as his menial Servant: And therefore all that he did in that State, was to be looked on as done to the Lord, and not to be accounted for to any body else.

9 (c) *Κυρίου*, *might be Lord*; must be taken so here as to make this agree with the foregoing Verse. There it was *we*, i. e. *we* Christians, whether we live or die, are the Lord's Property: For the Lord died and rose again, that we, whether living or dying, should be his.

13 (d) He had before reproved the Weak that censur'd the Strong in the use of their Liberty. He comes now to restrain the Strong from offending their weak Brethren by a too free Use of their Liberty, in not forbearing the Use of it where it might give Offence to the Weak.
 clean.

ROMANS.

333

An. Ch. 57.
Neronis 3.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 15 But if thy Brother be grieved with thy meat, now walkest thou not charitably. Destroy not him with thy meat, for whom Christ died.
- 16 Let not then your good be evil spoken of.
- 17 For the kingdom of God is not meat and drink, but righteousness, and peace, and joy in the holy Ghost.
- 18 For he that in these things serveth Christ, is acceptable to God, and approved of men.
- 19 Let us therefore follow after the things which make for peace, and things wherewith one may edify another.
- 20 For meat destroy not the work of God. All things indeed are pure; but it is evil for that man who eateth with offence.
- 21 It is good neither to eat flesh, nor to drink wine, nor any thing whereby thy brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak.
- 22 Hast thou faith? have it to thy self before God. Happy is he that condemneth not himself in that thing which he alloweth.
- 23 And he that doubteth, is damned if he eat, because he eateth not of faith: for whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.
- 1 We then that are strong, ought to bear the infirmities of the weak, and not to please our selves.
- 2 Let every one of us please his neighbour for his good to edification.

clean. But if thy Brother be grieved (e) with thy Meat, thy Carriage is uncharitable to him. Destroy not him with thy Meat, for whom Christ died. Let not then your Liberty which is a Good (f) you enjoy under the Gospel, be evil spoken of. For the Privileges and Advantages of the Kingdom of God, do not consist in the Enjoyment of greater Variety of Meats and Drinks, but in Uprightness of Life, Peace of all Kinds, and Joy in the Gifts and Benefits of the Holy Ghost under the Gospel. For he that in these Things pays his Allegiance and Service to Jesus Christ, as a dutiful Subject of his Kingdom, is acceptable to God, and approved of Men. The things therefore that we set our Hearts upon to pursue and promote, let them be such as tend to Peace and Good-will, and the mutual Edification of one another. Do not for a little Meat destroy a Man that is the Work (g) of God, and no ordinary piece of Workmanship. 'Tis true all sort of wholesome Food is pure, and defileth not a Man's Conscience, but yet it is evil to him who eateth any thing so as to offend his Brother. It is better to forbear Flesh, and Wine, and any thing, rather than in the use of thy Liberty, in any indifferent things, to do that whereby thy Brother stumbleth, or is offended, or is made weak (h). Thou art fully persuaded of the Lawfulness of eating the Meat which thou eatest: It is well. Happy is he that is not self-condemned in the thing that he practises. But have a Care to keep this Faith or Persuasion to thy self: Let it be between God and thy own Conscience: Raise no Dispute about it; neither make Ostentation of it (i) by thy Practice before others. But he that is in doubt, and balanceth (k), is self-condemned, if he eat; because he doth it without a full Persuasion of the Lawfulness of it. For whatever a Man doth, which he is not fully persuaded in his own Mind to be lawful, is Sin. We then that are strong, ought to bear the Infirmities of the weak, and not to indulge our own Appetites or Inclinations, in such a Use of indifferent things as may offend the weak. But let every one of us please his Neighbour, comply with his Infirmities for his Good, and to Edification.

- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.
- 20.
- 21.
- 22.
- 23.
- 1.
- 2.

NOTES.

15 (e) *Grieved*, does not here signify simply, made sorrowful for what thou doest; but brought into Trouble and Discomposure, or receives an Hurt or Wound, as every one does, who by another's Example does what he supposes to be unlawful. This Sense is confirmed in the words, *Destroy not him with thy Meat*: And also by what he says, 1 Cor. 8. 9—13. in the like Case.

16 (f) See 1 Cor. 10. 30.

20 (g) The Force of this Argument, see Mat. 8. 25. *The Life is more than Meat*.

21 (h) *Offended and made weak*; i. e. drawn to the doing of any thing, of whose Lawfulness not being fully persuaded, it becomes a Sin to him.

22 (i) These two, (*viz.*) not disputing about it, which he forbade, *v. 1.* and not using his Liberty before any one whom possibly it may offend, may be supposed to be contained in these words, *Have it to thy self*.

23 (k) *Διακρινόμενος*, translated here *doubteth*, is, *Rom. 4. 20.* translated *staggered*; and is there opposed to *ἐνδυναμώσθῃ τῇ πίστει*, *strong in the Faith*; or to *πληροφροσυνῇ*, *fully persuaded*, as it follows in the next verse.

For

3. For even Christ our Lord pleased not himself: but as
 4. it is written, *The Reproaches of them that reproached thee are*
 5. *fallen upon me.* For whatsoever was heretofore written,
 6. *i. e.* in the Old Testament, was written for our Learning,
 7. that we through Patience, and the Comfort which
 8. the Scriptures give us, might have Hope. Now God
 who is the Giver of Patience and Consolation, make
 you to be at Unity one with another, according to
 the Will of Christ Jesus; That you may with one Mind
 and one Mouth glorify the God and Father of our
 Lord Jesus Christ. Wherefore admit and receive one
 another (l) into Fellowship and Familiarity, without
 Shyness or Distance, upon occasion of Differences
 about things indifferent, even as Christ received us
 Jews to glorify (m) God. (For (n) I must tell you, ye
 converted *Romans*, that Christ was sent to the Jews,
 and imploy'd all his Ministry (o) on those of the Circumcision) for his Truth in making good his Promise
 made to the Fathers, *i. e.* *Abraham, Isaac and Jacob*;

For even Christ pleased³
 not himself; but as it is
 written, The reproaches
 of them that reproached
 thee, fell on me.

For whatsoever things⁴
 were written aforetime,
 were written for our learn-
 ing; that we through pa-
 tience and comfort of the
 scriptures might have
 hope.

Now the God of pati-⁵
 ence and consolation, grant
 you to be like minded one
 towards another, accord-
 ing to Christ Jesus:

That ye may with one⁶
 mind and one mouth glori-
 fy God; even the Father
 of our Lord Jesus Christ.

Wherefore receive ye⁷
 one another, as Christ also
 received us, to the glory
 of God.

Now I say, that Jesus⁸
 Christ was a minister of
 the circumcision for the
 truth of God, to confirm
 the promises made unto
 the fathers:

NOTES.

7 (l) Περισλαμβάνετε, *receive one another*, cannot mean, receive one another into Church-Communion: For there is no appearance, that the convert Jews and Gentiles separated Communion in *Rome* upon account of Differences about Meats and Drinks, and Days. We should have heard more of it from St. Paul, if there had been two separate Congregations, *i. e.* two Churches of Christians in *Rome* divided about these indifferent things. Besides Directions cannot be given to private Christians to *receive* one another in that Sense. The *receiving* therefore here, must be understood of *receiving* as a Man doth another into his Company, Converse and Familiarity, *i. e.* He would have them, Jews and Gentiles, lay by all Distinction, Coldness and Reservedness in their Conversation one with another; and, as Domesticks of the same Family, live friendly and familiar, notwithstanding their different Judgments about those ritual Observances. Hence, v. 5. he exhorts them to be united in Friendship one to another, that with one Heart and one Voice they might conjointly glorify God, and receive one another with the same good Will that Christ has received us the Jews, *ἵνα δοξάτω τῷ Θεῷ*, to the glorifying of God for his Truth, in fulfilling the Promises he made to the Patriarchs, and received the Gentiles to glorify God for his Mercy to them. So that we have reason, both Jews and Gentiles, laying aside these little Differences about things indifferent, to joyn together heartily in glorifying God.

(m) *ἵνα δοξάτω τῷ Θεῷ*, to the Glory of God; *i. e.* to glorify God, by the same Figure of Speech that he uses *πίστις Ἰησοῦ*, the Faith of Jesus, for, believing in Jesus, *Rom.* 3. 22. and 26. The thing that St. Paul is exhorting them to here, is to the glorifying of God with one accord; as is evident from the immediately preceding words, v. 6. and that which follows, v. 9, 10, 11. is to the same purpose: So that there is no room to doubt that his meaning in these words is this, (viz.) Christ received or took us believing Jews to himself, that we might magnify the Truth of God; and took the Gentiles that believe to himself, that they might magnify God's Mercy. This stands easy in the Construction of his Words, and Sense of his Mind.

8 (n) (Now I say, that Jesus Christ was a Minister of the Circumcision.) These words are plainly a Parenthesis, and spoken with some Emphasis, to restrain the Gentile Converts of *Rome*; who, as it is plain from *ch.* 14. 3. were apt, *ἐξουθενήσαντες*, to set at nought and despise the converted Jews for sticking to their ritual Observances of Meats and Drinks, &c.

(o) Διὰ Χριστοῦ περιτομῆς, a Minister of, or to the Circumcision. What it was that Christ minister'd to the Jews, we may see by the like Expression of St. Paul, applied to himself, v. 16. where he calls himself a Minister of Jesus Christ to the Gentiles, ministering the Gospel of God.

And

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

9 And that the Gentiles might glorifie God for his mercy; as it is written, For this cause I will confesse to thee among the Gentiles, and sing unto thy name.

10 And again he saith, Rejoyce ye Gentiles, with his people.

11 And again, Praise the Lord all ye Gentiles, and laud him all ye people.

12 And again Esaias saith, there shall be a root of Jesse, and he that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles; in him shall the Gentiles trust.

13 Now the God of hope fill you with all joy and peace in believing, that ye may abound in hope through the power of the holy Ghost.

And received you the Gentiles to glorifie God for his Mercy to you, as it is written; For this Cause I will confesse to thee among the Gentiles, and sing unto thy Name. And again he saith, Rejoyce ye Gentiles with his People. And again, Praise the Lord all ye Gentiles, and laud him all ye Nations. And again, Isaias saith, There shall be a Root of Jesse, and he that shall rise to reign over the Gentiles, in him shall the Gentiles trust (p). Now the God of Hope fill you with all Joy and Peace in Believing, that ye may abound in Hope through the Power of the Holy Ghost (q).

9.

10.

11.

12.

13.

NOTES.

12 (p) 'Επ' αὐτῷ ἐν ἡμῖν ἐλπίζοι, in him shall the Gentiles trust, rather hope; not that there is any material Difference in the Signification of trust and hope, but the better to expresse and answer St. Paul's way of writing, with whom it is familiar, when he hath been speaking of any Vertue or Grace whereof God is the Author, to call God thereupon the God of that Vertue or Favour. An eminent Example whereof we have a few Verses backwards, v. 4. ἡμεῖς τὴν ἐλπίδα ἔχοντες, That we through Patience and Comfort, rather Consolation, of the Scriptures might have hope; and then subjoins, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐλπίς ἐστίν, Now the God of Patience and Consolation. And so here ἐν ἡμῖν ἐλπίζοι, ὁ δὲ θεὸς ἐλπίς ἐστίν, The Gentiles shall hope. Now the God of hope.

13 (q) The Gifts of the Holy Ghost bestowed upon the Gentiles, were a Foundation of hope to them, that they were by believing the Children or People of God as well as the Jews.

SECT. XIV.

CHAP. XV. 14—33.

CONTENTS.

IN the remaining part of this Chapter St. Paul makes a very kind and skilful Apology to them for this Epistle: Expresses an earnest Desire of coming to them: Touches upon the Reasons that hitherto had hinder'd him: Desires their Prayers for his Deliverance from the Jews in his Journey to Jerusalem, whither he was going; and promises that from thence he will make them a Visit in his way to Spain.

As

14. AS to my own Thoughts concerning you my Bre-
 15. thren, I am persuaded that you also as well as
 others, are full of Goodness, abounding in all Know-
 16. ledge, and able to instruct one another. Nevertheless,
 Brethren, I have written to you in somethings pretty
 freely, as your Remembrancer, which I have been embol-
 den'd to do, by the Commission which God has been
 graciously pleased to bestow on me, Whom he hath
 made to be the Minister of Jesus Christ to the Gen-
 tiles in the Gospel of God, in which holy Ministrati-
 on I officiate, that the Gentiles may be made an ac-
 ceptable Offering (r) to God, sanctified by the pour-
 17. ing out of the Holy Ghost upon them. I have therefore
 Matter of glorying through Jesus Christ, as to those
 18. things that pertain (s) to God. For I shall not venture to
 trouble you with any concerning my self, but only
 what Christ hath wrought by me, for the bringing
 of the Gentiles to Christianity, both in Profession and
 19. Practice, Through mighty Signs and Wonders, by the
 Power of the Holy Ghost, so that, from Jerusalem and
 the Neighbouring Countries, all along quite to Illyricum,
 20. I have effectually preached the Gospel of Christ, but
 so as studiously to avoid the carrying of it to those
 Places where it was already planted, and where the
 People were already Christians, lest I should build
 21. upon another Man's Foundation (t). But as it is writ-
 ten (u), *To whom he was not spoken of they shall see: And*
 22. *they that have not heard shall understand.* This has often
 23. hinder'd me from coming to you: But now having in
 these Parts no Place, where Christ hath not been
 heard of, to preach the Gospel in; and having had
 for these many Years a Desire to come to you, I will

And I my self also am¹⁴
 persuaded of you my bre-
 thren, that ye also are full
 of goodness, filled with all
 knowledge, able also to
 admonish one another.

Nevertheless, brethren,¹⁵
 I have written the more
 boldly unto you, in some
 sort, as putting you in
 mind, because of the
 grace that is given to me
 of God.

That I should be the¹⁶
 minister of Jesus Christ to
 the Gentiles, ministering
 the gospel of God, that the
 offering up of the Gentiles
 might be acceptable, be-
 ing sanctified by the holy
 Ghost.

I have therefore where-¹⁷
 of I may glory through
 Jesus Christ, in those
 things which pertain to
 God.

For I will not dare to¹⁸
 speak of any of those
 things which Christ hath
 not wrought by me, to
 make the Gentiles obedi-
 ent by word and deed.

Through mighty signs¹⁹
 and wonders, by the power
 of the Spirit of God; so
 that from Jerusalem and
 round about unto Illyricum
 I have fully preached the
 Gospel of Christ.

Yea, so have I strived²⁰
 to preach the gospel, not
 where Christ was named,
 lest I should build upon
 another mans foundation:

But as it is written, To²¹
 whom he was not spoken
 of, they shall see: and
 they that have not heard,
 shall understand.

For which cause also²²
 have been much hinder'd
 from coming to you:

But now having²³
 more places in these parts,
 and having a great desire
 these many years to come
 unto you;

NOTES.

16 (r) Offering. See Isa. 66. 20.

17 (s) Τα πρὸς τὸν, *Things that pertain to God.* The same Phrase we have Heb. 5. 1. where it signifies the things that were offered to God in the Temple Ministration. St. Paul by way of Allusion speaks of the Gentiles in the foregoing verse, as an Offering to be made to God; and of himself, as the Priest by whom the Sacrifice or Offering was to be prepared and offered; and then he here tells them, that he had Matter of Glorying in this Offering, i. e. that he had had Success in converting the Gentiles, and bringing them to be a living, holy and acceptable Sacrifice to God; an account whereof he gives them in the four following Verses.

20 (t) See 1 Cor. 3. 10. 2 Cor. 10. 16.

21 (u) Isa. 52. 15.

when

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 24 Whensoever I take my journey into Spain, I will come to you : for I trust to see you in my journey, and to be brought on my way thitherward by you, if first I be somewhat filled with your company.
- 25 But now I go unto Jerusalem to minister unto the saints.
- 26 For it hath pleased them of Macedonia and Achaia, to make a certain contribution for the poor saints which are at Jerusalem.
- 27 It hath pleased them verily, and their debtors they are. For if the Gentiles have been made partakers of their spiritual things, their duty is also to minister unto them in carnal things.
- 28 When therefore I have performed this, and have sealed to them this fruit, I will come by you into Spain.
- 29 And I am sure that when I come unto you, I shall come in the fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ.
- 30 Now I beseech you brethren, for the Lord Jesus Christs sake, and for the love of the Spirit, that ye strive together with me in your prayers to God for me ;
- 31 That I may be delivered from them that do not believe in Judea ; and that my service which I have for Jerusalem may be accepted of the saints :
- 32 That I may come unto you with joy by the will of God, and may with you be refreshed.
- 34 Now the God of peace be with you all. Amen.

when I take my Journey to Spain, take you in my way : For I hope then to see you, and to be brought on my way thither-ward by you, when I have for some time enjoy'd your Company, and pretty well satisfy'd my Longing upon that account. But at present I am setting out for Jerusalem, going to minister to the Saints there. For it hath pleased those of Macedonia and Achaia, to make a Contribution for the Poor among the Saints at Jerusalem. It hath pleased them to do so, and they are indeed their Debtors. For if the Gentiles have been made Partakers of their Spiritual Things, they are bound on their side to minister to them for the Support of this Temporal Life. When therefore I have dispatch'd this Business ; and put this Fruit of my Labours into their Hands, I will come to you in my way to Spain. And I know that when I come unto you, I shall bring with me to you full Satisfaction concerning the Blessedness which you receive by the Gospel (w) of Christ. Now I beseech you, Brethren, by our Lord Jesus Christ, and by the Love which comes from the Spirit of God, to joyn with me in earnest Prayers to God for me, That I may be deliver'd from the Unbelievers in Judea ; and that the Service I am doing the Saints there, may be acceptable to them. That if it be the Will of God, I may come to you with Joy, and may be refreshed together with you. Now the God of Peace be with you all. Amen.

24.

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33.

NOTES.

29 (w) He may be understood to mean here, that he should be able to satisfy them, that by the Gospel the Forgiveness of Sins was to be obtained. For that he shews, ch. 4. 6—9. And they had as much Title to it by the Gospel as the Jews themselves ; which was the thing he had been making out to them in this Epistle.

ROMANS.

S E C T. XV.

C H A P. XVI. 1—27.

C O N T E N T S.

THE foregoing Epistle furnishes us with Reasons to conclude, that the Divisions and Offences that were in the Roman Church were between the Jewish and Gentile Converts, whilst the one, over-zealous for the Rituals of the Law, endeavour'd to impose Circumcision and other Mosaical Rites, as necessary to be observed by all that professed Christianity: And the other, without due Regard to the Weakness of the Jews, shew'd a too open Neglect of those their Observances, which were of so great Account with them. St. Paul was so sensible how much the Churches of Christ suffer'd on this Occasion, and so careful to prevent this which was a Disturbance almost every where (as may be seen in the History of the *Acts*, and collected out of the Epistles) that after he had finished his Discourse to them, (which we may observe solemnly closed in the end of the foregoing Chapter) he here in the middle of his Salutations, cannot forbear to caution them against the Authors and Fomenters of these Divisions, and that very pathetically. *ver.* 17—20. All the rest of this Chapter is spent almost wholly in Salutations. Only the four last Verses contain a Conclusion after St. Paul's manner.

P A R A P H R A S E.

T E X T.

1. **I** Commend to you *Phebe* our Sister, who is a Servant
2. of the Church which is at *Kenchrea* (x), that you receive her for Christ's sake, as becomes Christians, and that you assist (y) her in whatever Business she has need of you, for she has assisted many, and me in particular.
3. Salute *Priscilla* and *Aquila*, my Fellow-Labourers in the
4. Gospel (Who have for my Life exposed their own to Danger, unto whom not only I give Thanks, but also
5. all the Churches of the Gentiles). Greet also the Church that is in their House. Salute my well-beloved *Epenetus*, who is the First-fruits of *Achaia* unto

I Commend unto you ¹ *Phebe* our Sister, which is a Servant of the Church which is at *Cenchrea*.

That ye receive her in ² the Lord, as becometh saints, and that ye assist her in whatsoever business she hath need of you: for she hath been a succourer of many, and of my self also.

Greet *Priscilla* and *A-*³
quila my helpers in Christ Jesus:

(Who have for my life ⁴ laid down their own necks: unto whom not only I give thanks, but also all the Churches of the Gentiles)

Likewise greet the ⁵ church that is in their house. Salute my well beloved *Epenetus*, who is the first fruits of *Achaia* unto Christ.

N O T E S.

1 (x) *Kenchrea* was the Port to *Corinth*.

2 (y) *Πεγασίς*, *Succourer*, seems here to signify *Hostess*, not in a common Inn, for there was no such thing as our Inns in that Country; but one whose House was the place of Lodging and Entertainment of those who were received by the Church as their Guests, and these she took Care of. And to that *Πεγασίς*, may be very well applied. But whether St. Paul was induced to make use of it here as somewhat corresponding to *ὑποστῆ*, which he used in her Behalf just before in this Verse, I leave to those who nicely observe St. Paul's Style.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 6 Greet Mary, who bestowed much labour on us.
- 7 Salute Andronicus and Junia my Kinsmen and my fellow-prisoners, who are of note among the apostles, who also were in Christ before me.
- 8 Greet Amplias my beloved in the Lord.
- 9 Salute Urban our helper in Christ, and Stachys my beloved.
- 10 Salute Apelles approved in Christ. Salute them which are of Aristobulus household.
- 11 Salute Herodian my kinsman. Greet them that be of the household of Narcissus, which are in the Lord.
- 12 Salute Tryphena and Tryphosa, who labour in the Lord. Salute the beloved Peris, which laboured much in the Lord.
- 13 Salute Rufus chosen in the Lord, and his mother and mine.
- 14 Salute Asyncritus, Phlegon, Hermas, Patrobas, Hermes, and the brethren which are with them.
- 15 Salute Philologus and Julia, Nereus and his sister, and Olympas, and all the saints which are with them.
- 16 Salute one another with an holy kiss; the churches of Christ salute you.
- 17 Now I beseech you, brethren, mark them which cause divisions and offences, contrary to the doctrine which ye have learned; and avoid them.
- 18 For they that are such, serve not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own belly; and by good words and fair speeches, deceive the hearts of the simple.
- 19 For your obedience is come abroad unto all men. I am glad therefore on your behalf: but yet I would have you wise unto that which is good; and simple concerning evil.

Christ. Greet *Marie*, who took a great deal of Pains for our sakes. Salute *Andronicus* and *Junia* my Kinsfolk and Fellow-Prisoners, who are of Note among the Apostles, who also were Christians before me. Greet *Amplius* my Beloved in the Lord. Salute *Urbane* our Helper in Christ, and *Stachys* my Beloved. Salute *Apelles* approved in Christ. Salute those who are of the Household of *Aristobulus*. Salute *Herodion* my Kinsman. Salute all those of the Household of *Narcissus*, who have embraced the Gospel. Salute *Tryphena* and *Tryphosa*, who take Pains in the Gospel. Salute the beloved *Peris*, who labour'd much in the Lord. Salute *Rufus*, chosen or selected to be a Disciple of the Lord; and his mother and mine. Salute *Asyncritus*, *Phlegon*, *Hermas*, *Patrobas*, *Hermes*, and the Brethren who are with them. Salute *Philologus*, and *Julia*, *Nereus* and his Sister and all the Saints who are with them. Salute one another with an holy Kiss. The Churches of Christ salute you.

Now I beseech you, Brethren, mark those who cause Divisions and Offences contrary to the Doctrine which you have learned, and avoid them. For they serve (z) not our Lord Jesus Christ, but their own Bellies, and by good Words and fair Speeches, insinuating themselves, deceive well-meaning simple Men. Your Conversion and ready Compliance with the Doctrine of the Gospel, when it was brought to you, is known in the World (a), and generally talked of: I am glad for your sakes that you so forwardly obeyed the Gospel. But give me leave to advise you to be wise and cautious in preserving your selves steady in what is wise and good (b); but imploy no Thought or Skill how to circumvent or injure another: Be in this regard very plain

- 6.
- 7.
- 8.
- 9.
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- 11.
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- 13.
- 14.
- 15.
- 16.
- 17.
- 18.
- 19.

NOTES.

18 (z) Such as these we have a Description of, *Tit.* 1. 10, 11.

19 (a) See *ch.* 1. 8.

(b) A Direction much like this you have, *1 Cor.* 14. 20. and *Eph.* 4. 13—15.

ROMANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

20. and simple. For God (c) who is the Giver and Lover of Peace will soon rid (d) you of these Ministers of Satan, the Disturbers of your Peace, who make Divisions amongst you. The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.
21. *Timothy* my Work-fellow, and *Lucius* and *Jason*, and
22. *Sosipater* my Kinsmen salute you. I *Tertius* who wrote
23. this Epistle, salute you in the Lord. *Gaius* mine Host, and of the whole Church, saluteth you. *Eraſtus* the Chamberlain of the City saluteth you; and *Quartus* a Brother. The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.
24. Now to him that is able to settle and establish you in an Adherence to my (e) Gospel, and to that which I deliver concerning Jesus Christ in my Preaching, conformable to the Revelation of the (f) Mystery which lay unexplain'd in the (g) secular times; But now is laid open, and by the Writings of the Prophets made known (according to the Commandment of the Everlasting God) to the Gentiles of all Nations, for the bringing them

And the God of peace²⁰ shall bruise satan under your feet shortly. The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you. Amen.

Timotheus my work-fellow, and *Lucius*, and *Jason*, and *Sosipater*, my kinsmen salute you.

I *Tertius*, who wrote²² this epistle, salute you in the Lord.

Gaius mine host, and²³ of the whole church, saluteth you. *Eraſtus* the chamberlain of the city saluteth you, and *Quartus* a brother.

The grace of our Lord²⁴ Jesus Christ be with you all. Amen.

Now to him that is of²⁵ power to establish you according to my gospel, and the preaching of Jesus Christ, (according to the revelation of the mystery which was kept secret since the world began.

But now is made ma-²⁶nifest, and by the scriptures of the prophets according to the commandment of the everlasting God, made known to all

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20 (c) So those who made Divisions in the Church of *Corinth* are called, 2 *Cor.* 11. 15.

(d) *Shall bruise Satan*, i. e. shall break the Force and Attempts of Satan upon your Peace by these his Instruments, who would engage you in Quarrels and Discords.

25 (e) *My Gospel*. St. *Paul* cannot be supposed to have used such an Expression as this, unless he knew that what he preach'd had something in it that distinguished it from what was preached by others; which was plainly the Mystery, as he every where calls it, of God's Purpose of taking in the Gentiles to be his People under the Messiah, and that without subjecting them to Circumcision, or the Law of *Moses*. This is that which he calls here τὸ κήρυγμα Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, the preaching of Jesus Christ; For without this, he did not think that Christ was preached to the Gentiles as he ought to be: And therefore in several places of his Epistle to the Galatians, he calls it, the Truth, and, the Truth of the Gospel; and uses the like Expressions to the Ephesians and Colossians. This is that Mystery which he is so much concern'd, that the Ephesians should understand and stick firm to, which was revealed to him according to that Gospel, whereof he was made the Minister; as may be seen at large in that Epistle, particularly ch. 3. 6, 7. The same thing he declares to the Colossians, in his Epistle to them, particularly ch. 1. 27—29. and 11. 6—8. For that he in a peculiar manner preached this Doctrine, so as none of the other Apostles did, may be seen *Acts* 21. 18—25. *Acts* 15. 6, 7. For though the other Apostles and Elders of the Church at *Jerusalem* had determin'd, that the Gentiles should only keep themselves from things offered to Idols, and from Blood, and from strangled, and from Fornication: Yet it is plain enough from what they say, *Acts* 21. 20—24. That they taught not, nay, probably did not think what St. *Paul* openly declares to the Ephesians, that the Law of *Moses* was abolished by the Death of Christ, *Eph.* 11. 15. Which if St. *Peter* and St. *James* had been as clear in, as was St. *Paul*, St. *Peter* would not have incurr'd his Reproof, as he did by his Carriage, mentioned *Gal.* 2. 12. But in all this may be seen the Wisdom and Goodness of God to both Jews and Gentiles. See Note, *Eph.* 2. 15.

(f) That the Mystery he here speaks of, is the Calling of the Gentiles, may be seen in the following words; which is that which in many of his Epistles he calls Mystery. See *Eph.* 1. 9. and 3. 3—9. *Col.* 1. 25—27.

(g) Χρόνους αἰώνιους, in the secular Times, or in the Times under the Law. Why the Times under the Law were called χρόνους αἰώνιους, we may find a Reason in their Jubilees, which

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27.

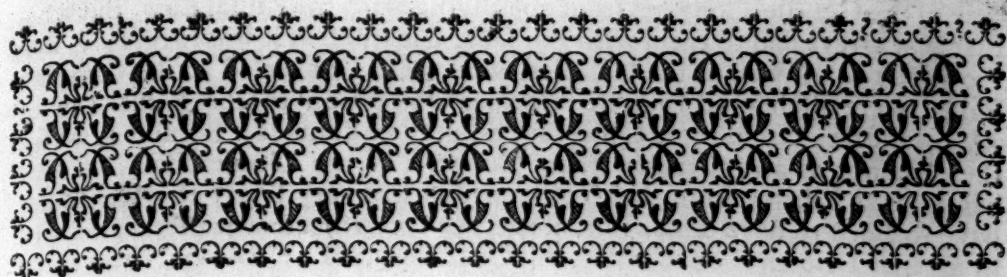
nations for the obedience
of faith)
27 To God only wife, be
glory through Jesus Christ
for ever. Amen.

them in to the Obedience of the Law of Faith. To
the only wife God be Glory, through Jesus Christ,
for ever. Amen.

NOTES.

which were *aiōnes*, *Sacula*, or Ages, by which all the Time under the Law was measured: And so *χρόνοι αἰώνιοι* is used 2 *Tim.* 1. 9. *Tit.* 1. 2. And so *aiōnes* are put for the Times of the Law, or the Jubilees, *Luke* 1. 70. *Acts* 3. 21. 1 *Cor.* 2. 7. and 10. 2. *Eph.* 3. 9. *Col.* 1. 26. *Heb.* 9. 26. And so God is called the Rock *צור* *aiōnos*, of Ages, *Isa.* 26. 4. in the same Sense that he is called the Rock of Israel, *Isa.* 30. 29. i. e. the Strength and Support of the Jewish State: For 'tis of the Jews the Prophet here speaks. So *Exod.* 21. 6. *צור*, *eis tōn aiōna*, signifies not as we translate it for ever, but to the Jubilee; which will appear if we compare *Lev.* 25. 39—41. and *Exod.* 21. 2. See *Burthogg's Christianity a Revealed Mystery*, p. 17, 18. Now that the Times of the Law were the Times spoken of here by St. Paul, seems plain from that which he declares to have continued a Mystery during all those times; to wit, God's Purpose of taking in the Gentiles to be his People under the Messiah: For this could not be said to be a Mystery at any other time, but during the time that the Jews were the peculiar People of God, separated to him from among the Nations of the Earth. Before that time there was no such Name or Notion of Distinction as Gentiles. Before the Days of Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, the calling of the Israelites to be God's peculiar People, was as much a Mystery, as the calling of others out of other Nations was a Mystery afterwards. All that St. Paul insists on here, and in all the places where he mentions this Mystery, is to shew, that though God has declared this his Purpose to the Jews, by the Predictions of his Prophets amongst them; yet it lay concealed from their Knowledge, 'twas a Mystery to them, they understood no such thing; there was not any where the least Suspicion or Thought of it, till the Messiah being come, it was openly declared by St. Paul to the Jews and Gentiles, and made out by the Writings of the Prophets, which were now understood.

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PARAPHRASE

AND

NOTES

ON THE

Epistle of St. PAUL

TO THE

EPHESIANS.

SYNOPSIS.

OUR Saviour had so openly and expressly declared to his Disciples the Destruction of the Temple, that they could by no means doubt of it, nor of this Consequence of it, *viz.* that the *isn*, Customs or Rites of the Mosaical Law, as they are called, *Acts* 6. 14. and 21. 21. were to cease with it. And this St. *Stephen*, by what is laid to his Charge, *Acts* 6. 13, 14. seems to have taught. And upon this Ground it might very well be, that the Apostles and Church of *Jerusalem* required no more of the Convert Gentiles, than the Observance of such things as were sufficient to satisfy the Jews that they were not still Heathens and Idolaters. But as for the rest of the Mosaical Rites, they required not the Convert Gentiles (to whom the Mosaical Law was not given) to observe them. This being a very natural and obvious Consequence, which they could not but see, that if by the Destruction of the Temple and Worship of the Jews those Rites were speedily to be taken away, they were not Observances necessary to the People of God, and of perpetual Obligation.

Thus

Thus far it is plain the other Apostles were instructed and satisfied of the Freedom of the Gentile-Converts from complying with the Ritual Law. But whether it was revealed to them with the same Clearness as it was to St. Paul, that the Jews too as well as the Gentiles, who were Converted to the Christian Faith, were discharged from their former Obligation to the Ritual Law of Moses, and freed from those Observances, may be doubted: Because as we see they had not at all instructed their Converts of the Circumcision, of their being set at Liberty from that Yoke, which it is very likely they should not have forbore to have done, if they had been convinced of it themselves. For in all that Discourse concerning this Question, *Acts* 15. 1—21. there is not one Syllable said of the Jews being discharged, by Faith in the Messiah, from the Observance of any of the Mosaical Rites. Nor does it appear that the Apostles of the Circumcision ever taught their Disciples, or suggested to them any such thing, which one can scarce imagin they could have neglected, if it had been revealed to them, and so given them in charge. It is certain their Converts had never been taught any such thing. For St. James himself acquaints us, *Acts* 21. 10. that the *many thousands that believed were all zealous of the Law*. And what his own Opinion of those Rites were, may be seen *ver.* 24. where he calls keeping this part of the Law, *walking orderly*: and he is concerned to have St. Paul thought a strict Observer thereof. All which could not have been, if it had been revealed to him as positively and expressly as it was to St. Paul, That all Believers in the Messiah, Jews as well as Gentiles, were absolved from the Law of Moses, and were under no Obligation to observe those Ceremonies any longer, they being now no longer necessary to the People of God in this his new Kingdom erected under the Messiah, nor indeed was it necessary that this particular Point should have been from the beginning revealed to the other Apostles, who were sufficiently instructed for their Mission, and the Conversion of their Brethren the Jews, by the Holy Ghost's bringing to their Minds (as was promised) all that our Saviour had said unto them in his Life-time here amongst them, in the true Sense of it. But the sending them to the Jews with this Message, that the Law was abolished, was to cross the very Design of sending them; it was to bespeak an Aversion to their Doctrine; and to stop the Ears of the Jews, and turn their Hearts from them. But St. Paul, receiving his whole Knowledge of the Gospel immediately from Heaven by Revelation, seems to have this particular Instruction added, to fit him for the Mission he was chosen to, and make him an effectual Messenger of the Gospel, by furnishing him presently with this necessary Truth concerning the Cessation of the Law, the Knowledge whereof could not but come in time to the other Apostles, when it should be seasonable. Whether this be not so, I leave it to be considered.

This at least is certain, that St. Paul alone, more than all the rest of the Apostles, was taken notice of to have preached that the Coming of Christ put an end to the Law, and that in the Kingdom of God erected under the Messiah, the Observation of the Law was neither required, nor availed ought, Faith in Christ was the only Condition of Admittance both for Jew and Gentile, all who believed being now equally the People of God, whether circumcised or uncircumcised. This was that which the Jews, zealous of the Law, which they took to be the irrevocable, unalterable Charter of the People of God, and the standing Rule of his Kingdom, could by no means bear. And therefore, provoked by this Report of St. Paul, the Jews, both Converts as well as others, looked upon him as a dangerous Innovator, and an Enemy to the true Religion, and as such seized on him in the Temple, *Acts* 21. upon occasion whereof it was that he was a Prisoner at Rome when he writ this Epistle, where he seems to be concerned, lest now he that was the Apostle of the Gentiles, from whom alone the Doctrine of their Exemption from the Law had its Rise and Support, was in Bonds upon that very account, it might give an Opportunity to those Judaizing Professors of Christianity, who contended that the Gentiles, unless they were circumcised after the manner of Moses, could not be

be saved, to unsettle the Minds, and shake the Faith of those whom he had converted. This being the Controversie from whence rose the great Trouble and Danger that in the time of our Apostle disturb'd the Churches collected from among the Gentiles. That which chiefly disquieted the Minds, and shook the Faith of those, who from Heathenism were converted to Christianity, was this Doctrine, that except the Converts from Paganism were circumcised, and thereby subjected themselves to the Law and the Jewish Rites, they could have no Benefit by the Gospel, as may be seen all through the *Acts*, and in almost all *St. Paul's* Epistles. Wherefore when he heard that the *Ephesians* stood firm in the Faith, whereby he means their Confidence of their Title to the Privileges and Benefits of the Gospel, without Submission to the Law (for the introducing the legal Observances into the Kingdom of the Messiah, he declared to be a Subversion of the Gospel, and contrary to the great and glorious Design of that Kingdom) He thanks God for them, and, setting forth the gracious and glorious Design of God towards them, prays that they may be enlighten'd, so as to be able to see the mighty things done for them, and the immense Advantages they receive by it. In all which he displays the glorious State of that Kingdom, not in the ordinary way of Argumentation and formal Reasoning, which had no place in an Epistle writ as this is, all as it were in a Rapture, and in a Style far above the plain Didactical way, he pretends not to teach them any thing, but couches all that he would drop into their Minds, in Thanksgivings and Prayers, which affording a greater Liberty and Flight to his Thoughts, he gives Utterance to them in noble and sublime Expressions, suitable to the unfearchable Wisdom and Goodness of God, shewn to the World in the Work of Redemption. This tho' perhaps at first sight it may render his Meaning a little obscure, and his Expressions the harder to be understood; yet by the Assistance of the two following Epistles, which were both writ whilst he was in the same Circumstances, upon the same Occasion, and to the same Purpose, the Sense and Doctrine of the Apostle here may be so clearly seen, and so perfectly comprehended; that there can be hardly any doubt left about it to any one who will examine them diligently, and carefully compare them together. The Epistle to the *Colossians* seems to be writ the very same time, in the same Run and Warmth of Thoughts, so that the very same Expressions yet fresh in his Mind, are repeated in many Places; the Form, Phrase, Matter and all the Parts quite through of these two Epistles, do so perfectly correspond, that one cannot be mistaken in thinking one of them very fit to give light to the other. And that to the *Philippians*, writ also by *St. Paul* during his Bonds at *Rome*, when attentively looked into, will be found to have the same Aim with the other two; so that in these three Epistles taken together, one may see the great Design of the Gospel laid down as far surpassing the Law, both in Glory, Greatness, Comprehension, Grace and Bounty, and therefore they were Opposers, not Promoters of the true Doctrine of the Gospel, and the Kingdom of God under the Messiah, who would confine it to the narrow and beggarly Elements of this World, as *St. Paul* calls the positive Ordinances of the Mosaical Institution. To confirm the Gentile Churches, whom he had converted, in this Faith which he had instructed them in; and keep them from submitting to the Mosaical Rites in the Kingdom of Christ, by giving them a nobler and more glorious View of the Gospel, is the Design of this and the two following Epistles. For the better understanding these Epistles, it might be worth while to shew their Harmony all through, but this Synopsis is not a place for it, the following Paraphrase and Notes will give an Opportunity to point out several Passages wherein their Agreement will appear.

The latter End of this Epistle, according to *St. Paul's* usual Method, contains practical Directions and Exhortations.

He that desires to inform himself in what is left upon Record in Sacred Scripture, concerning the Church of the *Ephesians*, which was the Metropolis of *Asia*, strictly so called, may read the 19th and 20th of the *Acts*.

S E C T. I.

C H A P. I. 1, 2.

C O N T E N T S.

Ch. I. **T**HESE two Verses contain St. Paul's Inscription or Introduction of this Epistle; what there is in it remarkable for its Difference from what is to be found in his other Epistles, we shall take notice of in the Notes.

P A R A P H R A S E.

T E X T.

1. **P**AUL an Apostle of Jesus Christ, by the declared Will and special Appointment of God to the Professors of the Gospel (a), who are in *Ephesus*, Converts who stand firm in the Faith (b) of Christ Jesus:
2. Favour and Peace be to you from God our Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ.

PAUL an Apostle of Jesus Christ by the will of God, to the saints which are at *Ephesus*, and to the faithful in Christ Jesus:
Grace be to you, and peace from God our Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ.

N O T E S.

I (a) *Τοῖς ἁγίοις*, Tho' rightly translated Saints, yet it does not mean any other than a national Sanctification, such as the Jews had by being separated from the Gentiles, and appropriated to God as his peculiar People, not that every one that was of the holy Nation of the Jews heretofore, or of the holy Church of Christ, under the Gospel, were Saints in that Sense that the word is usually taken now among Christians, viz. such Persons as were every one of them actually in a State of Salvation.

(b) *πιστοῖς*, Faithful. We have observed above, that this Epistle, and that to the *Colossians*, have all through a very great Resemblance; their Lineaments do so correspond; that I think they may be Twin-Epistles, conceived and brought forth together, so that the very Expressions of the one occur'd fresh in St. Paul's Memory, and were made use of in the other. Their being sent by the same Messenger *Tychicus*, is a farther Probability that they were writ at the same time. *πιστοῖς* therefore being found in the Introduction of both Epistles, and no one other of St. Paul's, there is just Reason to think that it was a Term suited to the present Notion he had of those he was writing to, with Reference to the Business he was writing about. I take it therefore, that by *faithful in Christ Jesus*, he means here such as stood firm to Jesus Christ, which he did not count them to do, who made Circumcision necessary to Salvation, and an Observance of Jewish Rites a requisite Part of the Christian Religion. This is plain from his express Words, *Gal. 5. 1, 2. Stand fast therefore in the Liberty wherewith Christ hath made us free, and be not intangled again with the Yoke of Bondage. Behold I Paul say unto you, that if ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing, &c.* And those that contended for Submission to the Law, he calls *Perversers of the Gospel of Christ*, *Gal. 1. 7.* And more to the same Purpose may be seen in that Epistle: We shall have an occasion to confirm this Interpretation of the word *πιστοῖς*, *faithful*, here, when we come to consider the Import of the word *πιστός*, *Faith*, *ver. 15.* They that would have *δ*, and, not exegetical here, but used only to join under the Title of *faithful in Christ Jesus*, the Converts in *Asia*, I shall desire, besides *Col. 1. 2.* to read also *1 Cor. 2. 1.* and thereby judge in what Sense they are to understand, *And to the faithful in Christ Jesus* here.

S E C T.

S E C T. II.

C H A P. I. 3—14.

C O N T E N T S.

IN this Section St. Paul thanks God for his Grace and Bounty to the Gentiles, wherein he so sets forth both God's gracious Purpose of bringing the Gentiles into his Kingdom under the Messiah, and his actual bestowing on them Blessings of all kinds in Jesus Christ, for a compleat re-instituting them in that his heavenly Kingdom, that there could be nothing stronger suggested to make the *Ephesians* and other Gentile Converts not to think any more of the Law, and that much inferior Kingdom of his, established upon the Mosaical Institution, and adapted to a little Canton of the Earth, and a small Tribe of Men, as now necessary to be retained under this more spiritual Institution, and celestial Kingdom erected under Jesus Christ, intended to comprehend Men of all Nations, and extend it self to the utmost Bounds of the Earth for the greater Honour of God, or, as St. Paul speaks, to the Praise of the Glory of God.

T E X T.

P A R A P H R A S E.

³ Blessed be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath blessed us with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ:

Blessed and magnified be the God and Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who has, in and by Jesus Christ (*c*), furnished us (*d*) Gentiles with all sorts of Blessings that may fit us to be Partakers of his heavenly Kingdom, without need of any Assistance from the

3.

N O T E S.

3 (*c*) 'Εν Χριστῷ, *In Christ*; I take to be put here emphatically, and to signify the same with *filletb all in all*, v. 23. which is more fully explain'd, Col. 3. *where there is neither Greek, nor Jew, Circumcision nor Uncircumcision, Barbarian, Scythian, Bond or Free, but Christ is all, and in all.*

(*d*) *Us*. The right understanding of this Section, and indeed of this whole Epistle, depends very much on understanding a-right who are more especially comprehended under the Terms, *Us* and *We*, from v. 3. to 12. For it must signify either, 1. St. Paul himself personally; but that the visible Tenour of the Discourse at first sight plainly destroys: Besides it suits not St. Paul's Modesty to attribute so much in particular to himself, as is spoke of *Us* and *We* in this Section; or if we could think he would give himself that Liberty; yet v. 12. overturns it all; for ἡμᾶς τῶς πρῶτα πεποιθότας, *We who first trusted in Christ*, can by no means be admitted to be spoken by St. Paul personally of himself. Add to this, that in this very Chapter, no farther off than v. 15. St. Paul speaking of himself, says, *I*, in the singular Number; and so he does chap. 3. ver. 7, 8. Or,

2. It must signify Believers in general; but that πεποιθότας join'd to it will not admit, for *We*, the first Believers, cannot signify we all that are Believers, but restrains the Persons to some sort of Men that then began to believe, i. e. the Gentiles: And then the next Words, v. 13. have an easie and natural Connection; *We other Gentiles who first believed in Christ*, in whom also ye, the Gentiles also of *Ephesus*, after ye heard, believed. Or,

3. It must signify the Convert Jews. But would it not be somewhat preposterous for St. Paul so much to magnify God's Goodness and Bounty to the Jews in particular, in an Epistle writ to a Church of converted Gentiles? Wherein he addresses himself to the Gentiles, in Contra-distinction to the Jews, and tells them they were to be made Co-partners with them in the Kingdom of the Messiah, which was opened to them by abolishing of the Law of *Moses*, intimated plainly in this very Section, v. 7—10. Wherein he magnifies the Riches of the Favour of God, to the Persons he is speaking of under the Denomination *Us*, in gathering again *all things*, i. e. Men of all sorts, under Christ the Head; which could not mean the Jews alone: But of this he speaks more openly afterwards. Farther, *We* here, and *We*, ch. 2. 3. must be the same, and denote the same Persons; but the *We*, ch. 2. 3. can neither be St. Paul alone,

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4. the Law, According as he chose us Gentiles upon Christ's Account alone (e), before the Law was, even before the Foundation of the World, to be his People (f) under Jesus the Messiah, and to live unblameable Lives (g) before him in all Love and Affection (b) to all the Saints or Believers, of what Nation soever; Having pre-determined to take us Gentiles

According as he hath chosen us in him before the foundation of the World, that we should be holy, and without blame before him in love:

Having predestinated us unto the adoption of

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alone, nor Believers in general, nor Jewish Converts in particular, as the obvious Sense of the place demonstrates: For neither St. Paul can be called *we* all, nor is it true that *all* the Convert Jews had their Conversation among the Gentiles, as our Bible renders the Greek; which, if otherwise to be understood, is more directly against signifying the Jews. These therefore being excluded from being meant by *we* and *us* here, who can remain to be signify'd thereby but the Convert Gentiles in general? That St. Paul, who was the Apostle of the Gentiles, did often in an obliging manner join himself with the Gentile Converts under the Terms *Us* and *We*, as if he had been one of them, there are so many Instances, that it cannot seem strange that he should do so in this Section, Rom. 5. 1—11. where it is plain all along under the Term *Us*, he speaks of the Gentile Converts. And many other Passages might be brought out of this Epistle to evince it, Ch. 1. 11. he saith, *We* have obtain'd an Inheritance. Those *We*, 'tis plain, ch. 3. 6. were Gentiles. So ch. 2. 5. when *We*, i. e. Converts of the Gentiles, were dead in Sins: For I do not remember that the Jews are any where said by St. Paul to be dead in Sins; that is one of the distinguishing Characters of the Gentiles: And there we see in the same Verse *we* is changed into *ye*: And so v. 6. and 7. having spoke of the Gentiles in the first Person *us*, in the beginning of the next Verse 'tis changed into *ye*, i. e. *ye* Ephesians, a part of those Gentiles. To this I shall add one place more out of the parallel Epistle to the Colossians, ch. 1. 12, 13. where he uses *ἡμᾶς*, *us*, for the convert Gentiles, changing the *ye* in the 10th Verse to *us* in the 12th; the matter of giving Thanks being the same all along from v. 3. where it begins, and is repeated here again, v. 12. i. e. The removing of the Gentiles out of the Kingdom of the Devil and Darkness, into the Kingdom of his beloved Son: or as he expresses it, Eph. 1. 6. *Wherein he hath made us accepted in the Beloved*. And in the same Sense he uses *ἡμῶν*, *us*, Col. 2. 14. For those that the Hand-writing of Ordinances was against and contrary to, were the Gentiles, as he declares, Eph. 2. 14, 15. who were kept off from coming to be the People of God by those Ordinances, which were that wherein the Enmity between the Jews and Gentiles consisted, and was kept up; which therefore Christ abolished, to make way for their Union into one Body under Christ their Head. Other Passages, tending to the clearing of this, we shall have occasion to take notice of as they occur in the Sequel of this Epistle.

4 (e) *Ἐν αὐτῷ*, in him, i. e. Christ: In the former Verse it is *ἐνλογήσας ἡμᾶς ἐν πάσῃ ἐκλογῇ πνευματικῇ ἐν Χριστῷ*. Καθὼς ἔλεξεν ἡμᾶς ἐν αὐτῷ. All which together make up this Sense; "As it was in consideration of Christ alone, that God heretofore, before the Foundation of the World, designed us Gentiles to be his People; so now the Messiah is come, all the Blessings and Benefits we are to receive in his heavenly Kingdom, are laid up in him, and to be had only by our Faith and Dependence on him, without any respect to the Law, or any other Consideration."

(f) *Ἅγιοι*, *Saints* in St. Paul's Epistles is known to signify Christians, i. e. such as made Profession of the Gospel, for those were now the People of God.

(g) See Col. 1. 22. this Verse explained, where comparing it with the immediate preceding Words, v. 21. one may find a farther reason to take *us* here to signify the Gentile Converts, the same thing being applied there solely to the Gentile Converts of Colossus.

(b) *Affection to all the Saints*. That this is the meaning, may be seen, v. 15. where to their true Faith in Christ, which he was rejoic'd with, he joyn'd, *τὴν ἀγάπην τὴν εἰς πάντας τοὺς ἁγίους*, *Love unto all the Saints*. The very same thing which he takes notice of in the Colossians in the very same words, Col. 1. 4. Why Love is so often mention'd in this Epistle, as ch. 3. 17. and 4. 2, 15, 16. and 5. 2. and 6. 23. we may find a reason, ch. 2. 11—22. wherein there is an Account given of the Enmity between the Jews and Gentiles which Christ had taken away the Cause of; and therefore the ceasing of it was one great Mark of Men's being right in the Faith, and of their having true and worthy Notions of Christ, who had broke down the Wall of Partition, and open'd the Kingdom of Heaven to all equally who believed in him, without any the least Distinction of Nation, Blood, Profession, or Religion that they were of before, all that being now done away, and superseded by the Prince of Peace, Jesus Christ the Righteous, to make way for a more enlarged and glorious Kingdom solely by Faith in him, which now made the only Distinction among Men; so that all who agreed in that, were thereby all brought to the same level, to be all Brethren and Fellow-Members in Christ, and the People or Sons of God, as he says in the next Verse.

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6.

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9.

children by Jesus Christ to himself, according to the good pleasure of his will,

6 To the praise of the glory of his grace, wherein he hath made us accepted in the beloved:

7 In whom we have redemption through his blood, the forgiveness of sins according to the riches of his Grace;

8 Wherein he hath abounded towards us in all wisdom and prudence,

9 Having made known unto us the mystery of his will according to his good

by Jesus Christ (i), to be his Sons (k) and People according to the good Pleasure of his Will (l), To the end that the Gentiles too might praise him for his Grace and Mercy to them, and all Mankind magnify his Glory for his abundant Goodness to them, by receiving them freely into the Kingdom of the Messiah, to be his People again in a State of Peace with him (m), barely for the sake of him that is his Beloved (n): In whom we (o) have Redemption by his Blood, viz. the Forgiveness of Transgressions, according to the Greatness of his Grace and Favour, Which he has overflowed in towards us, in bestowing on us so full a Knowledge and Comprehension of the Extent and Design of the Gospel (p), and Prudence to comply with it, as becomes you (q); In that he hath made known to you the good Pleasure of his Will

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5 (i) 'Twas not by the Observances of the Law, but by Faith alone in Jesus Christ, that God predetermined to take the Gentiles into the State of Sonship or Adoption. This was another Particular for which St. Paul blesses God in the Name of the Gentiles: the consideration whereof was fit to raise the Ephesians Thoughts above the Law, and keep them in firm Adherence to the Liberty of the Gospel.

(k) *ἱιοθεσία*, Adoption or Sonship belong'd only to the Jews before the coming of the Messiah, Rom. 9. 4. For after the Nations of the Earth had revolted from God their Lord and Maker, and became Servants and Worshipers of the Devil, God abandoned them to the Vassalage they had chosen, and owned none of them for his but the Israelites, whom he had adopted to be his Children and People. See Exod. 4. 22. Jer. 21. 9. Luke 1. 54. Which Adoption is expressed to Abraham in these words, Gen. 17. 7. *I will be a God to thee, and to thy Seed after thee, and to the Israelites.* Exod. 7. 71. *I will take you to me for a People, and I will be your God;* and so Lev. 26. 12. *I will walk amongst you, and be your God, and ye shall be my People:* And so we see that those whom, Exod. 4. he calls his Sons, he calls in several other Places his People, as standing both when spoken Nationally for one and the same thing.

(l) According to the good Pleasure of his Will; spoken here in the same Sense with what is said, Rom. 9. 18, 23, 24. God under the Law took the Nation of Israel to be his People, without any Merit in them; and so 'tis of his meer good Pleasure that he even then purposed to enlarge his Kingdom under the Gospel, by admitting all that of all the Nations whatsoever would come in and submit themselves, not to the Law of Moses; but to the Rule and Dominion of his Son Jesus Christ; and this, as he says in the next words, for the Praise of the Glory of his Grace.

6 (m) See ch. 2. 12—14. Acts 15. 41.

(n) I do not think that any thing of greater Force can be imagined to raise the Minds of the Ephesians above the Jewish Rituals, and keep them steady in the Freedom of the Gospel, than what St. Paul says here, viz. That God before the Foundation of the World freely determined within himself to admit the Gentiles into his Kingdom to be his People, for the Manifestation of his free Grace all the World over, that all Nations might glorify him; and this for the sake of his Son Jesus Christ, who was his Beloved, and so was chiefly regarded in all this; and therefore 'twas to mistake or pervert the End of the Gospel, and debase this glorious Dispensation, to make it subservient to the Jewish Ritual, or to suppose that the Law of Moses was to support, or to be supported by the Kingdom of the Messiah, which was to be of a larger Extent, and settled upon another Foundation, whereof the Mosaic Institution was but a narrow, feint and Typical Representation.

7 (o) We, does as plainly here stand for the Gentile Converts, as 'tis manifest it does in the parallel place, Col. 1. 13, 14.

8 (p) That by *πᾶσι σοφία*, St. Paul means a Comprehension of the revealed Will of God in the Gospel, more particularly the Mystery of God's Purpose of calling the Gentiles, and making out of them a People and Inheritance to himself in his Kingdom under the Messiah, may be perceived by reading and comparing ch. 1. 8. Col. 1. 9, 10, 28. and 2. 2, 3. which Verses, read with Attention to the Context, plainly shew what St. Paul means here.

(q) That this is the meaning of this Verse, I refer my Reader to Col. 1. 9, 10.

and

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10. and Purpose, which was a (r) Mystery that he had purposed in himself (s), Until the Coming of the due time of that Dispensation wherein he had predestined to reduce all things again both in Heaven and Earth under one Head (t) in Christ; In whom we

pleasure, which he hath purposed in himself:

That in the dispensation of the fulness of times he might gather together in one all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth, even in him:

In whom also we have

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9 (r) I cannot think that God's Purpose of calling the Gentiles, so often term'd a Mystery, and so emphatically declar'd to be concealed from Ages, and particularly revealed to himself; and as we find in this Epistle, where it is so called by St. Paul five times, and four times in that to the *Colossians*, is by Chance, or without some particular Reason. The Question was, whether the converted Gentiles should hearken to the Jews, who would persuade them it was necessary for them to submit to Circumcision and the Law, or to St. Paul, who had taught them otherwise. Now there could be nothing of more Force to destroy the Authority of the Jews in the Case, than the shewing them that the Jews knew nothing of the Matter, that it was a perfect Mystery to them, concealed from their Knowledge, and made manifest in God's good time, at the coming of the Messiah, and most particularly discovered to St. Paul by immediate Revelation, to be communicated by him to the Gentiles, who therefore had reason to stick firm to this great Truth, and not to be led away from the Gospel which he had taught them.

(s) See ch. 3. 9.

10 (t) Ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι, properly signifies to recapitulate or recollect, and put together the Heads of a Discourse. But since that cannot possibly be the Meaning of this Word here, we must search for the Meaning which St. Paul gives it here in the Doctrine of the Gospel, and not in the Propriety of the Greek.

'Tis plain in Sacred Scripture, that Christ at first had the Rule and Supremacy over all, and was Head over all. See Col. 1. 15—17. Heb. 1. 8.

2. There are also manifest Indications in Scripture, that a principal Angel, with great Numbers of Angels his Followers joining with him, revolted from this Kingdom of God, and, standing out in Rebellion, erected to themselves a Kingdom of their own, in Opposition to the Kingdom of God, Luke 10. 17—20. and had all the Heathen World Vassals and Subjects of that their Kingdom, Luke 4. 5—8. Mat. 12. 26—30. John 12. 31. and 14. 30. and 16. 11. Eph. 6. 12. Col. 1. 13. Rom. 1. 18. Acts 26. 18, &c.

3. That Christ recovered this Kingdom, and was re-instated in the Supremacy and Headship, in the Fulness of Time (when he came to destroy the Kingdom of Darkness, as St. Paul calls it here) at his Death and Resurrection: Hence, just before his Suffering, he says, John 12. 31. *Now is the Judgment of this World; now shall the Prince of this World be cast out.* From whence may be seen the Force of Christ's Argument, Mat. 12. 28. *If I cast out Devils by the Spirit of God, then the Kingdom of God is come upon you:* For the Jews acknowledged that the Spirit of God, which had been withdrawn from them, was not to be given out again till the coming of the Messiah, under whom the Kingdom of God was to be erected. See also Luke 10. 18, 19.

4. What was the State of his Power and Dominion from the Defection of the Angels, and setting up the Kingdom of Darkness, till his being re-instated in the Fulness of Time, there is little revealed in Sacred Scripture, as not so much pertaining to the Recovery of Men from their Apostasy, and re-instating them in the Kingdom of God. 'Tis true God gather'd to himself a People, and set up a Kingdom here on Earth, which he maintain'd in the little Nation of the Jews till the setting up the Kingdom of his Son, Acts 1. 3. and 2. 36. which was to take place as God's only Kingdom here on Earth for the future. At the Head of this, which is called the Church, he sets Jesus Christ his Son; but that is not all, but he, having by his Death and Resurrection conquer'd Satan, John 12. 13. and 16. 11. Col. 2. 15. Heb. 2. 14. Ephes. 4. 8. has all Power given him in Heaven and Earth, and is made the Head over all things for the Church, [Mat. 28. 18. and 11. 27. John 3. 35. and 31. 3. Ephes. 1. 20—22. Heb. 1. 2—4. and 2. 9. 1 Cor. 15. 25. 27. Phil. 2. 8—11. Col. 2. 10. Heb. 10. 12, 13. Acts 2. 23. and v. 31. In both which places it should be translated, *to the right hand of God.*] Which re-instating him again in the supream Power, and restoring him, after the Conquest of the Devil, to that compleat Headship which he had over all things, being now revealed under the Gospel, as may be seen in the Texts here quoted, and in other places; I leave to the Reader to judge, whether St. Paul might not probably have an Eye to that in this Verse, and in his Use of the word ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι. But to search thoroughly into this Matter (which I have not in my small Reading found any where sufficiently taken notice of) would require a Treatise.

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12.

obtained an inheritance, being predestinated according to the purpose of him who worketh all things after the counsel of his own will :

¹² That we should be to the praise of his glory, who first trusted in Christ.

we became his Possession (u), and the Lot of his Inheritance, being predetermined thereunto according to the Purpose of him, who never fails to bring to pass what he hath purposed within himself (w) : That we of the Gentiles, who first through Christ entertain'd Hope (x), might bring Praise and Glory to God.

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It may suffice at present, to take notice that this Exaltation of his is expressed, *Phil.* 2. 9. 10. by all Things in Heaven and Earth bowing the Knee at his Name ; which we may see farther explain'd, *Rev.* 5. 13. Which Acknowledgment of his Honour and Power, was that perhaps which the proud Angel that fell, refusing, thereupon rebelled.

If our Translators have render'd the sense of ἀνακεφαλαιώσασθαι right, by *gather together into one*, it will give Countenance to those who are inclin'd to understand, by *things in Heaven*, and *things on Earth*, the Jewish and Gentile World : For of them St. John plainly says, *John* 11. 52. *That Jesus should die, not for the Nation of the Jews only ; but that also συναγάγῃ εἰς ἑν, he should gather together in one the Children of God that were scatter'd abroad*, i. e. the Gentiles that were to believe, and were by Faith to become the Children of God ; whereof Christ himself speaks thus, *John* 10. 16. *Other Sheep I have which are not of this Fold, them also I must bring, and they shall hear my Voice, and there shall be one Fold, and one Shepherd.* This is the gathering together into one that our Saviour speaks of, and is that which very well suits with the Apostle's Design here, where he says in express Words, that Christ makes τὰ ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἑν, makes both Jews and Gentiles one, *Ephes.* 2. 14. Now that St. Paul should use Heaven and Earth for Jews and Gentiles, will not be thought so very strange, if we consider that *Daniel* himself expresses the Nation of the Jews by the Name of *Heaven*, *Dan.* 8. 10. Nor does he want an Example of it in our Saviour himself, who, *Luke* 21. 26. by *Powers of Heaven*, plainly signifies the great Men of the Jewish Nation : Nor is this the only place in this Epistle of St. Paul to the *Ephesians*, which will bear this Interpretation of *Heaven and Earth* ; he who shall read the fifteen first Verses of *ch.* 3. and carefully weigh the Expressions, and observe the Drift of the Apostle in them, will not find that he does manifest Violence to St. Paul's Sense, if he understands by *the Family in Heaven and Earth*, v. 15. the united Body of Christians, made up of Jews and Gentiles, living still promiscuously among those two sorts of People, who continued in their Unbelief. However this Interpretation I am not positive in, but offer it as Matter of Enquiry, to such who think an impartial Search into the true Meaning of the Sacred Scripture the best Employment of all the Time they have.

11 (u) So the Greek word ἐκκληρωθήμεν will signify, if taken, as I think it may, in the Passive Voice, i. e. we Gentiles, who were formerly in the Possession of the Devil, are now by Christ brought into the Kingdom, Dominion and Possession of God again. This Sense seems very well to agree with the Design of the Place, viz. That the Gentile World had now in Christ a Way open'd for their Returning into the Possession of God under their proper Head Jesus Christ. To which suit the Words that follow, *that we, who first amongst the Gentiles entertain'd Terms of Reconciliation by Christ, might be to the Praise of his Glory*, i. e. so that we of the Gentiles who first believed, did, as it were, open a new Scene of Praise and Glory to God, by being restored to be his People, and become again a Part of his Possession ; a thing not before understood nor look'd for. See *Acts* 11. 18. and 15. 3, 14—19. The Apostle's Design here being to satisfy the *Ephesians*, that the Gentiles were, by Faith in Christ, restored to all the Privileges of the People of God, as far forth as the Jews themselves. See *ch.* 2. 11—22. particularly v. 19. ἐκκληρωθήμεν, it may, I humbly conceive, do no Violence to the Place, to suggest this Sense, *we became the Inheritance*, instead of *we have obtained an Inheritance* ; that being the Way wherein God speaks of his People the Israelites, of whom he says, *Deut.* 32. 9. *The Lord's Portion is his People, Jacob is the Lot of his Inheritance.* See also *Deut.* 4. 20. 1 *Kings* 8. 51. and other Places. And the Inheritance, which the Gentiles were to obtain, was to be obtained, we see *Col.* 1. 12, 13. by their being translated out of the Kingdom of Satan into the Kingdom of Christ : So that take it either way, that *we have obtain'd an Inheritance*, or *we are become his People and Inheritance* ; it in effect amounts to the same thing, and so I leave it to the Reader.

(w) i. e. God had purposed, even before the taking the *Israelites* to be his People, to take in the Gentiles by Faith in Christ to be his People again : And what he purposes he will do, without asking the Counsel or Consent of any one, and therefore you may be sure of this your Inheritance, whether the Jews consent to it or no.

12 (x) 'Twas a part of the Character of the Gentiles, to be *without Hope* ; see *ch.* 2. 12. But when they received the Gospel of Jesus Christ, then they ceased to be Aliens from the Commonwealth of *Israel*, and became the People of God, and had Hope as well as the Jews ; or as St. Paul expresses it in the Name of the converted Romans, *Rom.* 5. 2. *We rejoice in hope of the Glory of God.* This is another Evidence that ἡμεῖς, *we*, here stands for the Gentile-Converts. That the Jews were not without Hope, or without God in the World, appears from that very

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13. God. And ye *Ephesians* are also in Jesus Christ become God's People and Inheritance (γ), having heard the Word of Truth, the good Tidings of your Salvation, and, having believed in him, have been sealed by the Holy Ghost; Which was promised, and is the Pledge and Evidence of being the People of God (z), his Inheritance given out (a) for the Redemption (b) of the purchased Possession, that ye also might bring Praise and Glory to God (c).

In whom ye also trust-¹³ ed after that ye heard the word of truth, the gospel of your salvation: in whom also after that ye believed, ye were sealed with that holy spirit of promise, Which is the earnest of¹⁴ our inheritance, until the redemption of the purchased possession, unto the praise of his glory.

NOTES.

Text, *Eph.* 2. 12. where the Gentiles are set apart under a discriminating Description properly belonging to them, the Sacred Scripture no where speaks of the Hebrew Nation, that People of God, as without God, or without Hope, the contrary appears every where. See *Rom.* 2. 17. and 12. *Acts* 24. 15. and 26. 6, 7. and 28. 20. And therefore the Apostle might well say, that those of the Gentiles who first entertain'd Hopes in Christ, were to the Praise of the Glory of God. All Mankind having thereby now a new and greater Subject of Praising and Glorifying God for this great and unspeakable Grace and Goodness to them, of which before they had no Knowledge, no Thought, no Expectation.

13 (γ) Ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς, seems in the Tenor and Scheme of the Words to refer to ἐν ᾧ ὑμεῖς ἐκκληρώσθητε, *ver.* 11. St. Paul making a Parallel here between those of the Gentiles that first believed, and the Ephesians, tells them, that as those, who heard and received the Gospel before them, became the People of God, &c. to the Praise and Glory of his Name; so they the Ephesians by believing, became the People of God, &c. to the Praise and Glory of his Name, only in this Verse there is an Ellipsis of ἐκκληρώσθητε.

14 (z) The Holy Ghost was neither promised nor given to the Heathen, who were Apostates from God, and Enemies; but only to the People of God, and therefore the Convert Ephesians having received it, might be assured thereby that they were now the People of God, and rest satisfied in this Pledge of it.

(a) The giving out of the Holy Ghost, and the Gift of Miracles, was the great Means whereby the Gentiles were brought to receive the Gospel, and become the People of God.

(b) Redemption in Sacred Scripture signifies not always strictly paying a Ransom for a Slave deliver'd from Bondage, but Deliverance from a slavish Estate into Liberty: So God declares to the Children of Israel in Egypt, *Exod.* 6. 6. I will redeem you with a stretched out Arm. What is meant by it is clear from the former part of the Verse, in these Words, I will bring you out from under the Burden of the Egyptians, and I will rid you out of their Bondage. And in the next Verse he adds, And I will take you to me for my People, and I will be to you a God: The very Case here, as God in the place cited promised to deliver his People out of Bondage under the word redeem; so *Deut.* 7. 8. he telleth them that he had brought them out with a mighty hand, and redeemed them out of the House of Bondage, from the hand of Pharaoh King of Egypt: Which Redemption was performed by God, who is called the Lord of Host their Redeemer, without the Payment of any Ransom. But here there was ἀγοράσις, a Purchase; and what the Thing purchased was, we may see, *Acts* 20. 28. viz. the Church of God, ἡ ἀγορασθεῖσα, which he purchased with his own Blood, to be a People that should be the Lord's Portion, and the Lot of his Inheritance, as Moses speaks of the Children of Israel, *Deut.* 32. 9. And hence St. Peter calls the Christians, *1 Pet.* 1. 9. ἀγαθὴ ἡ ἀγοράσις, which in the Margent of our Bible is rightly translated a purchased People: But if any one takes ἐκκληρώσθητε, *v.* 11. to signify we obtain'd an Inheritance, then ἀλλοτρίωσις, in this Verse, will signify that Inheritance, and ἡ ἀπολύτρωσις ἡ ἀγοράσις, until the Redemption of that purchased Inheritance, i. e. until the Redemption of our Bodies, viz. Resurrection unto Eternal Life. But besides that this seems to have a more harsh and forced Sense, the other Interpretation is more consonant to the Style and Current of the Sacred Scripture, and (which weighs more with me) answers St. Paul's Design here, which is to establish the Ephesians in a settled Persuasion, that they, and all the other Gentiles that believed in Christ, were as much the People of God, his Lot, and his Inheritance, as the Jews themselves, and equally Partakers with them of all the Privileges and Advantages belonging thereunto, as is visible by the Tenour of the 2d Chapter. And this is the Use St. Paul mentions of God's setting his Seal, *2 Tim.* 2. 19. that it might mark who are his: And according we find it apply'd, *Rev.* 7. 3. to the Foreheads of his Servants, that they might be known to be his, *ch.* 4. 1. For so did those who purchased Servants, as it were take Possession of them, by setting their Marks on their Foreheads.

14 (c) As he had declared, *ver.* 6, and 12. that the other Gentiles, by believing and becoming the People of God, enhanced thereby the Praise and Glory of his Grace and Goodness; so here, *ver.* 14. he pronounces the same thing of the Ephesians in particular, to whom he is writing, to possess their Minds with the Sense of the happy Estate they were now in by being Christians; for which he thanks God, *ver.* 3. and here again in the next Words.

S E C T. III.

C H A P. I. 15—II. 10.

C O N T E N T S.

HAVING in the foregoing Section thanked God for the great Favours and Mercies which from the Beginning he had purposed for the Gentiles under the Messiah, in such a Description of that Design of the Almighty, as was fit to raise their Thoughts above the Law, and as St. Paul calls them beggarly Elements of the Jewish Constitution, which was nothing in comparison of the great and glorious Design of the Gospel, taking Notice of their standing firm in the Faith he had taught them, and thanking God for it, he here in this prays God that he would enlighten the Minds of the *Ephesian* Converts, to see fully the great Things that were actually done for them, and the glorious Estate they were in under the Gospel, of which in this Section he gives such a Draught, as in every Part of it shews, that in the Kingdom of Christ they are set far above the Mosaical Rites, and enjoy the spiritual and incomprehensible Benefits of it, not by the Tenure of a few outward Ceremonies; but by their Faith alone in Jesus Christ, to whom they are united, and of whom they are Members, who is exalted to the Top of all Dignity, Dominion and Power, and they with him their Head.

T E X T.

P A R A P H R A S E.

15 **W** Herefore I also, after I heard of your faith in the Lord Jesus, and

W Herefore I also here in my Confinement having heard (d) of the Continuance of your Faith in

15.

N O T E S.

15 (d) *Ἀκούσας τὴν καὶ ὑμῶν πίστιν ἐν τῷ Κυρίῳ Ἰησοῦ*, Wherefore I also after I heard of your Faith in the Lord Jesus. St. Paul's hearing of their Faith here mention'd, cannot signify his being informed that they had received the Gospel, and believed in Christ, this would have looked impertinent for him to have told them, since he himself had converted them, and had lived a long time amongst them, as has been already observed. We must therefore seek another Reason of his mentioning his hearing of their Faith, which must signify something else than his being barely acquainted that they were Christians, and this we may find in these Words, *Ch. 3. 13. Wherefore I desire that ye faint not at my Tribulations for you.* He, as Apostle of the Gentiles, had alone preached up Freedom from the Law, which the other Apostles who had not that Province (see *Gal. 2. 9.*) in their converting the Jews, seem to have said nothing of, as is plain from *Acts 21. 20, 21.* 'Twas upon account of his preaching, that the Christian Converts were not under any Subjection to the Observances of the Law, and that the Law was abolished by the Death of Christ, that he was seized at *Jerusalem*, and sent as a Criminal to *Rome* to be tried for his Life, where he was now a Prisoner. He being therefore afraid that the *Ephesians*, and other Convert Gentiles, seeing him thus under Persecution, in Hold, and in Danger of Death, upon the Score of his being the Preacher, and zealous Propagater and Minister of this great Article of the Christian Faith, which seem'd to have had its Rise and Defence wholly from him, might give it up, and not stand firm in the Faith which he had taught them, was rejoiced when in his Confinement he heard that they persisted steadfast in that Faith, and in their Love to all the Saints, *i. e.* as well the Convert Gentiles that did not, as those Jews that did, conform to the Jewish Rites. This I take to be the Meaning of his hearing of their Faith here mentioned, and conformably hereunto, *Ch. 6. 19, 20.* he desires their Prayers, that he may with Boldness preach the Mystery of the Gospel, of which he is the Ambassador in Bonds. This *Mystery of the Gospel*, 'tis plain from *Ch. 1. 9, 10.* and *Ch. 3. 3—7.* and other Places, was God's gracious Purpose of taking the Gentiles, as Gentiles, to be his People under the Gospel. St. Paul, whilst he was a Prisoner at *Rome*, writ to two other Churches, that at *Philippi*, and that at *Colossæ*: To the *Colossians*, *Ch. 1. 4.* he uses almost verbatim

- in Christ Jesus, and your Love to all the Saints, (e)
 16. Cease not to give Thanks for you, making Mention
 17. of you in my Prayers; That the God of our Lord
 Jesus Christ, the Father of Glory, (f) would endow

love unto all the saints,
 Cease not to give thanks
 for you, making mention
 of you in my prayers;
 That the God of our
 Lord Jesus Christ, the Fa-
 ther of glory, may give un-
 to you the spirit of wisdom

NOTES.

batim the same Expression that he does here, *Having heard of your Faith in Christ Jesus, and of your Love which ye have to all the Saints*; He gives Thanks to God for their knowing and sticking to the Grace of God in Truth, which had been taught them by *Epaphras*, who had informed *St. Paul* of this, and their Affection to him, whereupon he expresses his great Concern that they should continue in that Faith, and not be drawn away to Judaizing, which may be seen from *ver. 14.* of this Chapter, to the End of the second. So that the hearing of their Faith, which he says both to the *Ephesians* and *Colossians*, is not his being told that they were Christians, but their continuing in the Faith they were converted to and instructed in, *viz.* That they became the People of God, and were admitted into his Kingdom only by Faith in Christ, without submitting to the Mosaical Institution, and legal Observances, which was the thing he was afraid they should be drawn to, either through any Despondency in themselves, or Importunity of others, now that he was removed from them, and in Bonds, and thereby give up that Truth and Freedom of the Gospel which he had preach'd to them.

To the same Purpose he writes to the *Philippians*, *Ch. 1. 3—5.* telling them that he gave Thanks to God, *ἐν ᾧ ἡμεῖς πάντες ἀντὶ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου*, upon every Mention was made of them, upon every Account he receiv'd of their continuing in the Fellowship and Profession of the Gospel, as it had been taught them by him, without changing or wavering at all, which is the same with *bearing of their Faith*, and that thereupon he prays, amongst other things, chiefly that they might be kept from Judaizing: As appears, *ver. 27, 28.* where the Thing he desired to hear of them was, that *they stood firm in one Spirit, and one Mind, jointly contending for the Faith of the Gospel, in nothing startled by those who are Opposers*; so the Words are, and not *their Adversaries*. Now there was no Party at that Time, who were in Opposition to the Gospel which *St. Paul* preach'd, and with whom the Convert Gentiles had any Dispute, but those who were for keeping up Circumcision, and the Jewish Rites under the Gospel. These were they whom *St. Paul* apprehended alone as likely to fright the Convert Gentiles, and make them start out of the Way from the Gospel, which is the proper Import of *πρὸς ἡμᾶς*. Tho' this Passage clearly enough indicate what it was that he was and should always be glad to hear of them, yet he more plainly shews his Apprehension of Danger to them, to be from the Contenders for Judaism, in the express Warning he gives them against that Sort of Men, *Chap. 3. 2, 3.* So that this *Hearing* which he mentions, is the Hearing of these three Churches persisting firmly in the Faith of the Gospel which he had taught them, without being drawn at all towards Judaizing. 'Twas that for which *St. Paul* gave Thanks, and it may reasonably be presumed, that if he had writ to any other Churches of converted Gentiles, whilst he was a Prisoner at *Rome*, upon the like Carriage of their's, something of the same Kind would have been said to them. So that the great Business of these three Epistles, written during his being a Prisoner at *Rome*, was to explain the Nature of the Kingdom of God under the Messiah, from which the Gentiles were now no longer shut out by the Ordinances of the Law; and confirm the Churches in the Belief of it. *St. Paul*, being chosen and sent by God to preach the Gospel to the Gentiles, had in all his Preaching set forth the Largeness and Freedom of the Kingdom of God now laid open to the Gentiles, by taking away the Wall of Partition that kept them out. This made the Jews his Enemies, and upon this Account they had seized him, and he was now a Prisoner at *Rome*. Fearing that the Gentiles might be wrought upon to submit to the Law now that he was thus removed, or suffering for this Gospel, he tells these three Churches, that he rejoices at their standing firm in the Faith, and thereupon writes to them to explain and confirm to them the Kingdom of God under the Messiah, into which all Men now had an Entrance by Faith in Christ, without any Regard to the Terms whereby the Jews were formerly admitted. The setting-forth the Largeness and free Admittance into this Kingdom, which was so much for the Glory of God, and so much shew'd his Mercy and Bounty to Mankind, that he makes it as it were a new Creation, is, I say, plainly the Business of these three Epistles, which tend all visibly to the same thing, that any one that reads them cannot mistake the Apostle's Meaning, they giving such a clear Light one to another.

15 (e) *All the Saints*. One finds in the very reading of these Words, that the Word *All* is emphatical here, and put in for some particular Reason. I can, I confess, see no other but this, *viz.* That they were not by the Judaizers in the least drawn away from their Esteem and Love of those who were not circumcised, nor observed the Jewish Rites; which was a Proof to him that they stood firm in the Faith and Freedom of the Gospel, which he had instructed them in.

17 (f) *Father of Glory*: An Hebrew Expression which cannot well be changed, since it signifies his being glorious himself, being the Fountain from whence all Glory is deriv'd, and to whom all Glory is to be given. In all which Senses it may be taken here, where there is nothing that appropriates it in peculiar to any of them.

your

TEXT.

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and revelation, in the knowledge of him :

18 The eyes of your understanding being enlightened ; that ye may know what is the hope of his calling, and what the riches of the glory of his inheritance in the saints,

19 And what is the exceeding greatness of his power to us-ward who believe, according to the working of his mighty power ;

20 Which he wrought in Christ when he raised him from the dead, and set him at his own right hand, in the heavenly places,

21 Far above all Princi-

your Spirits with Wisdom, (g) and Revelation, (h) whereby you may know him ; And enlighten the Eyes of our Understandings, that you may see what Hopes his calling you to be Christians carries with it, and what an abundant Glory it is to the Saints to become his People, and the Lot of his Inheritance ; And what an exceeding great Power he has employ'd upon us : (i) Who believe a Power corresponding to that mighty Power which he exerted in the raising Christ from the Dead, and in setting him next to himself over all Things relating to his heavenly Kingdom, (k) Far above all Principality, and Power,

18.

19.

20.

21.

NOTES.

(g) *Wisdom*, is visibly used here for a right Conception and Understanding of the Gospel. See Note, ver. 8.

(h) *Revelation*, is used by St. Paul, not always for immediate Inspiration, but as it is meant here, and in most other Places, for such Truths which could not have been found out by humane Reason, but had their first Discovery from Revelation, though Men afterwards come to the Knowledge of those Truths by reading them in the Sacred Scripture, where they are set down for their Information.

19 (i) *Us* here, and *you*, Ch. 2. 1. and *us*, Ch. 2. 5. 'tis plain signify the same, who being dead, partook of the Energy of that great Power that raised Christ from the Dead, i. e. the Convert Gentiles, and all those glorious Things he, in ver. 18—23. intimates to them, by praying they may see them, he here in this 19th Verse tells, is bestow'd on them as Believers, and not as Observers of the Mosaical Rites.

20 (k) *Ἐν τοῖς ἑπερσιν*, in heavenly Places, says our Translation, and so ver. 3. but possibly the Marginal reading, *things*, will be thought the better, if we compare ver. 22. *He set him at his right Hand*, i. e. transferr'd on him his Power ; *ἐν ἑπερσιν*, i. e. in his heavenly Kingdom ; that is to say, set him at the Head of his heavenly Kingdom, see ver. 22. This Kingdom in the Gospel is call'd indifferently *βασιλεία Θεοῦ*, the Kingdom of God ; and *βασιλεία τῶν ἁγίων*, the Kingdom of Heaven. God had before a Kingdom and People in this World, viz. that Kingdom which he erected to himself of the Jews, selected and brought back to himself out of the apostatized Mass of revolted and rebellious Mankind : With this his People he dwelt, among them he had his Habitation, and ruled as their King in a peculiar Kingdom ; and therefore we see that our Saviour calls the Jews, *Mat. 8. 12. The Children of the Kingdom*. But that Kingdom, though God's, was not yet *βασιλεία τῶν ἁγίων*, the Kingdom of Heaven, that came with Christ : See *Mat. 3. 2.* and *10. 7.* That was but *ἐπίγῃ*, of the Earth, compared to this *ἑπερσιν*, heavenly Kingdom, which was to be erected under Jesus Christ ; and with that Sort of Distinction our Saviour seems to speak and use those Words *ἐπίγῃ*, earthly, and *ἑπερσιν*, heavenly, John 3. 12. In his Discourse there with *Nicodemus*, he tells him, unless a Man were born again he could not see the Kingdom of God. This being *born again* stuck with *Nicodemus*, which Christ reproaches him with, since, being a Teacher in *Israel*, he understood not that which belong'd to the Jewish Constitution, wherein to be baptiz'd, for Admittance into that Kingdom, was called and counted to be born again ; and therefore says, if, having spoken to you *ἐπίγῃ*, things relating to your own earthly Constitution, you comprehend me not, how shall you receive what I say, if I speak to you, *ἐν ἑπερσιν*, heavenly things, i. e. of that Kingdom which is purely heavenly ? And according to this St. Paul's Words here, *Eph. 1. 10. τὰ ὅτι ἐν τοῖς ἁγίοις ὁ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῆ*, (which occur again, *Ch. 3. 15. Col. 1. 16. 20.*) may perhaps not unfitly be interpreted of the spiritual heavenly Kingdom of God, and that also of the more earthly one of the Jews, whose Rites and positive Institutions St. Paul calls *Elements of the World*, *Gal. 4. 3. Col. 2. 8. 2.* which were both at the coming of the *Messiah* consolidated into one, and together re-establish'd under one Head, *Christ Jesus*. The whole Drift of this, and the two following Chapters, being to declare the Union of Jews and Gentiles into one Body, under Christ the Head of the heavenly Kingdom. And he, that sedately compares *Eph. 2. 16.* with *Col. 1. 20.* (in both which Places 'tis evident the Apostle speaks of the same thing, viz. God's reconciling of both Jews and Gentiles by the Cross of Christ) will scarce be able to avoid thinking, that things in Heaven, and things on Earth, signify the People of the one and the other of these Kingdoms.

- and Might, and Dominion, (1) and any other, either Man or Angel, of greater Dignity and Excellency, that we may come to be acquainted with, or hear the Names of either in this World, or the World to come. And hath put all Things in Subjection to him, and him, invested with a Power over all Things, he hath constituted Head of the Church, Which is his Body, which is compleated by him alone, (m) from whom comes all that gives any thing of Excellency and Perfection to any of the Members of the Church : Where to be a Jew or a Greek, circumcised, or uncircumcised, a Barbarian, or a Scythian, a Slave, or a Freeman, matters not ; but to be united to him to partake of his Influence and Spirit, is all in all.
1. And (n) you, also being dead in Trespases and Sins, in which you Gentiles, before you were converted

pality, and power, and might, and dominion, and every name that is named, not only in this world, but also in that which is to come :

And hath put all things²² under his feet, and gave him to be the head over all things to the church,

Which is his body, the²³ fulness of him that filleth all in all.

And you hath he quick-¹ ned who were dead in trespases and sins,

NOTES.

21 (1) These abstract Names are frequently used in the New Testament according to the Stile of the Eastern Languages, for those vested with *Power* and *Dominion*, &c. and that not only here on Earth among Men, but in Heaven among superiour Beings: And so often are taken to express Ranks and Degrees of Angels: And though they are generally agreed to do so here; yet there is no Reason to exclude earthly Potentates out of this Text, when *αὐτοὺς* necessarily includes them; for that Men in Power are one Sort of *ἀρχαὶ* and *ἱερεῖς*, in a Scripture-sense, our Saviour's own Words shew, *Luke* 12. 11. and 20. 2. Besides the Apostle's chief Aim here being to satisfy the Ephesians, that they were not to be subjected to the Law of *Moses*, and the Government of those who rul'd by it, but they were called to be of the Kingdom of the *Messiah*: It is not to be supposed, that here, where he speaks of Christ's Exaltation to a Power and Dominion paramount to all other, he should not have an Eye to that *little* and low Government of the Jews, which it was beneath the Subjects of so glorious a Kingdom as that of Jesus Christ to submit themselves to: And this the next Words do farther enforce.

23 (m) *Πληρωμα*, *Fulness*, here is taken in a Passive Sense, for a Thing to be filled or compleated, as appears by the following Words, *of him that filleth all in all*, i. e. It is Christ the Head who perfecteth the Church, by supplying and furnishing all Things to all the Members, to make them what they are and ought to be in that Body. See *Ch.* 5. 18. *Col.* 2. 10. and 3. 10, 11.

1 (n) *Καὶ*, *And*, gives us here the Thread of St. Paul's Discourse, which is impossible to be understood without seeing the Train of it; without that View it would be like a Rope of Gold Dust, all the Parts would be excellent, and of Value, but would seem heaped together, without Order or Connection. This *And* here, 'tis true, ties the Parts together, and points out the Connection and Coherence of St. Paul's Discourse; but yet it stands so far from *ἐκδοῦν*, *set*, in v. 20. of the foregoing Chapter; and *συνζωποῖναι*, *quickned*, v. 5. of this Chapter, which are the two Verbs it copulates together; that by one not acquainted with St. Paul's Stile, it would scarce be observ'd or admitted, and therefore it may not be amiss to lay it in its due Light, so as to be visible to an ordinary Reader. St. Paul, v. 18—20. prays that the Ephesians may be so enlighten'd, as to see the great Advantages they receiv'd by the Gospel: Those that he specifies are these; 1. What great Hopes it gave them. 2. What an exceeding Glory accompanied the Inheritance of the Saints. 3. The mighty Power exerted by God on their Behalf, which bore some Proportion to that which he employ'd in the raising Christ from the Dead, and placing him at his Right Hand: Upon the Mention of which, his Mind, being full of that glorious Image, he lets his Pen run into a Description of the Exaltation of Christ; which lasts to the End of that Chapter, and then re-assumes the Thread of his Discourse; which in short stands thus: "I pray God that the Eyes of your Understandings may be enlighten'd, that you may see the exceeding great Power of God, which is employ'd upon us who believe: [*κατὰ τὴν*] corresponding to that Energy where- with he raised Christ from the Dead, and seated him at his Right Hand; for so also has he raised you, who were dead in Trespases and Sins: *Ὑς*, I say, who were dead in Trespases and Sins has he quickned, and raised together with Christ, and seated together with him in his heavenly Kingdom." This is, in short, the Train and Connection of his Discourse from *Ch.* 1. 18. to 2. 5. though it be interrupted by many incident Thoughts; which, as his Manner is, he enlarges upon by the way, and then returns to the Thread of his Discourse. For here again in this first Verse of the second Chapter, we must observe, that

having

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² Wherein in time past ye walked according to the course of this world, according to the prince of the power of the air, the spirit that now worketh in the children of disobedience.

³ Among whom also we

verted to the Gospel, walked according to the State and Constitution of this World, (o) Conforming your selves to the Will and Pleasure of the Prince of the Power of the Air, (p) the Spirit that now yet posses and works (q) in the Children of Disobedience. (r) Of which Number even we all having for-

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having mentioned their being dead in Trespasses and Sins, he enlarges upon that forlorn Estate of the Gentiles before their Conversion; and then comes to what he design'd, that God out of his great Goodness, quickned, raised, and placed them together with Christ in his heavenly Kingdom. In all which it is plain he had more Regard to the Things he declared to them, than to a nice Grammatical Construction of his Words: For 'tis manifest *ἐν* *Ἀνδ* v. 1. and *καὶ* *Ἀνδ*, v. 5. copulate *συνεζωποῖναι* quicken'd, with *ἐκείθεν* set, v. 20. of the foregoing Chapter, which the two following Words, v. 6. *καὶ* *συνήγειρε* *καὶ* *συνεκάθισεν* *ἐν* *ἐπερανοῖς*, and hath raised up together, and hath made sit together in heavenly Places, St. Paul, to display the great Power and Energy of God shew'd toward the Gentiles, in bringing them into his heavenly Kingdom, declares it to be *κατὰ* *τὴν* *ἐνέργειαν*, proportionable to that Power wherewith he raised Jesus from the Dead, and seated him at his Right Hand: To express the Parallel, he keeps to the parallel Terms concerning Christ; he says, Ch. 1. 20. *ἐγείρας* *αὐτόν* *ἐκ* *τῶν* *νεκρῶν* *καὶ* *ἐκάθισεν* *ἐν* *δεξιᾷ* *αὐτοῦ* *ἐν* *τοῖς* *ἐπερανοῖς*, raising him from the Dead, and set him at his own Right Hand in heavenly Places. Concerning the Gentile Converts his Words are, Ch. 2. v. 5, 6. *καὶ* *ὡς* *ὅτι* *ἡμεῖς* *νεκροὶ* *τοῖς* *ἁμαρτίαις* *καὶ* *συνέζωποῖναι* *τῷ* *Χριστῷ* *καὶ* *συνήγειρε* *καὶ* *συνεκάθισεν* *ἐν* *ἐπερανοῖς*, And us being dead in Trespasses, he hath quickened together with Christ, and hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly Places. It is also visible that *ὑμεῖς* you, v. 1. and *ἡμεῖς* us, v. 5. are both governed by the Verb *συνεζωποῖναι*, quicken'd together, v. 5. though the Grammatical Construction be somewhat broken, but is repaired in the Sense, which lies thus, "God by his mighty Power raised Christ from the Dead; by the like mighty Power, you Gentiles of Ephesus being dead in Trespasses and Sins; What do I say, you of Ephesus? nay, us all Converts of the Gentiles being dead in Trespasses, has he quicken'd and raised from the Dead. You Ephesians were dead in Trespasses and Sins, in which you walked according to the Course of this World, according to the Prince of the Power of the Air, the Spirit that yet worketh in the Children of Disobedience, and so were we, all the rest of us who are converted from Gentilism, we, all of us, of the same Stamp and Strain, involved in the same Conversation, living heretofore according to the Lusts of our Flesh, to which we were perfectly obedient, doing what our carnal Wills and blinded Minds directed us, being then no less Children of Wrath, no less liable to Wrath and Punishment, than those that remained still Children of Disobedience, i. e. unconverted; but God, rich in Mercy, for his great Love wherewith he loved us, hath quicken'd us all, being dead in Trespasses, (for 'tis by Grace ye are saved) and raised us, &c." This is St. Paul's Sense drawn out more at length, which, in his compendious Way of Writing, wherein he crowds many Ideas together, as they abounded in his Mind, could not easily be ranged under Rules of Grammar. The promiscuous Use St. Paul here makes of *we* and *you*, and his so easy changing one into the other, plainly shews, as we have already observ'd, that they both stand for the same Sort of Persons, i. e. Christians, that were formerly Pagans, whose State and Life, whilst they were such, he here expressly describes.

² (o) *Ἀπὸ* may be observ'd in the New Testament to signify the lasting State and Constitution of Things, in the great Tribes or Collections of Men, consider'd in reference to the Kingdom of God; whereof there were two most eminent, and principally intended, if I mistake not, by the Word *αἰῶνες*, when that is used alone, and that is *ὁ* *νῦν* *αἰὼν*, this present World, which is taken for that State of the World wherein the Children of Israel were his People, and made up his Kingdom upon Earth, the Gentiles, i. e. all the other Nations of the World being in a State of Apostacy and Revolt from him, the professed Vassals and Subjects of the Devil, to whom they paid Homage, Obedience and Worship: And *αἰὼν* *μέλλων*, the World to come, i. e. the Time of the Gospel, wherein God by Christ broke down the Partition Wall between Jew and Gentile, and opened a Way for reconciling the rest of Mankind, and taking the Gentiles again into his Kingdom under Jesus Christ, under whose Rule he had put it.

(p) In these Words St. Paul points out the Devil, the Prince of the revolted Part of the Creation, and Head of that Kingdom which stood in Opposition to, and was at War with; the Kingdom of Jesus Christ.

(q) *Ἐνεργεῖ* is the proper Term whereby in the Greek is signified the Possession and Acting of any Person by an evil Spirit.

(r) Children of Disobedience are those of the Gentiles, who continued still in their Apostacy under the Dominion of Satan, who ruled and acted them, and return'd not from their Revolt described, Rom. 18. &c. into the Kingdom of God, now that Jesus Christ had open'd an Entrance into it to all those who disobey'd not his Call, and thus they are called, Chap. 5. 6.

merly

- merly been, (i) lived in the Lusts of our Flesh, fulfilling the Desires thereof, and of our blinded perverted Minds. (t) But (u) God who is rich in Mercy, (w) through his great Love wherewith he loved us, (x) Even us Gentiles who were dead (x) in Trespasses hath he quicken'd, (y) together with Christ (by Grace ye are saved) And hath raised (z) us up together with Christ, and make us Partakers in and with Jesus Christ, of the Glory and Power of his heavenly Kingdom, which God has put into his Hands, and put under his Rule: That in the Ages (a) to come he might shew the exceeding Riches of his

all had our conversation in times past, in the lusts of our flesh, fulfilling the desires of the flesh, and of the mind; and were by nature the children of wrath, even as others.

But God who is rich in mercy, for his great love wherewith he loved us,

Even when we were dead in sins, hath quickened us together with Christ, (by grace ye are saved)

And hath raised us up together, and made us sit together in heavenly places in Christ Jesus.

That in the Ages to come he might shew the exceed-

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3 (i) *Ἐν οἷς* cannot signify, *Amongst whom we also all had our Conversation*: For if *ἡμεῖς* we, stands for either the converted Jews, or Converts in general, it is not true. If we stands (as is evident it doth) for the converted Gentiles, of what Force or Tendency is it for the Apostle to say, we the converted Gentiles heretofore lived among the unconverted Gentiles? But it is of great Force, and to his Purpose, in magnifying the free Grace of God to them, to say, we of the Gentiles, who are now admitted to the Kingdom of God, were formerly of that very Sort of Men, in whom the Prince of the Power of the Air ruled, leading Lives in the Lusts of our Flesh, obeying the Will and Inclinations thereof, and so as much exposed to the Wrath of God, as those who still remain in their Apostacy under the Dominion of the Devil.

(t) This was the State that the Gentile World were given up to. See *Rom. 1. 21, 24.* Parallel to this 3d Verse of this 2d Chapter, we have a Passage in *Ch. 4. 17—20.* of this same Epistle, where *καθὼς καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἔθνη*, even as the other Gentiles, plainly answers *ὡς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ*, even as the others here; and *ἐν ματαιότητι τῆ νοῦ αὐτῶν ἐσκοτισμένοι τῇ διαβολῇ*, in the Vanity of their Minds, having their Understandings darkened, answers, *ἐν ταῖς ἐπιθυμίαις καὶ σαρκὶς ἡμῶν πορεύσας τὰ θελήματα καὶ σαρκὸς καὶ τῶν διαβολῶν*, in the Lusts of our Flesh, fulfilling the Desires of the Flesh and of the Mind. He that compares these Places, and considers that what is said in the 4th Chapter contains the Character of the Gentile World, of whom it is spoken; I say, he that reads and considers these two Places well together, and the Correspondency between them, cannot doubt of the Sense I understand this Verse in; and that St. Paul here under the Terms *we* and *our* speaks of the Gentile Converts.

4 (u) *Ὁ θεὸς*, But, connects this Verse admirably well with the immediately preceding, which makes the Parts of that incident Discourse cohere, which ending in this Verse, St. Paul in the beginning of *v. 5.* takes up the Thread of his Discourse again, as if nothing had come between, though *ὁ θεὸς* but, in the beginning of this 4th Verse, rather breaks than continues the Sense of the whole. See Note, *ver. 1.*

(w) *Rich in Mercy.* The Design of the Apostle being in this Epistle to set forth the exceeding great Mercy and Bounty of God to the Gentiles under the Gospel, as is manifest at large, *Ch. 3.* It is plain that *ἡμῶς* us, here in this Verse, must mean the Gentile Converts.

5 (x) *Dead in Trespasses*, does not mean here, under the Condemnation of Death, or obnoxious to Death for our Transgressions, but so under the Power and Dominion of Sin, so helpless in that State, into which for our Apostacy we were deliver'd up by the just Judgment of God, that we had no more Thought, nor Hope, nor Ability to get out of it, than Men dead and buried have to get out of the Grave. This State of Death he declares to be the State of Gentilism; *Col. 2. 13.* in these Words; *And you being dead in Trespasses, and the Uncircumcision of your Flesh, hath God quicken'd together with him, i. e. Christ.*

(y) *Quicken'd.* This Quickening was by the Spirit of God given to those who by Faith in Christ were united to him, became Members of Christ, and Sons of God, partaking of the Adoption, by which Spirit they were put into a State of Life; see *Rom. 8. 9—15.* and made capable, if they would, to live to God, and not to obey Sin in the Lusts thereof, nor to yield their Members Instruments of Sin unto Iniquity; but to give up themselves to God, as Men alive from the Dead, and their Members to God as Instruments of Righteousness; as our Apostle exhorts the converted Romans to do, *Rom. 6. 11—13.*

6 (z) Wherein this raising consists may be seen, *Rom. 6. 1—10.*

7 (a) The great Favour and Goodness of God manifests it self in the Salvation of Sinners in all Ages: But that which most eminently sets forth the Glory of his Grace, was those who were

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ing riches of his grace in his kindness towards us, through Christ Jesus.

8 For by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of your selves: it is the gift of God:

9 Not of works, lest any man should boast:

Grace in his Kindness towards us through Christ Jesus. For by God's Free Grace it is that ye (b) are through Faith in Christ (c) saved and brought into the Kingdom of God, and made his People, not by any thing you did your selves to deserve it; it is the Free Gift of God, who might, if he had so pleased, with Justice have left you in that forlorn Estate. That no Man might have any Pretence of Boasting of

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were first of all converted from Heathenism to Christianity, and brought out of the Kingdom of Darkness, in which they were as dead Men, without Life, Hope, or so much as a Thought of Salvation, or a better State, into the Kingdom of God. Hence it is that he says, *Ch. 1. 12. That we should be to the Praise of his Glory who first believed.* To which he seems to have an Eye in this Verse; the first Conversion of the Gentiles being a surprizing and wonderful Effect and Instance of God's exceeding Goodness to them, which, to the Glory of his Grace, should be admired and acknowledged by all future Ages; and so Paul and Barnabas speak of it, *Acts 14. 27. They rehearsed all that God had done with them, and how he had opened the Door of Faith to the Gentiles.* And so James and the Elders at Jerusalem, when they heard what Things God had wrought by St. Paul's Ministry amongst the Gentiles, *they glorified the Lord. Acts 21. 19, 20.*

8 (b) *Ye.* The Change of *we* in the foregoing Verse, to *ye* here, and the like Change observable, *v. 1, and 5.* plainly shews, that the Persons spoken of under these two Denominations, are of the same Kind, *i. e.* Gentile Converts; only St. Paul every now and then, the more effectually to move those he is writing to, changes *we* into *ye*, and *vice versa*; and so makes, as it were, a little sort of Distinction, that he may the more emphatically apply himself to them.

(c) *Saved.* He that reads St. Paul with Attention, cannot but observe, that speaking of the Gentiles, he calls their being brought back again from their Apostacy into the Kingdom of God, their being *saved*. Before they were thus brought to be the People of God again under the *Messiah*, they were, as they are here describ'd, Aliens, Enemies, without Hope, without God, dead in Trespases and Sins; and therefore when by Faith in Christ they came to be reconciled, and to be in Covenant again with God, as his Subjects and liege People, they were in the Way of Salvation, and if they persevered, could not miss attaining of it, though they were not yet in actual Possession. The Apostle, whose Aim it is in this Epistle to give them an high Sense of God's extraordinary Grace and Favour to them, and to raise their Thoughts above the mean Observances of the Law, shews them that there was nothing in them; no Deeds or Works of their's, nothing that they could do to prepare or recommend themselves, contributed ought to the bringing them into the Kingdom of God under the Gospel; that it was all purely the Work of Grace, for they were all dead in Trespases and Sins, and could do nothing, not make one Step, or the least Motion towards it. Faith, which alone gain'd them Admittance, and alone open'd the Kingdom of Heaven to Believers, was the sole Gift of God; Men by their natural Faculties could not attain to it. 'Tis Faith which is the Source and Beginning of this new Life; and the Gentile World, who were without Sense, without Hope of any such Thing, could no more help themselves, or do any thing to procure it themselves, than a dead Man can do any thing to procure himself Life. 'Tis God here does all; by Revelation of what they could never discover by their own natural Faculties, he bestows on them the Knowledge of the *Messiah*, and the *Faith* of the Gospel; which as soon as they have received, they are in the Kingdom of God, in a new State of Life; and being thus quicken'd by the Spirit, may, as Men alive, work if they will. Hence St. Paul says, *Rom. 10. Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing by the Word of God*, having in the foregoing Verses declared, there is no believing without hearing, and no hearing without a Preacher, and no Preacher unless he be sent, *i. e.* the good Tidings of Salvation by the *Messiah*, and the Doctrine of Faith was not, nor could be, known to any, but to those to whom God communicated it, by the preaching of Prophets and Apostles, to whom he revealed it, and whom he sent on this Errand with this Discovery. And thus God now gave *Faith* to the Ephesians, and the other Gentiles, to whom he sent St. Paul, and others his Fellow-Labourers to bestow on them the Knowledge of Salvation, Reconciliation, and Restoration into his Kingdom of the *Messiah*. All which, tho' revealed by the Spirit of God in the Writings of the Old Testament, yet the Gentile World was kept wholly Strangers from the Knowledge of, by the Ceremonial Law of *Moses*, which was the Wall of Partition that kept the Gentiles at a Distance, Aliens and Enemies; which Wall God, according to his gracious Purpose before the erecting of it, having now broke down, communicated to them the Doctrine of Faith, and admitted them upon their Acceptance of it, to all the Advantages and Privileges of his Kingdom; all which was done of his free Grace, without any Merit or Procurement of their's, *he was found of them who sought him not, and was made manifest to them that asked not after him.* I desire him, that would clearly understand this Chap. 2. of the Ephesians, to read carefully with it, *Rom. 10.* and

10. of himself, or his own Works or Merit. So that in this new State in the Kingdom of God, we are and ought to look upon our selves not as deriving any thing from our selves, but as the mere Work-

For we are his work-
manship, created in Christ
Jesus unto good works,
which God hath before

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1 Cor. 2. 9.—16. where he will see, that Faith is wholly owing to the Revelation of the Spirit of God, and the Communication of that Revelation by Men sent by God, who attained this Knowledge, not by the Assistance of their own natural Part, but from the Revelation of the Spirit of God. Thus Faith we see is the Gift of God, and with it, when Men by Baptism are admitted into the Kingdom of God, comes the Spirit of God, which brings Life with it: For the attaining this Gift of Faith, Men do or can do nothing, Grace hitherto does all, and Works are wholly excluded; God himself creates them to do good Works, but when by him they are made living Creatures in this new Creation, it is then expected, that being quickened, they should act; and from henceforwards Works are required, not as the meritorious Cause of Salvation; but as a necessary, indispensable Qualification of the Subjects of God's Kingdom under his Son Jesus Christ; it being impossible that any one should at the same time be a Rebel and a Subject too: And though none can be Subjects of the Kingdom of God, but those who, continuing in the Faith that has been once bestowed on them, sincerely endeavour to conform themselves to the Laws of their Lord and Master Jesus Christ; and God gives eternal Life to all those, and those only that do so; yet eternal Life is the Gift of God, the Gift of Free Grace, since their Works of sincere Obedience afford no manner of Title to it; their Righteousness is imperfect, *i. e.* they are all unrighteous, and so deserve Death; but God gives them Life upon the account of his Righteousness, *vid. Rom. 1. 17.* The Righteousness of Faith which is by Jesus Christ; and so they are still saved by Grace.

Now when God hath, by calling them into the Kingdom of his Son, thus quicken'd Men, and they are by his free Grace created in Christ Jesus unto good Works, that then Works are required of them, we see in this that they are called on, and pressed to *walk worthy of God, who hath called them to his Kingdom and Glory*, 1 Thess. 2. 12. And to the same Purpose here, Chap. 4. 1. *Phil. 1. 27. Col. 1. 10—12.* So that of those, who are in the Kingdom of God, who are actually under the Covenant of Grace, good Works are strictly required, under the Penalty of the Loss of Eternal Life; *If ye live after the Flesh, ye shall die, but if through the Spirit ye mortify the Deeds of the Body, ye shall live*, Rom. 8. 13. And so *Rom. 6. 11, 13.* they are commanded to obey God as living Men. This is the Tenour of the whole New Testament: The Apostate Heathen World were dead, and were of their selves in that State not capable of doing any thing to procure their Translation into the Kingdom of God, that was purely the Work of Grace: But when they received the Gospel, they were then made alive by Faith, and by the Spirit of God; and then they were in a State of Life, and working and Works were expected of them. Thus Grace and Works consist without any Difficulty; that which has caus'd the Perplexity and seeming Contradiction, has been Mens Mistake concerning the Kingdom of God: God in the Fulness of Time set up his Kingdom in this World under his Son; into which he admitted all those who believed on him, and received Jesus the Messiah for their Lord. Thus by Faith in Jesus Christ Men became the People of God, and Subjects of his Kingdom; and being by Baptism admitted into it, were from henceforth, during their continuing in the Faith, and Profession of the Gospel, accounted Saints, the Beloved of God, the Faithful in Christ Jesus, the People of God saved, &c. for in these Terms, and the like, the Sacred Scripture speaks of them. And indeed those, who were thus translated into the Kingdom of the Son of God, were no longer in the dead State of the Gentiles; but having passed from Death to Life, were in the State of the Living, in the Way to eternal Life; which they were sure to attain, if they persevered in that Life which the Gospel required, *viz.* Faith and sincere Obedience. But yet this was not an actual Possession of eternal Life in the Kingdom of God in the World to come; for by Apostacy or Disobedience, this, though sometimes called Salvation, might be forfeited and lost; whereas he that is once possessed of the other, hath actually an eternal Inheritance in the Heavens, which fadeth not away. These two Considerations of the Kingdom of Heaven some Men have confounded and made one; so that a Man being brought into the first of these, wholly by Grace without Works, Faith being all that was required to inflate a Man in it, they have concluded that for the attaining eternal Life, or the Kingdom of God in the World to come, Faith alone, and not good Works, are required, contrary to express Words of Scripture, and the whole Tenour of the Gospel: But yet not being admitted into that State of eternal Life for our good Works, 'tis by Grace here too that we are saved, our Righteousness after all being imperfect, and we by our Sins liable to Condemnation and Death: But 'tis by Grace we are made Partakers of both these Kingdoms; 'tis only into the Kingdom of God in this World we are admitted by Faith alone without Works; but for our Admittance into the other, both Faith and Obedience, in a sincere Endeavour to perform those Duties, all those good Works which are incumbent on us, and come in our Way to be performed by us, from the Time of our believing till our Death.

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ordained that we should walk in them.

manship of God created (d) in Christ Jesus, to the end we should do good Works, for which he had prepared and fitted us to live in them (e).

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10 (d) *Workmanship of God created.* 'Tis not by Virtue of any Works of the Law, nor in Consideration of our submitting to the Mosaical Institution, or having any Alliance with the Jewish Nation, that we Gentiles are brought into the Kingdom of Christ; we are in this entirely the Workmanship of God, and are, as it were, created therein, framed and fitted by him, to the Performance of those good Works which we were from thence to live in; and so owe nothing of this our new Being, in this new State, to any Preparation or Fitting we received from the Jewish Church, or any Relation we stood in thereunto. That this is the Meaning of the new Creation under the Gospel, is evident from St. Paul's own explaining of it himself, 2 Cor. 5. 16—18. viz. That being in Christ was all one as if he were in a new Creation; and therefore from henceforth he knew no body after the Flesh, i. e. he pretended to no Privilege for being of a Jewish Race, or an Observer of their Rites; all these old things were done away; all things under the Gospel are new, and of God alone.

(e) This is conformable to what he says, v. 5, 6. That God quickened and raised the Gentiles, that were dead in Trespasses and Sins, with Christ, being by Faith united to him, and partaking of the same Spirit of Life which raised him from the Dead; whereby, as Men brought to Life, they were enabled (if they would not resist nor quench that Spirit) to live unto God in Righteousness and Holiness, as before they were under the absolute Dominion of Satan and their own Lusts.

SECT. IV.

CHAP. II. 11—22.

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FROM this Doctrine of his in the foregoing Section, that God of his Free Grace, according to his Purpose from the beginning, had quickened and raised the Convert Gentiles, together with Christ, and seated them with Christ in his heavenly Kingdom, St. Paul here in this Section draws this Inference to keep them from Judaizing, that though they (as was the State of the Heathen World) were heretofore, by being uncircumcised, shut out from the Kingdom of God, Strangers from the Covenants of Promise, without Hope and without God in the World; yet they were by Christ, who had taken away the Ceremonial Law, that Wall of Partition, that kept them in that State of Distance and Opposition, now received without any subjecting them to the Law of Moses, to be the People of God, and had the same Admittance into the Kingdom of God with the Jews themselves, with whom they were now created into one new Man or Body of Men, so that they were no longer to look on themselves any more as Aliens, or remoter off from the Kingdom of God than the Jews themselves.

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11 **W**herefore remember that ye being in time passed Gentiles in the flesh, who are called uncircumcision by that which is called the circumcision in the flesh made by hands;

Wherefore remember that ye who were heretofore Gentiles, distinguish'd and separated from the Jews, who are circumcised by a Circumcision made with Hands in their Flesh, by your not being

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12. circumcised in your Flesh (*f*), were at that time without all Knowledge of the Messiah, or any Expectation of Deliverance or Salvation by him (*g*), Aliens from the Commonwealth of *Israel* (*b*), and Strangers to the Covenants of Promise (*i*), not having any Hope of any such thing, and living in the World without having the true God for their God (*k*), or they being his People. But now you, that were formerly remote and at a distance, are by Jesus Christ brought near by his Death (*l*). For it is he that reconcileth us (*m*) to the Jews, and hath brought us and them, who were before at an irreconcilable Distance, into Unity one with another, by removing the middle Wall of Partition (*n*), that kept us at a Distance, Having taken away the Cause of Enmity (*o*), or Distance between us, by abolishing (*p*) that part of the Law which consisted in positive

That at that time ye¹² were without Christ, being aliens from the commonwealth of *Israel*, and strangers from the covenant of promise, having no hope, and without God in the world:

But now in Christ Je.¹³ fus, ye who sometimes were far off, are made nigh by the blood of Christ.

For he is our peace,¹⁴ who hath made both one, and hath broken down the middle wall of partition between us;

Having abolished in his¹⁵ flesh the enmity, even the law of commandments

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11 (*f*) This Separation was so great, that to a Jew the uncircumcised Gentiles were counted so polluted and unclean, that they were not shut out barely from their holy Places and Service; but from their Tables and ordinary Conversation.

12 (*g*) That this is the Meaning of being *without Christ* here, is evident from this, that what St. Paul says here, is to shew the different State of the Gentiles from that of the Jews, before the coming of our Saviour.

(*b*) Who were alone then the People of God.

(*i*) *Covenants*. God more than once renewed his Promise to *Abraham*, *Isaac* and *Jacob*, and the Children of *Israel*, that upon the Conditions proposed he would be their God, and they should be his People.

(*k*) 'Tis in this Sense that the Gentiles are called ἀθεοι; for there were few of them Atheists in our Sense of the word, *i. e.* denying superiour Powers; and many of them acknowledge one supreme Eternal God; but as St. Paul says, *Rom. 1. 21.* When they knew God, they glorified him not as God, they owned him not alone, but turn'd away from him the invisible God, to the Worship of Images, and the false Gods of their Countries.

13 (*l*) How this was done the following words explain, and *Col. 2. 14.*

14 (*m*) ἡμῶν, *Our*, in this verse, must signify Persons in the same Condition with those he speaks to under the Pronoun ὑμεῖς, *ye*, in the foregoing verse, or else the Apostle's Argument here would be wide, and not conclusive; but *ye* in the foregoing verse incontestably signifies the Convert Gentiles, and so therefore must ἡμῶν in this verse.

(*n*) See *Col. 1. 20.*

15 (*o*) It was the Ritual Law of the Jews, that kept them and the Gentiles at an irreconcilable Distance; so that they could come to no Terms of a fair Correspondence, the Force whereof was so great, that even after Christ was come, and had put an End to the Obligation of that Law; yet it was almost impossible to bring them together; and this was that which in the beginning most obstructed the progress of the Gospel, and disturbed the Gentile Converts.

(*p*) *By abolishing*. I do not remember that the Law of *Moses*, or any Part of it, is by an actual Repeal any where abrogated; and yet we are told here, and in other places of the New Testament, that it is *abolished*. The want of a right understanding of what this *abolishing* was, and how it was brought about, has, I suspect, given Occasion to the misunderstanding of several Texts of Sacred Scripture; I beg leave therefore to offer what the Sacred Scripture seems to me to suggest concerning this Matter, till a more thorough Enquiry by some abler Hand shall be made into it. After the general Revolt and Apostacy of Mankind, from the Acknowledgment and Worship of the one only true invisible God their Maker, the Children of *Israel*, by a voluntary Submission to him, and Acknowledgment of him to be their God and supreme Lord, came to be his People, and he, by a peculiar Covenant, to be their King; and thus erected to himself a Kingdom in this World out of that People, to whom he gave a Law by *Moses*, which was to be the Law of the *Israelites*, his People, with a Purpose at the same time, that he would in due season transfer this his Kingdom in this World into the hands of the Messiah, whom he intended to send into the World, to be the Prince and Ruler of his People, as he had foretold and promised to the Jews. Into which Kingdom of his under his Son, he purposed also, and foretold that he would admit and incorporate the other Nations of

contained in ordinances, positive Commands and Ordinances, that so he might
for to make in himself, of make

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of the Earth, as well as those of the Posterity of *Abraham*, *Isaac*, and *Jacob*, who were to come into this his enlarged Kingdom upon new Terms that he should then propose; and that those, and those only, should from henceforth be his People. And thus it came to pass, that tho' the Law which was given by *Moses* to the Israelites was never repealed, and so ceased not to be the Law of that Nation; yet it ceased to be the Law of the People and Kingdom of God in this World, because the Jews not receiving him to be their King, whom God had sent to be the King and sole Ruler of his Kingdom for the future, ceased to be the People of God, and the Subjects of God's Kingdom. And thus Jesus Christ by his Death entering into his Kingdom, having then fulfilled all that was required of him for the obtaining of it, put an End to the Law of *Moses*, opening another way to all People, both Jews and Gentiles, into the Kingdom of God, quite different from the Law of Ordinances given by *Moses*, viz. Faith in Jesus Christ, by which, and which alone, every one that would, had now Admittance into the Kingdom of God, by the one plain and easy simple Ceremony of Baptism. This was that which, though it was also foretold, the Jews understood not, having a very great Opinion of themselves, because they were the chosen People of God; and of their Law, because God was the Author of it; and so concluded that both they were to remain the People of God for ever, and also that they were to remain so under that same Law, which was never to be alter'd; and so never understood what was foretold them of the Kingdom of the Messiah, in respect of the ceasing of their Law of Ordinances, and the Admittance of the Gentiles upon the same Terms with them into the Kingdom of the Messiah; which therefore *St. Paul* calls over and over again a Mystery, and a Mystery hidden from Ages.

Now he that will look a little farther into this Kingdom of God, under these two different Dispensations of the Law and the Gospel, will find that it was erected by God, and Men were recall'd into it out of the general Apostacy from their Lord and Maker, for the unspeakable Good and Benefit of those who, by entering into it, return'd to their Allegiance, that thereby they might be brought into a Way and Capacity of being restor'd to that happy State of Eternal Life, which they had all lost in *Adam*, which it was impossible they could ever recover whilst they remain'd Worshipers and Vassals of the Devil, and so Out-laws and Enemies to God, in the Kingdom, and under the Dominion of Satan; since the most bias'd and partial Inclination of an intelligent Being, could never expect that God should reward Rebellion and Apostacy with eternal Happiness, and take Men that were actually Vassals and Adorers of his Arch-Enemy the Devil, and immediately give them eternal Bliss, with the Enjoyment of Pleasures in his Presence, and at his Right-hand for evermore. The Kingdom of God therefore in this World, was, as it were, the Entrance to the Kingdom of God in the other World, and the Receptacle and Place of Preparation of those who aim'd at a Share in that eternal inheritance. And hence the People of the Jews were called holy, chosen, and Sons of God; as were afterward the Christians called Saints, Elect, Beloved, and Children of God, &c. But there is this remarkable Difference to be observ'd in what is said of the Subjects of this Kingdom, under the two different Dispensations of the Law and the Gospel, that the Converts to Christianity, and Professors of the Gospel, are often termed and spoke of as *saved*, which I do not remember that the Jews or Proselytes, Members of the Common-wealth, any where are: The Reason whereof is, that the Conditions of that Covenant whereby they were made the People of God, under that Constitution of God's Kingdom in this World, was, *Do this and live*; but he, that continues not in all these things to do them, shall die. But the Condition of the Covenant whereby they become the People of God, in the Constitution of his Kingdom under the Messiah, is, Believe and repent, and thou shalt be saved, *i. e.* Take Christ for thy Lord, and do sincerely but what thou canst to keep his Law, and thou shalt be saved; in the one of which, which is therefore called the Covenant of Works, those who were actually in that Kingdom could not attain the everlasting Inheritance: And in the other called the Covenant of Grace, those, who if they would but continue as they began, *i. e.* in the State of Faith and Repentance, *i. e.* in a Submission to and owning of Christ, and a steady unrelenting Resolution of not offending against his Law, could not miss it, and so might truly be said to be saved, they being in an unerring way to Salvation. And thus we see how the Law of *Moses* is by Christ abolished under the Gospel, not by any actual Repeal of it, but is set aside, by ceasing to be the Law of the Kingdom of God translated into the hands of the Messiah, and set up under him; which Kingdom so erected, contains all that God now does or will own to be his People in this World. This way of *abolishing* of the Law, did not make those Observances unlawful to those who before their Conversion to the Gospel were circumcised, and under the Law, they were indifferent things, which the converted Jews might, or might not observe, as they found convenient: That which was unlawful and contrary to the Gospel, was the making those ritual Observances necessary to be join'd with Faith in Believers for Justification, as we see they did, who, *Acts 15.* taught the Brethren, that unless they were circumcised after the Manner of *Moses*, they could not be saved; so that the nailing it to Christ's Cross, *Col. 2. 14.* was the taking away from thenceforth all Obligation for any one to be circumcised, and to put himself under the Observances of the Law, to become one of the People of God, but was no Prohibition to any one who was circumcised before Conversion to observe them. And accordingly we see, *Gal. 2. 11.* that what *St. Paul*

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16. make (q) or frame the two, viz. Jews and Gentiles, into one new Society or Body of God's People, in a new Constitution under himself (r), so making Peace between them. And might reconcile them both to God, being thus united into one Body in him by the Cross, whereby he destroy'd that Enmity or Incompatibility that was between them, by nailing to his Cross the Law of Ordinances that kept them at a Distance. And being come, preach'd the good Tidings of Peace to you Gentiles that were far off from the Kingdom of Heaven, and to the Jews that were near, and in the very Precincts of it. For it is by him that we, both Jews and Gentiles, have Access to the Father by one and the same Spirit. Therefore ye *Ephesians*, though heretofore Gentiles, now Believers in Christ, you are no more Strangers and Foreigners, but without any more a-do Fellow-Citizens of the Saints, and Domesticks of God's own Family: Built upon the Foundation laid by the Apostles and Prophets, whereof Jesus Christ is the Corner-

twain, one new man, so making peace;

And that he might reconcile both unto God in one body by the cross, having slain the enmity thereby.

And came, and preached peace to you which were afar off, and to them that were nigh.

For through him we both have an access by one Spirit unto the Father.

Now therefore ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but fellow-citizens with the saints, and of the household of God;

And are built upon the foundation of the apostles and prophets, Jesus Christ himself being the chief corner-stone.

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blames in *St. Peter*, was compelling the Gentiles to live as the Jews do: Had not that been in the Case, he would no more have blam'd his Carriage at *Antioch*, than he did his observing the Law at *Jerusalem*.

The Apostle here tells us what part of the Mosaical Law it was that Christ put an end to by his Death, viz. τὸν νόμον τῶν ἐντολῶν ἐν δόγμασι, the Law of Commandments in Ordinances; i. e. the positive Injunctions of the Law of *Moses* concerning things in their own nature indifferent, which became obligatory merely by Virtue of a direct positive Command; and are called by *St. Paul* in the parallel place, *Col. 2. 14.* χειρόγραφον τοῖς δόγμασι, the Hand-writing of Ordinances. There were, besides these, contained in the Book of the Law of *Moses*, the Law of Nature, or, as it is commonly called, the Moral Law, that unmoveable Rule of Right which is of perpetual Obligation: This Jesus Christ is so far from abrogating, that he has promulgated it a-new under the Gospel, fuller and clearer than it was in the Mosaical Constitution, or any where else; and, by adding to its Precepts the Sanction of his own Divine Authority, has made the Knowledge of that Law more easie and certain than it was before; so that the Subjects of his Kingdom whereof this is now the Law, can be at no doubt or loss about their Duty, if they will but read and consider the Rules of Morality, which our Saviour and his Apostles have deliver'd in very plain words in the holy Scriptures of the New Testament.

15 (q) Make; the Greek word is κτίσθαι, which does not always signify Creation in a strict Sense.

(r) This, as I take it, being the Meaning, it may not be amiss perhaps to look into the Reason why *St. Paul* expresses it in this more figurative manner, viz. to make in himself of twain one new Man, which, I humbly conceive, was more suitable to the Ideas he had, and so were, in fewer words, more lively and express to his Purpose: He always has Jesus Christ in his Mind, as the Head of the Church, which was his Body, from and by whom alone, by being united to him, the whole Body and every Member of it receiv'd Life, Vigour and Strength, and all the Benefits of that State; which admirably well shews, that whoever were united to this Head, must needs be united to one another, and also that all the Privileges and Advantages they enjoy'd, were wholly owing to their Union with, and adhering to, him their Head; which were the two things that he was here inculcating to the Convert Gentiles of *Ephesus*, to shew them, that now under the Gospel Men became the People of God, merely by Faith in Jesus Christ, and having him for their Head, and not at all by keeping the Ritual Law of *Moses*, which Christ had abolished, and so had made Way for the Jews and Gentiles to become one in Christ, since now Faith in him alone united them into one Body under that Head, with the Observance of the Law; which is the Meaning of so making Peace. I hope this single Note here may lead ordinary Readers into an understanding of *St. Paul's* Stile, and by making them observe the Reason, give them an easier Entrance into the Meaning of *St. Paul's* figurative Expressions.

If the Nation of the Jews had owned and received Jesus the Messiah, they had continued on as the People of God; but after that they had Nationally rejected him, and refused to have him rule over them, and put him to Death, and so had revolted from their Allegiance, and with

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| <p>21 In whom all the building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy temple in the Lord :</p> <p>22 In whom you also are builded together for an habitation of God through the Spirit.</p> | <p>Corner-stone : In whom all the Building fitly framed together, groweth unto an holy Temple in the Lord : In which even the Gentiles also are built up together with the believing Jews, for an Habitation of God, through the Spirit (s).</p> | <p>21.</p> <p>22.</p> |
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withdrawn themselves from the Kingdom of God, which he had now put into the Hands of his Son, they were no longer the People of God ; and therefore all those of the Jewish Nation, who after that would return to their Allegiance, had Need of Reconciliation to be re-admitted into the Kingdom of God, as Part of his People, who were now received into Peace and Covenant with him upon other Terms, and under other Laws, than being the Posterity of *Jacob*, or Observers of the Law of *Moses*.

22 (s) The Sense of which Allegory I take to be this : It is plain from the Attestation of the Apostles and Prophets, that the Gentiles who believe in Christ are thereby made Members of his Kingdom, united together under him their Head into such a well-framed Body, wherein each Person has his proper Place, Rank and Function to which he is fitted, that God will accept and delight in them as his People, and live amongst them, as in a well-framed Building dedicated and set apart to him, whereof the Gentiles make a Part, and without any Difference put between you, are framed in Equality, and promiscuously with the believing Jews, by the Spirit of God to be one People, amongst whom he will dwell, and be their God, and they shall be his People.

SECT. V.

CHAP. III. 1—21.

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THis Section gives a great Light to those foregoing, and more clearly opens the Design of this Epistle : For here *St. Paul* in plain words tells them, it is for preaching this Doctrine that was a Mystery, till now being hid from former Ages, (*viz.*) that the Gentiles should be Co-heirs with the believing Jews, and, making one Body or People with them, should be equally Partakers of the Promises under the Messiah, of which Mystery he by particular Favour and Appointment was ordain'd the Preacher. Whereupon he exhorts them not be dismay'd, or flinch in the least from the Belief or Profession of this Truth, upon his being persecuted and in Bonds upon that Account. For his suffering for it, who was the Preacher and Propagater of it, was so far from being a just Discouragement to them, from standing firmly in the Belief of it, that it ought to be to them a Glory, and a Confirmation of this eminent Truth of the Gospel, which he peculiarly taught, and thereupon he tells them, he makes it his Prayer to God, that they may be strengthen'd herein, and be able to comprehend the Largeness of the Love of God in Christ, not confined to the Jewish Nation and Constitution, as the Jews conceited ; but far surpassing the Thoughts of those who, presuming themselves knowing, would confine it to such only who were Members of the Jewish Church, and Observers of their Ceremonies.

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1. **F**OR my Preaching of this (t), I Paul am a Prisoner, upon account of the Gospel of Jesus Christ, for the Sake and Service of you Gentiles (u):
2. Which you cannot doubt of, since (w) ye have heard of the Dispensation of the Grace of God, which was
3. given to me in Reference to you Gentiles: How that by especial Revelation he made known unto me in particular (x) the Mystery (y) (as I hinted to you
4. above, viz. ch. 1. 9. By the bare reading whereof ye may be assured of my Knowledge in this formerly conceal'd and unknown part of the Gospel of Christ
5. (z): Which in former Ages was not made known to the Sons of Men, as it is now revealed to his holy
6. Apostles and Prophets by the Spirit, viz. That the Gentiles should be Fellow-Heirs, be united into one Body, and partake of his Promise (a) in Christ, joyntly with the Jews (b), in the time (c) of the Gospel;

FOR this cause, I Paul, the prisoner of Jesus Christ for you Gentiles; If ye have heard of the dispensation of the grace of God, which is given me to you-ward: How that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery, (as I wrote afore in few words, Whereby when ye read ye may understand my knowledge in the mystery of Christ) Which in other ages was not made known unto the sons of men, as it is now revealed unto his holy apostles and prophets by the Spirit; That the Gentiles should be fellow-heirs, and of the same body, and partakers of his promise in Christ by the gospel:

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1 (t) See Col. 4. 3. 2 Tim. 2. 9, 10.

(u) See Phil. 1. 7. Col. 1. 24.

2 (w) "Εἰς, is sometimes an affirmative Particle, and signifies in Greek the same that *quidem* does in Latin, and so the Sense requires it to be understood here; for it could not be supposed but the Ephesians, among whom St. Paul had lived so long, must have heard that he was by express Commission from God made Apostle of the Gentiles, and by immediate Revelation instructed in the Doctrine he was to teach them, whereof this of their Admittance into the Kingdom of God purely by Faith in Christ, without Circumcision or other legal Observances, was one great and necessary Point, whereof St. Paul was so little shy, that we see the World rung of it, Acts 21. 28. And if his Preaching and Writing were of a piece, as we need not doubt this Mystery of God's Purpose to the Gentiles, which was communicated to him by Revelation, and we hear of so often in his Epistles, was not concealed from them he preach'd to.

3 (x) Though St. Peter was by a Vision from God sent to Cornelius a Gentile, Acts 10. yet we do not find that this Purpose of God's calling the Gentiles to be his People equally with the Jews, without any Regard to Circumcision, or the Mosaic Rites, as revealed to him, or to any other of the Apostles, as a Doctrine which they were to preach and publish to the World: Neither indeed was it needful that it should be any part of their Commission, who were Apostles only of the Circumcision, to mix that in their Message to the Jews, which should make them stop their Ears and refuse to hearken to the other Parts of the Gospel, which they were more concerned to know and be instructed in.

(y) See Col. 1. 26.

4 (z) One may be ready to ask, to what Purpose is this, which this Parenthesis contains here concerning himself? And indeed without having an Eye on the Design of this Epistle, it is pretty hard to give an Account of it, but that being carried in View, there is nothing plainer, nor more pertinent and persuasive than this here; for what can be of more Force to make them stand firm to the Doctrine which he had taught them, of their being exempt from Circumcision, and the Observances of the Law? If you have heard, and I assure you in my Epistle, that this Mystery of the Gospel was revealed in a particular manner to me from Heaven: The very reading of this is enough to satisfy you, that I am well instructed in that Truth, and that you may safely depend upon what I have taught you concerning this Point, notwithstanding I am in Prison for it, which is a thing you ought to glory in, since I suffer for a Truth wherein you are so nearly concern'd; see ch. 6. 19.

6 (a) The Promise here intended, is the Promise of the Spirit; see Gal. 3. 14. which was not given to any but to the People and Children of God; and therefore the Gentiles receiv'd not the Spirit till they became the People of God, by Faith in Christ, in the Times of the Gospel.

(b) Though the Jews are not expressly named here; yet it is plain from the foregoing Chapter, v. 11, &c. that 'tis of the Union of the Gentiles with the Jews, and making with them one Body of God's People, equally sharing in all the Privileges and Benefits of the Gospel, that he is here speaking, the same which he teaches, Gal. 3. 26—29.

(c) Διὰ τῆς εὐαγγελίας, signifies here, In the time of the Gospel, as δι' ἀποστόλων signifies, In

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

7 Whereof I was made a minister according to the gift of the grace of God given unto me by the effectual working of his power.

8 Unto me, who am less than the least of all saints, is this grace given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable riches of Christ;

9 And to make all men see, what is the fellowship of the mystery which from the beginning of the world, hath been hid in God, who created all things by Jesus Christ:

10 To the intent that now

Gospel; Of which Doctrine I in particular was made the Minister (d) according to the free and gracious Gift of God, given unto me by the effectual Working of his Power, in his so wonderful converting the Gentiles by my Preaching (e); Unto me, I say, who am less than the least of all Saints, is this Favour given, that I should preach among the Gentiles the unsearchable Riches of Christ (f); And make all Men (g) perceive how this Mystery comes now to be communicated (h) to the World, which has been concealed from all past Ages, lying hid in the secret Purpose of God, who frames and manages this whole new Creation by Jesus Christ (i); To the intent that now

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NOTES.

In the time of Uncircumcision, Rom. 4. 11. see Note on Rom. 7. 5. The same thing being intended here, which, ch. 1. 10. is thus expressed; *That in the Dispensation of the Fulness of Times*, i. e. in the time of the Gospel, *all things might be gathered together, or united, in Christ, or by Christ.*

7 (d) Though he does not in express words deny others to be made Ministers of it, for it neither suited his Modesty, nor the respect he had for the other Apostles, so to do; yet his Expression here will be found strongly to imply it, especially if we read and consider well the two following Verses, for this was a necessary Instruction to one who was sent to convert the Gentiles, though those who were sent to their Brethren the Jews were not appointed to promulgate it. This one Apostle of the Gentiles, by the Success of his preaching to the Gentiles the Attestation of Miracles, and the Gift of the Holy Ghost, join'd to what Peter had done by special Direction in the Case of *Cornelius*, would be enough in its due Season to convince the other Apostles of this Truth, as we may see it did, *Acts 15.* and *Gal. 2. 6* — 9. And of what Consequence, and how much St. Paul thought the preaching of this Doctrine his peculiar Business, we may see by what he says, ch. 6. 19, 20. where any one may see by the different Treatment he received from the rest of the Apostles, being in Bonds upon that account, that his preaching herein differ'd from their's, and he was thereupon, as he tells us himself, treated as an evil Doer, 2 Tim. 2. 9. The History whereof we have, *Acts 21. 17.* &c. as we have elsewhere observed. And it is upon the account of his preaching this Doctrine, and displaying to the World this concealed Truth, which he calls every where a hidden Mystery, that he gives to what he had preach'd the distinguishing Title of *my Gospel*, Rom. 16. 25. which he is concerned that God should establish them in, that being the chief Design of his Epistle to the Romans, as here to the Ephesians. The insisting so much on this, that it was the special Favour and Commission of God to him in particular, to preach this Doctrine of God's Purpose of calling the Gentiles to the Word, was not out of Vanity or Boasting, but was here of great Use to his present Purpose, as carrying a strong Reason with it, why the Ephesians should rather believe him, to whom, as their Apostle, it was made manifest, and committed to be preached, than the Jews, from whom it had been conceal'd, and was kept as a Mystery, and was in it self *ἀνεκκάλυστον*, inscrutable by Men, though of the best natural Parts and Endowments.

(e) This seems to be the Energy of the Power of God, which he here speaks of, as appears by what he says of St. Peter, and of himself, *Gal. 2. 8.* Ὁ ἐνεργήσας Πέτρῳ εἰς ἀποστολὴν τῆς περιτομῆς, ἐνέργησας καὶ ἐμοὶ εἰς τὰ ἔθνη, *He that wrought effectually in Peter to the Apostleship of the Circumcision, the same was mighty, or wrought effectually in me, as ἐνέργησας, is here translated, of which his very great Modesty could not hinder him from speaking, thus 1 Col. 15. 9, 10. I am the least of the Apostles, that am not meet to be called an Apostle, because I persecuted the Church of God: But by the Grace of God I am what I am, and his Grace, which was bestowed upon me, was not in vain, but I laboured more abundantly than they all; yet not I, but the Grace of God that was with me:* A Passage very suitable to what he says in this and the next Verse.

8 (f) i. e. That abundant Treasure of Mercy, Grace and Favour, laid up in Jesus Christ, not only to the Jews; but to the whole Heathen World, which was beyond the Reach of humane Sagacity to discover, and could be known only by Revelation.

(g) All Men, i. e. Men of all Sorts and Nations, Gentiles as well as Jews.

9 (h) τὴν ἡ κοινωσίαν, *what is the Communication*, i. e. that they may have light from me, to see and look into the Reason and Ground of the Discovery or Communication of this Mystery to them now by Jesus Christ, who is now exhibited to the World, into whose hands God has put the Management of this whole Dispensation.

(i) To open our way to a right Sense of these words, τῷ τὰ πάντα χτισάντι Δεῖ Ἰησοῦ, it will

now under the Gospel the manifold Wisdom of God, in the ordering and management of his heavenly Kingdom, might be made known to Principalities and Powers by the Church (k), According to that

unto the principalities and powers in heavenly places, might be known by the church the manifold wisdom of God,

NOTES.

will be necessary in the first place to consider the Terms of it, and how they are used by St. Paul.

1. As to κτίσanti, *created*, it is to be acknowledged, that it is the word used in Sacred Scripture to express *Creation* in the Scriptural Sense of *Creation*, i. e. making out of nothing; yet that it is not always used in that Sense by St. Paul, is visible from the 15th Verse of the foregoing Chapter, where our Translators have rightly render'd κτίσιν *make*, and it would contain a manifest Absurdity to render it there *create*, in the Theological Sense of the word *create*.

2. It is to be observed that St. Paul often chooses to speak of the Work of Redemption by Christ as a Creation. Whether it were, because this was the chief End of the Creation, or whether it were because there was no less seen of the Wisdom, Power and Goodness of God, in this than in the first Creation, and the Change of lost and revolted Man from being dead in Sins to Newness of Life, was as great, and by as great a Power, as at first making out of nothing, or whether it was because the ἀνακεφαλαιώσις, under Jesus Christ the Head, mentioned, ch. 1. 10. was a Restitution of the Creation to its primitive State and Order, which, Acts 3. 21. is called ἀποκαταστάσις πάντων, *the Restitution of all things*, which was begun with the Preaching of St. John Baptist, (who was the Elias that reitored all things, Mat. 17. 11. i. e. opened the Kingdom of Heaven to Believers of all Nations, Luke 16. 16.) and is completed in Christ's coming with his Saints in the Glory of his Father at the last Day. But whether some or all of these Conjectures which I have mentioned be the Reason of it, this is certain, that St. Paul speaks of the Work of Redemption under the name of Creation. So 2 Cor. 5. 17. *If any one be in Christ, κλινι κτίσις, he is a new Creature, or it is a new Creation.* And Gal. 6. 15. *In Christ Jesus neither Circumcision availeth any thing, nor Uncircumcision, but κλινι κτίσις, the new Creation.*

'Tis then to be consider'd of which Creation τὰ πάντα κτίσanti, *who created all things*, is here to be understood. The Business St. Paul is upon in this place, is to shew that God's Purpose of taking in the Gentiles to be his People under the Gospel, was a Mystery unknown in former Ages, and now under the Kingdom of the Messiah committed to him to be preach'd to the World.

This is so manifestly the Design of St. Paul here, that no body can mistake it. Now if the Creation of the material World, of this visible Frame of Sun, Moon, and Stars, and heavenly Bodies that are over us, and of the Earth we inhabit, hath no immediate Relation, as certainly it hath not to this Mystery, this Design of God's to call the Gentiles into the Kingdom of his Son, it is to make St. Paul a very loose Writer and weak Arguer, in the middle of a Discourse which he seems to lay much Stress on, and to press earnestly on the Ephesians (for he urges it more than once) to bring in things not at all to his Purpose, and of no Use to the Business in hand. We cannot therefore avoid taking the Creation, and things created here, to be those of the new Creation, (viz.) those of which the Kingdom of Christ, which was this new Creation, was to be made up, and in that Sense, τὰ πάντα κτίσanti ὑπὸ 'Ιησοῦ Χριστοῦ, *who created all things by Jesus Christ*, is a Reason to shew why God kept his Purpose of making the Gentiles meet to be Partakers of the Inheritance of the Saints, or as he expresseth it, ch. 2. 10. that they should be his Workmanship created in Christ Jesus unto good Works, concealed from former Ages, viz. because this new Creation was in Jesus Christ, and so proper to be preached and publish'd when he was come, which is strongly confirm'd by the Words of the following Verse, viz. that NOW in its due time, by this new piece of Workmanship of his, viz. the Church, might be made known the manifold Wisdom of God. This taking in the Gentiles into the Kingdom of his Son, and after that the re-assuming again of the Jews, who had been rejected, St. Paul looks on as so great an Instance, and Display of the Wisdom of God, that it makes him cry out, Rom. 11. 33. *O the Depth of the Riches both of the Wisdom and Knowledge of God, how unsearchable are his Judgments, and his Ways past finding out!*

10 (k) There be two things in this Verse that to me make it hard to determine the precise Sense of it; the first is, what is meant by ἀρχαῖς and θεοῖς, Terms that sometimes in Sacred Scripture signify Temporal Magistrates, and so our Saviour uses them, Luke 12. 11. and St. Paul, Tit. 3. 1. Sometimes for those who are vested with any Power, whether Men or Angels, so 1 Cor. 15. 24. Sometimes for evil Angels, so they are understood, ch. 6. 12. Sometimes they are understood of good Angels, so Col. 1. 19. Now to which of these to determine the Sense here, I confess my self not sufficiently enlighten'd. Indeed ἐν τοῖς ἐνεστέλοις, in the things of his heavenly Kingdom, would do something towards it, were it undoubtedly certain, whether those words were in Construction to be join'd to ἀρχαῖς and θεοῖς, or to σοφία; i. e. Whether we are to understand it of Principalities and Powers in the Kingdom of Heaven, or

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 11 According to the eternal purpose which he purposed in Christ Jesus our Lord: 11.
 12 In whom we have boldness and access with confidence by the faith of him. 12.
 13 Wherefore I desire that ye faint not at my tribulations for you, which is your glory. 13.
 14 For this cause I bow my knees unto the father of our Lord Jesus Christ, 14.

that Predisposition (l) of the Ages, or several Dispensations which he made in Christ Jesus our Lord; By whom *we* have Boldness and Access to God the Father, with Confidence by Faith (m) in him. Wherefore my Desire is, that ye be not dismay'd by my present Affliction, which I suffer for your Sake, and is in Truth a Glory to you, that ought to raise your Hearts, and strengthen your Resolutions. Upon this Account I bend my Knees in Prayer to the Father of

NOTES.

or of the Wisdom of God in the ordering of that Kingdom: If the first of these, then 'tis evident they would signify the heavenly Host of good Angels employ'd in the Guard and Promotion of the Kingdom of Christ. But the Knowledge spoken of here, as communicated to these Principalities and Powers, being only in consequence of St. Paul's preaching, 'tis not easy to conceive, that the Revelation and Commission given to St. Paul, for the declaring the Mystery of God's Purpose to take the Gentiles into the Church, was to the Intent the Angels, either good or bad, should be instructed in this great and important Truth, wherein the Wisdom of God so much shewed it self, and that they should have no Knowledge of it before nor otherwise. This is so great a Difficulty, that it seems strongly to persuade, that the Principalities and Powers here mentioned are of this World, but against this there lies this obvious Objection, That the Magistrates of the Heathen World did not much concern themselves in what St. Paul preached, nor, upon his declaring that the Gentiles under the Messiah were to be taken in to be the People of God, did in effect gather from the Church thus constituted, any Arguments of the Wisdom of God. If therefore I may venture my Conjecture, for I dare not be positive in a Place that I confess my self not fully to understand, I should take this to be the Meaning of it. The High-Priests, Scribes and Pharisees, who are the Rulers of the Jewish Nation, and alone pretend to any Authority in these Matters, deny the Converted Heathens to be the People of God, because they neglect the Law and Circumcision, and those other Rites, whereby God has appointed those who are his People to be separated from the rest of the World, and made holy to himself. And so far most of the Converted Jews agree with them, that they will not allow the Converted Gentiles to be Members and Subjects of the Kingdom of the Messiah without being circumcised, and submitting to the Laws and Ceremonies of the Jews, as the only Religion and Way of Worship wherein they can be allowed to be God's People, or be accepted by him. Now, says St. Paul, God of his special Grace has commission'd me to preach to the World this his hidden Purpose of taking the Gentiles into the Kingdom of his Son, that so by the Church, consisting of Members who are God's People, without being circumcised, or observing the other Mosaic Rites, might, which the Jews could by no Means conceive, now be made known, and declared to the Leaders and Chief of that Nation the manifold Wisdom of God, which is not, as the Jews imagine, tied up to their own Way, but can bring about his Purposes by sundry Manners, and in Ways that they thought not of. This seems suitable to the Apostle's Meaning here, for though the Jews were not hereby converted, yet, when urg'd by the converted Gentiles, it served to stop their Mouths, and thereby to confirm the Gentiles in the Liberty of the Gospel. And thus by the Church, to whom St. Paul says, Col. 1. 24. and 2. 2. God would now have made it manifest by his Preaching, is this Mystery made known to Principalities and Powers, i. e. the Rulers and Teachers of the Jewish Nation, the Saints, who were apprised of it by St. Paul's preaching, urging, and manifesting it to them. And to this Sense of this Passage these two Words, *νῦν*, now, and *πολυτρόποιον*, manifold, seem wholly accommodated, i. e. Now that the uncircumcised Gentiles believe in Christ, and are by Baptism admitted into the Church, the Wisdom of God is made known to the Jews, not to be tied up to one invariable Way and Form, as they persuade themselves; but displays it self in sundry Manners, as he thinks fit.

11 (l) Whether by *αἰῶνες* Ages, here, the several Dispensations Mankind was under from first to last, or whether the two great Dispensations of the Law and the Gospel (for that *αἰῶνες* are used in the Sacred Scripture to denote these, I think an attentive Reader cannot doubt) be here meant, this seems visibly the Sense of the Place, that all these Dispensations in the several Ages of the Church, were all by the Pre-ordination of God's Purpose regulated and constituted in Christ Jesus our Lord; that is, with Regard to Christ, was designed and appointed Lord and Head over all; which seems to me to answer τὰ πάντα κτίσας διὰ Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, Who created all things by Jesus Christ, v. 9.

12 (m) Πίσις αὐτοῦ, Faith of him, the Genitive Case of the Object, as well as of the Agent, is so frequent in Sacred Scripture, that there needs nothing to be said of it.

15. our Lord Jesus Christ. (n) From whom the whole Family or Lineage both in Heaven and Earth have their Denomination, (*viz.*) Jesus Christ, that is already in Heaven, and Believers that are still on Earth, have all God for their Father, are all the Sons of God.
16. That he would grant you, according to the great Glory he designed to you Gentiles, who should receive the Gospel under the Messiah, (o) to be strengthened with Might by his Spirit in the inward
17. Man; (p) That Christ may dwell in your Hearts by Faith; that you, being settled and established in the Sense of the Love of God to you in Jesus Christ,
18. may be able together with all Christians to comprehend the Length, and Breadth, and Height, and Depth of this Mystery of God's Purpose of calling and taking in the Gentiles to be his People in the
19. Kingdom of his Son: (q) And to understand the exceeding (r) Love of God, in bringing us to the Knowledge of Christ: That you may be filled with that Knowledge, and all other Gifts, with God's Plenty, or to that Degree of Fulness which is suitable to his Purpose of Munificence and Bounty towards you. (s) Now to him that worketh in us by a
20. Power (t) whereby he is able to do exceedingly be-

Of whom the whole family in heaven and earth is named.

That he would grant 16 you according to the riches of his glory, to be strengthened with might by his Spirit in the inner man;

That Christ may dwell 17 in your hearts by faith; that ye being rooted and grounded in love,

May be able to compre- 18 hend with all saints, what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height;

And to know the love 19 of Christ, which passeth knowledge, that ye might be filled with all the fulness of God.

Now unto him that is 20 able to do exceeding abundantly above all that we ask or think, according to the power that worketh in us,

NOTES.

14 (n) The Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, set down as it is in the beginning of this Verse, join'd to the Design of the Apostle in this Place, makes me think, that the Sense of it is so plainly that which I have given of it, that I do not see any Difficulty can be made about it. In the foregoing Chapter, v. 19. he tells the Convert Gentiles of *Ephesus*, that now they believe in Christ, they are no longer Strangers and Foreigners, but Fellow-Citizens with the Saints, and of the Household of God; here he goes on, and tells them they are of the Family and Lineage of God, being jointly with Jesus Christ, who is already in Heaven, the Sons of God: What could be of greater Force to continue them stedfast in the Doctrine he had preach'd to them, and which he makes it his whole Business here to confirm them in, (*viz.*) That they need not be circumcised and submit to the Law of *Moses*, they being already by Faith in Christ the Sons of God, and of the same Lineage and Family with Christ himself, who was already by that Title possess'd of his Inheritance in Glory?

16 (o) See this Sense of this Passage as given, *Col.* 1. 27. and not much different, *Ch.* 1. 17, &c.

(p) What the *inward Man* signifies, see *Rom.* 7. 22. *2 Cor.* 4. 16.

18 (q) This Mystery being the Subject *St. Paul* is here upon, and which he endeavours to magnify to them, and establish in their Minds the Height and Breadth, &c. which he mentions in these Words, being not apply'd to any thing else, cannot, in good Sense, be understood of any thing else.

19 (r) *ὑπερβαλλόντων*, exceeding, seems to be here a comparative Term, join'd to the Love of God, in communicating the Knowledge of Christ, and declaring it superior to some other Thing, if you desire to know what, he himself tells you on the same Occasion, *Phil.* 3. 8. *viz.* To Circumcision, and the other Ritual Institutions of the Law, which the Jews look'd on as the Marks of the highest Degree of God's Love to them, whereby they were sanctified and separated to him from the rest of the World, and secured of his Favour. To which, if any one will add what *St. Paul* says on the same Subject, *Col.* 2. 2. &c. (for his Business is the very same in these three Epistles) he will not want Light to guide him in the Sense of this Place here.

(s) *Ἔς πάντ' τὸ πλήρωμα τοῦ Θεοῦ*, To all the Fulness of God; the Fulness of God is such Fulness as God is wont to bestow, *i. e.* wherein there is nothing wanting to any one, but every one is filled to the utmost of his Capacity. This I take to be the Meaning of *ἔς τὸ πλήρωμα Θεοῦ*, and then *πάντ' πλήρωμα* may be understood, to shew that it is not a Fulness of one Thing, and an Emptiness of another, but it is a Fulness of all those Gifts which any one shall need, and may be useful to him or the Church.

20 (t) What Power that is, see *Chap.* 1. 19, 20.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

21. Unto him be glory in the church by Christ Jesus, throughout all ages, world without end. Amen. yond all that we can ask or think ; Unto him be Glory in the Church by Christ Jesus, throughout all Ages, World without end. Amen. 21.

S E C T. VI.

CHAP. IV. 1—16.

CONTENTS.

ST. Paul having concluded the special Part of his Epistle with the foregoing Chapter, he comes in this, as his manner is, to practical Exhortations. He begins with Unity, Love and Concord, which he presses upon them, upon a Consideration that he makes use of in more of his Epistles than one, *i. e.* their being all Members of one and the same Body, whereof Christ is the Head.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

1. Therefore the prisoner of the Lord, beseech you that ye walk worthy of the vocation wherewith ye are called, 1.
2. With all lowliness and meekness, with long-suffering forbearing one another in love ; 2.
3. Endeavouring to keep the unity of the spirit in the bond of peace. 3.
4. There is one body, and one spirit, even as ye are called in one hope of your calling ; 4.
5. One Lord, one faith, one baptism, 5.
6. One God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all, and in you all. 6.
7. But unto every one of us is given grace according to the measure of the gift of Christ. 7.
8. Wherefore he saith, When he ascended up on high, he led captivity captive, and gave gifts unto men. 8.
- I** Therefore, who am in Bonds upon account of the Gospel, beseech you to walk worthy of the Calling wherewith ye are called, with Lowliness and Meekness, with Long-suffering, bearing with one another in Love ; Taking care to preserve the Unity of the Spirit in the Bond of Peace, Considering your selves as being one Body, enliven'd and acted by one Spirit, as also was your Calling in one Hope : There is one Lord, one Faith, one Baptism, One God and Father of you all, who is above all, in the midst amongst you all, and in every one of you. And to every one of us is made a free Donation, according to that Proportion of Gifts which Christ has allotted to every one. Wherefore the Psalmist saith, (u) *When he ascended up on high, he led Captivity captive, and gave Gifts unto Men.*

NOTES.

8 (u) *Psal.* 68. 18.

Vol. III.

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(Now

EPHESIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

9. (Now that he ascended, what is it but that he descended first into the lower Parts of the Earth? He that descended is the same also that ascended above all Heavens, that there receiving the Fulness of Power, he might be able to fill all his Members (w).) And therefore he alone framing the Constitution of his new Government, by his own Power, and according to such a Model, and such Rules as he thought best, Making some Apostles, others Evangelists, and others Pastors and Teachers; Putting thus together in a fit Order and Frame the several Members of his new collected People, that each in its proper Place and Function might contribute to the whole, and help to build up the Body of Christ: Till all cementing together in one Faith and Knowledge of the Son of God, to the full State of a grown Man, according to that Measure of that Stature which is to make up the Fulness of Christ: That we should be no longer Children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every Wind of Doctrine by Men versed in the Sights of Cheating, and their cunning Artifices laid in train to deceive. But being steady in true and unfeigned Love, should grow up into a firm Union in all things with Christ, who is the Head: From whom the whole Body fitly framed together, and compacted by that which every Joint supplies, according to the proper

(Now that he ascend-⁹ed, what is it but that he also descended first into the lower parts of the earth?

He that descended, is the ¹⁰same also that ascended up far above all heavens, that he might fill all things)

And he gave some, ²⁻¹¹apostles: and some, prophets: and some, evangelists: and some, pastors and teachers;

For the perfecting of ¹²the saints, for the work of the ministry, for the edifying of the body of Christ:

Till we all come in the ¹³unity of the faith, and of the knowledge of the Son of God, unto a perfect man unto the measure of the stature of the fulness of Christ:

That we henceforth be ¹⁴no more children tossed to and fro, and carried about with every wind of doctrine, by the slight of men, and cunning craftiness, whereby they lie in wait to deceive:

But speaking the truth ¹⁵in love, may grow up into him in all things, which is the head, even Christ:

From whom the whole ¹⁶body fitly joined together, and compacted by that which every joint supplieth, according to the effectual working in the

NOTES.

9, 10 (w) St. Paul's Argumentation in these two Verses is skillfully adapted to the main Design of his Epistle. The Convert Gentiles were attacked by the Unconverted Jews, who were declared Enemies to the Thoughts of a Messiah that died: St. Paul, to enervate that Objection of their's, proves by the Passage out of the Psalms, v. 8. that he must die and be buried. Besides the unbelieving Jews, several of them, that were converted to the Gospel, or at least professed to be so, attacked the Gentile Converts on another side, persuading them, that they could not be admitted to be the People of God in the Kingdom of the Messiah, nor receive any Advantage by him, unless they were circumcised, and put themselves wholly under the Jewish Constitution. He had said a great deal in the three first Chapters to free them from this Perplexity, but yet takes Occasion here to offer them a new Argument, by telling them, that Christ, the same Jesus that died, and was laid in his Grave, was exalted to the Right Hand of God above all the Heavens, in the highest State of Dignity and Power, that he himself being filled with the Fulness of God, Believers, who were all his Members, might receive immediately from him their Head a Fulness of Gifts and Graces, upon no other Terms, but barely as they were his Members.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

measure of every part, maketh increase of the body, unto the edifying of it self in love.

Force and Function of each particular Part, makes an Increase of the whole Body, building it self up in Love, or a mutual Concern of the Parts (x).

NOTES.

16 (x) The Sum of all that St. Paul says in this figurative Discourse, is, That Christians, all as Members of one Body whereof Christ is the Head, should each in his proper place, according to the Gifts bestowed upon him, labour with Concern and good Will for the Good and Increase of the whole, till it be grown up to that Fulness which is to compleat it in Christ Jesus. This is in short the Sense of the Exhortation contained in this Section, which carries a strong Insinuation with it, especially if we take in the rest of the Admonitions to the End of the Epistle, that the Mosaical Observances were no Part of the Business or Character of a Christian; but were wholly to be neglected and declined by the Subjects of Christ's Kingdom.

S E C T. VII.

C H A P. IV. 17—24.

C O N T E N T S.

IN this Section the Apostle exhorts them wholly to forsake their former Conversation, which they had passed their Lives in, whilst they were Gentiles, and to take up that which became them, and was proper to them, now they were Christians. Here we may see the Heathen and Christian State and Conversation described, and set in Opposition one to the other.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

17 **T**His I say therefore, and testify in the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not as other Gentiles walk in the vanity of their mind,

18 Having the understanding darken'd, being alienated from the life of God, through the ignorance that is in them, because of the blindness of their heart:

THis I say therefore, and testify to you, from the Lord, that ye henceforth walk not as the unconverted Gentiles walk, in the Vanity of their Minds (y), Having their Understandings darken'd, being alienated from that Rule and Course of Life which they own and observe, who are the professed Subjects and Servants of the true God (z), through the Ignorance that is in them, because of the Blindness

17.

18.

NOTES.

17 (y) This Vanity of Mind, if we look into *Rom. 1. 21, &c.* we shall find to be the Apostatizing of the Gentiles from the true God to Idolatry, and in Consequence of that, to all that profligate way of Living which followed thereupon, and is there described by St. Paul.

18 (z) This Alienation was from owning Subjection to the true God, and the Observance of those Laws which he had given to those of Mankind, that continued and professed to be his People; see *ch. 2. 12.*

of

19. of their Hearts ; Who being past feeling, have given themselves over to Lasciviousness, to the committing of all Uncleaness even beyond the Bounds of natural Desires (a). But you, that have been instructed in the Religion of Christ, have learned other things ;
20. If you have been Scholars of his School, and have been taught the Truth, as it is in the Gospel of Jesus
21. Christ : That you change your former Conversation, abandoning those deceitful Lusts wherewith you were
22. entirely corrupted : And that, being renewed in the
23. Spirit of the Mind, You become new Men (b), framed and fashioned according to the Will of God, in
24. Righteousness and true Holiness.

Who being past feeling,¹⁹ have given themselves over unto lasciviousness, to work all uncleanness with greediness.

But ye have not so²⁰ learned Christ :

If so be that ye have²¹ heard him, and have been taught by him, as the truth is in Jesus ;

That ye put off concern²²ing the former conversation, the old man, which is corrupt according to the deceitful lusts :

And be renewed in the²³ spirit of your mind ;

And that ye put on the²⁴ new man, which after God is created in righteousness and true holiness.

NOTES.

19 (a) *Πλεονεξία*, *Covetousness*, in the common Acceptation of the word, is the letting loose our Desires to that which by the Law of Justice we have no Right to. But St. Paul in some of his Epistles uses it for intemperate and exorbitant Desires of carnal Pleasures, not confined within the Bounds of Nature. He that will compare with this Verse here, *ch. 5. 3. Col. 3. 5. Theff. 4. 5. 1 Cor. 5. 10, 11.* and well consider the Context, will find Reason to take it here in the Sense I have given of it, or else it will be very hard to understand these Texts of Scripture. In the same Sense the learned Dr. Hammond understands *πλεονεξία*, *Rom. 1. 29.* Which tho' perhaps the Greek Idiom will scarce justify ; yet the Apostle's Style will, who often uses Greek Terms in the full Latitude of the Hebrew words which they are usually put for in translating, tho' in the Greek use of them, they have nothing at all of that Signification, particularly the Hebrew word *נָפֶשׁ*, which signifies Covetousness, the Septuagint translate *μιασμός*, *Ezek. 33. 31.* In which Sense the Apostle uses *πλεονεξία* here. In these and the two preceding Verses, we have a Description of the State of the Gentiles without, and their wretched and sinful State whilst unconverted to the Christian Faith, and Strangers from the Kingdom of God ; to which may be added what is said of these *Sinners of the Gentiles*, *ch. 2. 11—13. Col. 1. 21. Theff. 4. 5. Col. 3. 5—7. Rom. 9. 30, 31.*

24 (b) What the *παλαιὸς ἄνθρωπος*, the *old Man* that is to be put off, is, and the *νέος ἄνθρωπος*, the *new Man* that is to be put on, is, may be seen in the opposite Characters of good and bad Men, in the following Part of this, and in several other of St. Paul's Epistles.

S E C T. VIII.

CHAP. IV. 25—V. 2.

CONTENTS.

After the general Exhortation in the Close of the foregoing Section to the *Ephesians*, to renounce the old Course of Life they led when they were Heathens, and to become perfectly new Men, conformed to the holy Rules of the Gospel, St. Paul descends to Particulars, and here in this Section presses several Particulars of those great social Virtues, Justice and Charity, &c.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

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| <p>25 Wherefore putting away lying, speak every man truth with his neighbour: for we are members one of another.</p> <p>26 Be ye angry and sin not: let not the sun go down upon your wrath:</p> <p>27 Neither give place to the devil.</p> <p>28 Let him that stole, steal no more: but rather let him labour, working with his hands the thing which is good, that he may have to give to him that needeth.</p> <p>29 Let no corrupt communication proceed out of your mouth, but that which is good to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace unto the hearers.</p> <p>30 And grieve not the holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed unto the day of redemption.</p> <p>31 Let all bitterness, and wrath, and anger, and clamour, and evil speaking be put away from you, with all malice.</p> <p>32 And be kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you.</p> <p>1 Be ye therefore followers of God, as dear children;</p> | <p>Wherefore putting away Lying, let every Man speak Truth to his Neighbour; for we are Members one of another. If you meet with Provocations that move you to Anger, take Care that you indulge it not so far, as to make it sinful: Defer not its Cure till Sleep calm the Mind, but endeavour to recover your self forthwith, and bring your self into Temper; Left you give an Opportunity to the Devil to produce some Mischief by your Disorder. Let him that hath stole, steal no more, but rather let him labour in some honest Calling, that he may have even wherewithal to relieve others that need it. Let not any filthy Language, or a misbecoming Word come out of your Mouths, but let your Discourse be pertinent to the Occasion, and tending to Edification, and such as may have a becoming Gracefulness in the Ears of the Hearers. And grieve not the Holy Spirit of God, whereby ye are sealed (c) to the Day of Redemption. Let all Bitterness, and Wrath, and Anger, and Clamour, and Evil-speaking, be put away from you, with all Malice. And be ye kind one to another, tender-hearted, forgiving one another, even as God for Christ's sake hath forgiven you. Therefore, as becomes Children that are beloved and cherished by God, propose him as an</p> | <p>25.</p> <p>26.</p> <p>27.</p> <p>28.</p> <p>29.</p> <p>30.</p> <p>31.</p> <p>32.</p> <p>1.</p> |
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NOTES.

30 (c) *Sealed*, i. e. have God's Mark set upon you that you are his Servants, a Security to you, that you should be admitted into his Kingdom as such, at the Day of Redemption, i. e. at the Resurrection, when you shall be put in the actual Possession of a Place in his Kingdom, among those who are his, whereof the Spirit is now an Earnest: See Note, Ch. 1. 14.

Example

EPHESIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

2. Example to your selves, to be imitated; And let Love conduct and influence your whole Conversation, as Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us, an Offering, and an acceptable Sacrifice (d) to God.

And walk in love, as² Christ also hath loved us, and hath given himself for us, an offering and a sacrifice to God for a sweet swelling favour.

NOTES.

² (d) *Of a sweet smelling Savour*, was, in Scripture-phrase, such a Sacrifice as God accepted, and was pleased with; see Gen. 8. 21.

S E C T. IX.

CHAP. V. 3.—20.

CONTENTS.

THE next Sort of Sins he dehorts them from, are those of Intemperance, especially those of Uncleaness, which were so familiar, and so unstrain'd amongst the Heathens.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

3. **B**UT Fornication and all Uncleaness, or exorbitant Desires in venereal Matters, (e) let it not be once

BUT fornication, and³ all uncleanness, or covetousness, let it not be once named amongst

NOTES.

³ (e) The Word in the Greek is *πλεονεξία*, which properly signifies Covetousness, or an intemperate ungovern'd Love of Riches: But the chaste Style of the Scripture makes use of it to express the letting loose of the Desires to irregular venereal Pleasures, beyond what was fit and right. This one can hardly avoid being convinced of, if one considers how it stands join'd with these Sorts of Sins, in those many Places which Dr. Hammond mentions in his Notes on Rom. 1. 29. and Ch. 4. v. 19. of this Epistle, and v. 5. of this Ch. 5. compared with this here, they are enough to satisfy one what *πλεονεξία*, Covetousness, means here; but if that should fail, these Words, *Let it not be once named amongst you, as becometh Saints*, which are subjoined to Covetousness, put it past doubt; for what Indecency or Misbecomingness is it amongst Christians to name Covetousness? *πλεονεξία* therefore must signify the Title of Sins, that are not fit to be named amongst Christians, so that *πᾶσα ἀκαθαρσία ἢ πλεονεξία*, seem not here to be used definitively for several Sorts of Sins, but as two Names of the same Thing explaining one another; and so this Verse will give us a true Notion of the Word *πορνεία* in the New Testament, the Want whereof, and taking it to mean Fornication in our English Acceptation of that Word, as standing for one distinct Species of Uncleaness, in the natural Mixture of an unmarried Couple, seems to me to have perplexed the Meaning of several Texts of Scripture, whereas taken in that large Sense which *ἀκαθαρσία* and *πλεονεξία* seem here to expound it, the Obscurity which follows from the usual Notion of Fornication, apply'd to it, will be removed. Some Men have been forward to conclude from the Apostle's Letter to the convert Gentiles of Antioch, Acts 15. 28. wherein they find Fornication join'd with two or three other Actions; that simple Fornication, as they call it, was not much distant, if at all, from an indifferent Action, whereby I think they very much confounded the Meaning of the Text. The Jews that were converted

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

you, as becometh saints :
 4 Neither filthiness, nor
 foolish talking, nor jesting,
 which are not convenient :
 but rather giving of
 thanks.
 5 For this ye know, that
 no whoremonger, nor un-
 clean person, nor cove-
 tous man who is an idola-
 ter, hath any inheritance
 in the kingdom of Christ,
 and of God.
 6 Let no man deceive you
 with vain words : for
 because of these things
 cometh the wrath of God
 upon the children of dis-
 obedience.
 7 Be not ye therefore par-
 8 takers with them.
 For ye were sometimes
 darkness, but now are ye

once named amongst you, as becometh Saints : Nei-
 ther Filthiness nor foolish Talking, nor Pleasantry of
 Discourse of this kind, which are none of them conve-
 nient, but rather giving of Thanks. For this you are
 thoroughly instructed in, and acquainted with, that no
 Fornicator, nor unclean Person, nor lewd lascivious
 Libertine in such Matters, who is in truth an Idolater,
 shall have any Part in the Kingdom of Christ, and of
 God. Let no Man deceive you with vain empty Talk
 (f) ; these Things in themselves are highly offensive to
 God, and are that which he will bring the Heathen
 World (who will not come in and submit to the Law
 of Christ) to Judgment for (g). Be ye not therefore
 Partakers with them. For ye were heretofore in your
 Gentile State, perfectly in the dark (b), but now by be-

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NOTES.

verted to the Gospel, could by no means admit, that those of the Gentiles who retained any of their ancient Idolatry, tho' they professed Faith in Christ, could by any means be received by them into the Communion of the Gospel, as the People of God under the Messiah ; and so far they were in the right, to make sure of it, that they had fully renounced Idolatry ; the Generality insisted on it, that they should be circumcised, and so, by submitting to the Observances of the Law, give the same Proof that Proselytes were wont to do, that they were perfectly clear from all Remains of Idolatry. This the Apostles thought more than was necessary ; but eating of things sacrificed to Idols, and Blood, whether let out of the Animal, or contained in it, being strangled ; and Fornication in the large Sense of the word, as it is put for all sorts of Uncleaness, being the presumed Marks of Idolatry to the Jews, they forbid the Convert Gentiles, thereby to avoid the Offence of the Jews, and prevent a Separation between the Professors of the Gospel upon this account. This therefore was not given to the Convert Gentiles by the Apostles of the Circumcision, as a standing Rule of Morality required by the Gospel ; if that had been the Design, it must have contained a great many other Particulars : what Laws of Morality they were under as Subjects of Jesus Christ, they doubted not but St. Paul their Apostle taught and inculcated to them : All that they instructed them in here, was necessary for them to do, so as to be admitted into one Fellowship and Communion with the Converts of the Jewish Nation, who would certainly avoid them, if they found that they made no Scruple of those things, but practised any of them. That Fornication, or all sorts of Uncleaness, were the Consequence and Concomitants of Idolatry, we see, Rom. 1. 29. and 'tis known were favoured by the Heathen Worship ; and therefore the Practice of those Sins is every where set down, as the Characteristical Heathen Mark of the Idolatrous Gentiles, from which Abominations the Jews, both by their Law, Profession, and general Practice, were Strangers ; and this was one of those things wherein chiefly God severed his People from the Idolatrous Nations, as may be seen, Lev. 18. 20. And hence I think that *πλεονεξία*, used for licentious Intemperance in unlawful and unnatural Lusts, is in the New Testament called Idolatry, and *πλεονεξία*, an Idolater ; see 1 Cor. 5. 11. Col. 3. 5. Eph. 5. 5. as being the sure and undoubted Mark of an Heathen Idolater.

6 (f) One would guess by this, that as there were Jews who would persuade them, that it was necessary for all Christians to be circumcised, and observe the Law of Moses ; so there were others who retained so much of their ancient Heathenism, as to endeavour to make them believe, that those venereal Abominations and Uncleanesses, were no other than what the Gentiles esteemed them, barely indifferent Actions, not offensive to God, or inconsistent with his Worship, but only a Part of the peculiar and positive Ceremonial Law of the Jews, whereby they distinguished themselves from other People, and thought themselves holier than the rest of the World, as they did by their Distinctions of Food into clean and unclean, these Actions being in themselves as indifferent as those Meats, which the Apostle confutes in the following words.

(g) Children of Disobedience, here, and ch. 2. 2. and Col. 3. 6. are plainly the Gentiles, who refused to come in and submit themselves to the Gospel, as will appear to any one who will read these Places and the Contexts with Attention.

8 (b) St. Paul, to express the great Darkness the Gentiles were in, calls them Darkness it self.

- lieving in Christ, and receiving the Gospel, Light and Knowledge is given to you (i), walk as those who are in a State of Light (For the Fruit of the Spirit is in all Goodness, Righteousness and Truth (k) Practising that which upon Examination you find acceptable to the Lord. And do not partake in the fruitless Works of Darkness (l); do not go in the Practice of those shameful Actions, as if they were indifferent, but rather reprove them. For the things that the Gentile-Idolaters (m) do in secret, are so filthy and abominable, that it is a Shame as much as to name them. This you now see, which is an Evidence of your being enlighten'd, for all things that are discovered to be amiss are made manifest by the Light; for whatsoever shews them to be such is Light (n). Wherefore he saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee Light. Since then you are in the Light, make use of your Eyes to walk exactly in the right Way, not as Fools, rambling at Adventures, but as wise, In a steady right chosen Course, securing yourselves (o) by your prudent Carriage, from the Inconveniences of those difficult Times, which threatened them

light in the Lord: walk as children of light,
(For the fruit of the Spirit is in all goodness, and righteousness, and truth)

Proving what is acceptable unto the Lord.

And have no fellowship with the unfruitful works of darkness, but rather reprove them.

For it is a shame even to speak of those things which are done of them in secret.

But all things that are reprov'd, are made manifest by the light: for whatsoever doth make manifest, is light.

Wherefore he saith, Awake thou that sleepest, and arise from the dead, and Christ shall give thee light.

See then that ye walk circumspectly, not as fools, but as wise,

Redeeming the time, because the days are evil.

NOTES.

(i) Which is thus expressed, Col. 1. 12, 13. *Giving Thanks to the Father, who hath made us meet to be Partakers of the Inheritance of his Saints in Light, who hath delivered us from the Power of Darkness, and translated us into the Kingdom of his dear Son.* The Kingdom of Satan over the Gentile World, was a Kingdom of Darkness; See Eph. 6. 12. And so we see Jesus is pronounced by Simeon, a Light to lighten the Gentiles, Luke 2. 32.

9 (k) This Parenthesis serves to give us the literal Sense of all that is here required by the Apostle in this Allegorical Discourse of Light.

11 (l) These Deeds of the unconverted Heathen who remain'd in the Kingdom of Darkness, are thus expressed by St. Paul, Rom. 6. 21. *What fruit had you then in those things whereof you are now ashamed, for the end of those things is Death.*

12 (m) That by *them* here are meant the unconverted Gentiles, is so visible, that there needs nothing to be said to justify the Interpretation of the word.

13 (n) See John 3. 20. The Apostle's Argument here, to keep the Ephesian Converts from being misled by those that would persuade them, that the Gentile Impurities were indifferent Actions, was, to shew them that they were now better enlighten'd, to which Purpose, v. 5. he tells them, that they *know* that no such Person hath any Inheritance in the Kingdom of Christ, or of God. This he tells them, v. 8, &c. was Light which they had received from the Gospel, which before their Conversion they knew nothing of, but were in perfect Darkness and Ignorance of it, but now they were better instructed, and saw the Difference, which was a Sign of Light, and therefore they should follow that Light which they had received from Christ, who had raised them from among the Gentiles (who were so far dead, as to be wholly insensible of the evil Course and State they were in) and had given them Light, and a Prospect into a future State, and the Way to attain everlasting Happiness.

15 (o) St. Paul here intimates, v. 6. that the unconverted Heathen they lived among, would be forward to tempt them to their former lewd dissolute Lives; but to keep them from any Approaches that way, that they have Light now by the Gospel, to know that such Actions are provoking to God, and will find the Effects of his Wrath in the Judgments of the World to come. All those Pollutions, so familiar among the Gentiles, he exhorts them carefully to avoid, but yet to take Care, by their prudent Carriage to the Gentiles they lived amongst, to give them no Offence, that so they might escape the Danger and Trouble that otherwise might arise to them from the Intemperance and Violence of those Heathen Idolaters, whose shameful Lives

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 17 Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding what the will of the Lord is.
- 18 And be not drunk with wine, wherein is excess; but be filled with the Spirit.
- 19 Speaking to your selves in psalms and hymns, and spiritual songs, singing and making melody in your heart to the Lord,
- 20 Giving thanks always for all things unto God and the Father, in the name of our Lord Jesus Christ.

them with Danger. Wherefore be ye not unwise, but understanding what the Will of the Lord is. And be not drunken with Wine, wherein there is Excess (p); seek not Diversion in the noisy and intemperate Jollity of Drinking; But, when you are disposed to a chearful Entertainment of one another, let it be with the Gifts of the holy Spirit that you are filled with, singing Hymns, and Psalms, and spiritual Songs among your selves, this makes real and solid Mirth in the Heart, and is Melody well pleasing to God himself; Giving Thanks always for all things, in the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, to God and the Father.

17.
18.

19.

20.

NOTES.

Lives the Christian Practice could not but reprove. This seems to be the Meaning of *redeeming the Time* here, which Col. 4. 5. the other place where it occurs, seems so manifestly to confirm and give Light to. If this be not the Sense of *redeeming the Time* here, I must own my self ignorant of the precise Meaning of the Phrase in this place.

18 (p) St. Paul dehortes them from Wine, in a too free Use of it, because therein is *Excess*; the Greek word is *ἀσώτεια*, which may signify *Luxury* or *Dissoluteness*: i. e. that Drinking is no Friend to Continency and Chastity, but gives up the Reins to Lust and Uncleaness, the Vice he had been warning them against: Or *ἀσώτεια* may signify *Intemperance* and *Disorder*, opposite to that sober and prudent Demeanour advised in redeeming the Time.

S E C T. X.

CHAP. V. 21—VI. 9.

CONTENTS.

IN this Section he gives Rules concerning the Duties arising from the several Relations Men stand in one to another in Society, those which he particularly insists on are these three, Husbands and Wives, Parents and Children, Masters and Servants.

21. **S**UBMIT (g) your selves one to another in the Fear of
 22. God. As for Example, Wives, submit your selves
 23. to your own Husbands, or as being Members of the
 Church you submit your selves to the Lord. For the
 Husband is the Head of the Wife, as Christ himself is
 the Head of the Church, and it is he the Head that
 24. preserves that his Body (r), so stands it between Man
 and Wife. Therefore as the Church is subject to Christ,
 so let Wives be to their Husbands in every thing.
 25. And you Husbands, do you on your side love your
 Wives, even as Christ also loved the Church, and
 26. gave himself to Death for it, That he might sanctify
 and fit it to himself, purifying it by the washing of
 Baptism, join'd with the Preaching and Reception of
 27. the Gospel (s); That so he himself (r) might present
 it to himself an honourable Spouse, without the least
 Spot of Uncleaness or misbecoming Feature, or any
 thing amiss, but that it might be holy, and without all
 28. manner of Blemish. So ought Men to love their
 Wives as their own Bodies; he that loveth his Wife,
 29. loveth himself. For no Man ever hated his own Flesh,
 but nourisheth and cherisheth it, even as the Lord
 30. Christ doth the Church: For we are Members of his
 31. Body, of his Flesh, and of his Bones. For this Cause

SUBMITTING your selves²¹
 one to another in the
 fear of God.

Wives, submit your selves²²
 unto your own husbands,
 as unto the Lord.

For the husband is the²³
 head of the wife, even as
 Christ is the head of the
 church: and he is the Sa-
 viour of the body.

Therefore as the church²⁴
 is subject unto Christ, so
 let the wives be to their
 own husbands in every
 thing.

Husbands, love your²⁵
 wives, even as Christ also
 loved the church, and gave
 himself for it:

That he might sanctify²⁶
 and cleanse it with the
 washing of water, by the
 word.

That he might present²⁷
 it to himself a glorious
 church, not having spot
 or wrinkle, or any such
 thing; but that it should
 be holy, and without blemish.

So ought men to love²⁸
 their wives, as their own
 bodies: he that loveth his
 wife, loveth himself.

For no man ever yet²⁹
 hated his own flesh; but
 nourisheth and cherisheth
 it, even as the Lord the
 church:

For we are members of³⁰
 his body, of his flesh, and
 of his bones.

For this cause shall³¹

NOTES.

21 (g) This, though in Grammatical Construction it be join'd on to the foregoing Discourse; yet I think it ought to be look'd on as introductory to what follows in this Section, and to be a general Rule given to the Ephesians, to submit to those Duties which the several Relations they stood in to one another required of them.

23 (r) 'Tis from the Head that the Body receives its healthy, and vigorous Constitution of Health and Life; this St. Paul pronounces here of Christ, as Head of the Church, that by that Parallel, which he makes use of to represent the Relation between Husband and Wife, he may both shew the Wife the Reasonableness of her Subjection to her Husband, and the Duty incumbent on the Husband to cherish and preserve his Wife, as we see he pursues it in the following Verses.

26 (s) 'Εν ῥήματι, by the Word. The purifying of Men is ascribed so much throughout the whole New Testament to the Word, i. e. the preaching of the Gospel, and Baptism, that there needs little to be said to prove it; see John 15. 3. and 18. 17. 1 Pet. 1. 22. Tit. 3. 5. Heb. 10. 22. Col. 2. 12, 13. and as it is at large explain'd in the former part of the 6th Chapter to the Romans.

27 (r) He himself, so the Alexandrine Copy reads it αὐτός, and not αὐτήν, more suitable to the Apostle's Meaning here, who, to recommend to Husbands Love and Tenderness to their Wives, in Imitation of Christ's Affection to the Church, shews, that whereas other Brides take care to spruce themselves, and set off their Persons with all manner of Neatness and Cleaness, to recommend themselves to their Bridegrooms; Christ himself, at the Expence of his own Pains and Blood, purified and prepared himself for his Spouse the Church, that he might present it to himself without Spot or Wrinkle.

shall

EPHESIANS.

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Ch. 6.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

man leave his father and mother, and shall be joined unto his wife, and they two shall be one flesh.

32 This is a great mystery: but I speak concerning Christ and the church.

33 Nevertheless, let every one of you in particular, so love his wife even as himself; and the wife see that she reverence her husband.

1 Children, obey your parents in the Lord: for this is right.

2 Honour thy father and mother, (which is the first commandment with promise)

3 That it may be well with thee, and thou mayest live long on the earth.

4 And ye fathers, provoke not your children to wrath: but bring them up in the nurture and admonition of the Lord.

5 Servants, be obedient to them that are your masters according to the flesh, with fear and trembling, in singleness of your heart, as unto Christ:

shall a Man leave his Father and Mother, and shall be joyned unto his Wife, and they two shall be one Flesh (u). These Words contain a very mystical Sense in them (w), I mean in reference to Christ and the Church. But laying that aside, their literal Sense lays hold on you, and therefore do you Husbands, every one of you in particular, so love his Wife, so as his own self, and let the Wife reverence her Husband. Children, obey your Parents, performing it as required thereunto by our Lord Jesus Christ; for this is right and conformable to that Command. Honour thy Father and Mother, (which is the first Command with Promise) That it may be well with thee, and thou may'st be long-lived upon the Earth. And on the other side, ye Fathers, do not, by the Austerity of your Carriage, despise and discontent your Children, but bring them up under such a Method of Discipline, and give them such Instruction, as is suitable to the Gospel. Ye that are Bondmen, be obedient to those who are your Masters, according to the Constitution of humane Affairs, with great Respect and Subjection, and with that Sincerity of Heart which should be used to Christ

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NOTES.

30 and 31 (u) These two Verses may seem to stand here disorderly, so as to disturb the Connection, and make the Inferences disjointed, and very loose, and inconsistent, to any one who more minds the Order and Grammatical Construction of St. Paul's Words written down, than the Thoughts that possess'd his Mind when he was writing. 'Tis plain the Apostle had here two things in View; the one was, to press Men to love their Wives, by the Example of Christ's Love to his Church; and the Force of that Argument lay in this, that a Man and his Wife were one Flesh, as Christ and his Church were one: But this latter being a Truth of the greater Consequence of the two, he was as intent on settling that upon their Minds, though it were but an Incident, as the other, which was the Argument he was upon; and therefore having said, v. 29. that every one nourisheth and cherisheth his own Flesh, as Christ doth the Church, 'twas natural to subjoin the Reason there, viz. Because we were Members of his Body, of his Flesh, and of his Bones: A Proposition he took as much Care to have believed, as that it was the Duty of Husbands to love their Wives; which Doctrine of Christ and the Church being one, when he had so strongly asserted, in the words of Adam concerning Eve, Gen. 2. 23. which he, in his concise Way of expressing himself, understands both of the Wife and of the Church, he goes on with the words in Gen. 2. 24. which makes their being one Flesh the Reason why a Man was more strictly to be united to his Wife than to his Parents, or any other Relation.

32 (w) 'Tis plain by v. 30. here, and the Application therein of these words, Gen. 2. 23. to Christ and the Church, that the Apostles understood several Passages in the Old Testament in reference to Christ and the Gospel, which evangelical or spiritual Sense was not understood, till by the Assistance of the Spirit of God the Apostles so explained and revealed it. This is that which St. Paul, as we see he does here, calls Mystery. He that has a mind to have a true Notion of this Matter, let him carefully read 1 Cor. 2. where St. Paul very particularly explains this Matter.

himself:

EPHESIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

6. himself : Not with Service only in those outward Actions that come under their Observation, aiming at no more but the pleasing of Men, but as the Servants of Christ, doing what God requires of you from your very Hearts, in this with good Will paying your Duty to the Lord, and not unto Men, knowing that whatsoever good thing any one doth to another, he shall be consider'd and rewarded for it by God, whether he be Bond or Free. And ye Masters have the like Regard and Readiness to do Good to your Bond-slaves, forbearing the Roughness even of unnecessary Menaces, knowing that even you your selves have a Master in Heaven above, who will call you as well as them, to an impartial Account for your Carriage one to another, for he is no Respector of Persons.

Not with eye-service, ⁶ as men-pleasers, but as the servants of Christ, doing the will of God from the heart ;

With good will doing ⁷ service, as to the Lord, and not to men :

Knowing that whatsoever good thing any man doeth, the same shall he receive of the Lord, whether he be bond or free.

And ye masters, do the same things unto them, forbearing threatening : knowing that your master also is in heaven, neither is there respect of persons with him.

S E C T. XI.

C H A P. VI. 10—20.

C O N T E N T S.

HE concludes this Epistle with a general Exhortation to them, to stand firm against the Temptations of the Devil in the Exercise of Christian Vertues and Graces, which he proposes to them as so many pieces of Christian Armour, fit to arm them *Cap-a-pie*, and preserve them in the Conflict.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

10. **F**inally, my Brethren, go on resolutely in the Profession of the Gospel, in Reliance upon that Power, and in the Exercise of that Strength, which is ready for your Support in Jesus Christ ; Putting on the whole Armour of God, that ye may be able to resist all the Attacks of the Devil. For our Conflict is not barely with Men, but with Principalities, and with Powers (x), with the Rulers of the Darkness that is in Men in the present Constitution of the World, and the spiritual Managers of the Opposition to the Kingdom of God.
13. Wherefore take unto your selves the whole Armour of God, that you may be able to make Resistance in the

Finally, my brethren, ¹⁰ be strong in the Lord, and in the power of his might.

Put on the whole ¹¹ armour of God, that ye may be able to stand against the wiles of the devil.

For we wrestle not ¹² against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places.

Wherefore take unto ¹³ you the whole armour of God, that ye may be able

N O T E S.

¹² (x) *Principalities* and *Powers*, are put here, 'tis visible, for those revolted Angels which stood in Opposition to the Kingdom of God,

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- to withstand in the evil day, and having done all to stand.
- 14 Stand therefore having your loins girt about with truth, and having on the breast-plate of righteousness:
- 15 And your feet shod with the preparation of the gospel of peace;
- 16 Above all, taking the shield of faith, wherewith ye shall be able to quench all the fiery darts of the wicked.
- 17 And take the helmet of salvation, and the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God:
- 18 Praying always with all prayer and supplication in the spirit, and watching thereunto with all perseverance, and supplication for all saints;
- 19 And for me, that utterance may be given unto me, that I may open my mouth boldly, to make known the mystery of the gospel:
- 20 For which I am an ambassador in bonds: that therein I may speak boldly, as I ought to speak.

evil Day, when you shall be attacked, and having acquitted your selves in every thing as you ought, to stand and keep your Ground: Stand fast therefore, having your Loins girt with Truth, and having on the Breast-plate of Righteousness, And your Feet shod with a Readiness to walk in the Way of the Gospel of Peace, which you have well studied and consider'd. Above all taking the Shield of Faith, wherein you may receive, and so render ineffectual all the fiery Darts of the wicked one, *i. e.* the Devil.——Take also the Hopes of Salvation for an Helmet: and the Sword of the Spirit, which is the Word of God (*y*): Praying at all seasons with all Prayer and Supplication in the Spirit, attending and watching hereunto with all Perseverance and Supplication for all the Saints; And for me in particular, that I may with Freedom and Plainness of Speech preach the Word, to the manifesting and laying open that Part of the Gospel that concerns the calling of the Gentiles, which has hitherto as a Mystery lain concealed, and not been at all understood. But I as an Ambassador am sent to make known to the World, and am now in Prison upon that very Account: But let your Prayers be, that in the Discharge of this my Commission, I may speak plainly and boldly, as an Ambassador from God ought to speak.

14.

15.

16.

17.

18.

19.

20.

NOTES.

17 (*y*) In this foregoing Allegory, *St. Paul* providing Armour for his Christian Soldier, to arm him at all points, there is no need curiously to explain, wherein the peculiar Correspondence between those Virtues and those Pieces of Armour consisted, it being plain enough what the Apostle means, and wherewith he would have Believers be armed for their Warfare.

S E C T. XII.

C H A P. IV. 21—24.

E P I L O G U S.

TEXT.

PARAPHRASE.

- 21 **B**UT that ye also may know my affairs, and how I do, Tychicus a beloved brother and faithful minister in the

Tychicus a beloved Brother, and faithful Minister of the Lord in the Work of the Gospel, shall acquaint you how Matters stand with me, and how I do, and give you a particular Account how all things

21.

EPHESIANS.

PARAPHRASE.

TEXT.

22. things stand here. I have sent him on Purpose to you,
 23. that you might know the State of our Affairs, and
 24. that he might comfort your Hearts. Peace be to the
 Brethren, and Love with Faith from God the Father,
 and the Lord Jesus Christ. Grace be with all those
 that love our Lord Jesus Christ in Sincerity (z).

Lord, shall make known
 to you all things:

Whom I have sent un-22
 to you for the same pur-
 pose, that ye might know
 our affairs, and that he
 might comfort your hearts.

Peace be to the bre-23
 thren, and love with
 faith from God the Fa-
 ther, and the Lord Jesus
 Christ.

Grace be with all them 24
 that love our Lord Jesus
 Christ in sincerity. Amen.

NOTES.

24 (z) 'Er ἀφ'απόλα, in Sincerity, so our Translation; the Greek word signifies, in Incor-
 ruption. St. Paul closes all his Epistles with this Benediction, *Grace be with you*; but this here
 is so peculiar a Way of expressing himself, that it may give us some Reason to enquire what
 Thoughts suggested it. It has been remarked more than once, that the main Business of his
 Epistle, is that which fills his Mind, and guides his Pen in his whole Discourse. In this to the
 Ephesians he sets forth the Gospel, as a Dispensation so much in every thing superior to the
 Law; that it was to debase, corrupt and destroy the Gospel, to join Circumcision and the Ob-
 servance of the Law as necessary to it. Having writ this Epistle to this End, he here in the
 close having the same Thought still upon his Mind, pronounces Favour on all those that love
 the Lord Jesus Christ in Incorruption, i. e. without the mixing or joining any thing with him
 in the Work of our Salvation, that may render the Gospel useless and ineffectual. For thus
 he says, Gal. 5. 2. *If ye be circumcised, Christ shall profit you nothing.* This I submit to the
 Consideration of the Judicious Reader.

POST-

POSTHUMOUS
WORKS

O F

Mr. John Locke :

V I Z.

- I. Of the Conduct of the Understanding.
- II. An Examination of *P. Malebranche's* Opinion of *Seeing all things in God*.
- III. A Discourse of Miracles.
- IV. Part of a Fourth Letter for Toleration.
- V. Memoirs relating to the Life of *Anthony* first Earl of *Shaftsbury*.

To which is added,

- VI. His New Method of a Common-Place-Book, written originally in *French*, and now translated into *English*.
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Advertisement

TO THE

READER.

THE ensuing Treatises are true and genuine Remains of the deceased Author whose Name they bear, but for the greatest part received not his last Hand, being in a great measure little more than sudden Views, intended to be afterwards revis'd and farther look'd into, but by Sickness, Intervention of Business, or preferable Enquiries, happen'd to be thrust aside, and so lay neglected.

The Conduct of the Understanding he always thought to be a Subject very well worth Consideration. As any Miscarriages in that Point accidentally came into his Mind, he used sometimes to set them down in Writing, with those Remedies that he could then think of. This Method, tho' it makes not that Haste to the End which one could wish, yet perhaps is the only one that can be followed in the Case. It being here, as in Physick, impossible for a Physician to describe a Disease, or seek Remedies for it, till he comes to meet with it. Such Particulars of this kind as occur'd to the Author at a time of Leisure, he, as is before said, sat down in Writing; intending, if he had lived, to have reduc'd them into Order and Method, and to have made a complete Treatise; whereas now it is only a Collection of casual Observations, sufficient to make Men see some Faults in the Conduct of their Understanding, and suspect there may be more, and may perhaps serve to excite others to enquire farther into it, than the Author hath done.

The Examination of P. Malebranche's Opinion, Of seeing all things in God, shews it to be a very groundless Notion, and was not publish'd by the Author, because he look'd upon it to be an Opinion that would not spread, but was like to die of its self, or at least to do no great Harm.

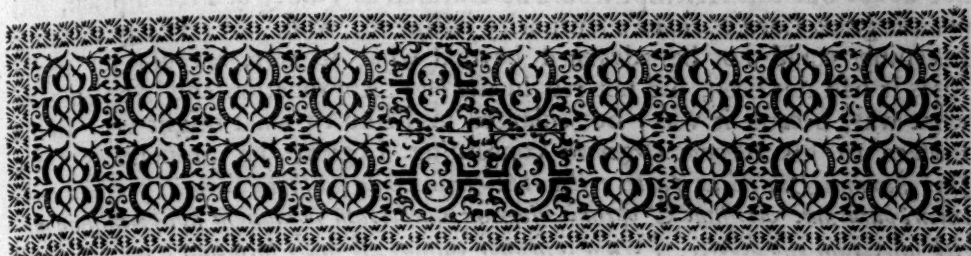
The Discourse of Miracles was writ for his own Satisfaction, and never went beyond the first Draught, and was occasion'd by his reading Mr. Fleetwood's Essay on Miracles, and the Letter writ to him on that Subject.

TO THE READER.

The fourth Letter for Toleration is imperfect, was begun by the Author a little before his Death, but never finish'd. It was designed for an Answer to a Book entitled, A Second Letter to the Author of the three Letters for Toleration, &c. which was writ against the Author's third Letter for Toleration, about twelve Years after the said third Letter had been publish'd.

The Memoirs of the late Earl of Shaftsbury are only certain particular Facts set down in Writing by the Author as they occur'd to his Memory; if Time and Health would have permitted him, he had gone on farther, and from such Materials had collected and compiled an History of that noble Peer.





OF THE
CONDUCT
OF THE
UNDERSTANDING.

Quid tam temerarium tamque indignum sapientis gravitate atque constantiâ, quam aut falsum sentire, aut quod non satis exploratè perceptum sit & cognitum sine ullâ dubitatione defendere? Cic. de Naturâ Deorum, lib. 1.

INTRODUCTION.

§. I.



HE last resort a Man has recourse to in the Conduct of himself, is his Understanding; for though we distinguish the Faculties of the Mind, and give the supreme Command to the Will, as to an Agent; yet the truth is, the Man which is the Agent determines himself to this or that voluntary Action, upon some precedent Knowledge, or appearance of Knowledge in the Understanding. *Introdu. tion.*

No Man ever sets himself about any thing but upon some View or other which serves him for a reason for what he does: And whatsoever Faculties he employs, the Understanding with such Light as it has, well or ill inform'd, constantly leads, and by that Light, true or false, all his operative Powers are directed. The Will it self, how absolute and uncontrollable soever it may be thought, never fails in its Obedience to the Dictates of the Understanding. Temples have their sacred Images, and we see what Influence they have always had over a great part of Mankind. But in truth the Ideas and Images in Mens Minds are the invisible Powers that constantly govern them, and to these they All universally pay a ready Submission. It is therefore of the highest Concernment, that great Care should be taken of the Understanding, to conduct it right in the Search of Knowledge, and in the Judgments it makes.

The Logick now in use has so long possessed the Chair, as the only Art taught in the Schools for the Direction of the Mind in the Study of the Arts and Sciences, that it would perhaps be thought an Affectation of Novelty to suspect, that Rules, that have served the learned World these two or three thousand Years, and which without any Complaint of Defects the Learned have

Introdu-
tion.

have rested in, are not sufficient to guide the Understanding. And I should not doubt but this Attempt would be censured as Vanity or Presumption, did not the great Lord *Verulam's* Authority justify it; who, not servilely thinking Learning could not be advanced beyond what it was, because for many Ages it had not been, did not rest in the lazy Approbation and Applause of what was, because it was; but enlarged his Mind to what might be. In his Preface to his *Novum Organum* concerning Logick, he pronounces thus, *Qui summas Dialecticæ partes tribuerunt, atque inde fidissima Scientiis præsidia comparari putarunt, verissime & optime viderunt intellectum humanum sibi permissum merito suspectum esse debere. Verum infirmior omnino est malo medicina; nec ipsa mali expers. Siquidem Dialectica, qua recepta est, licet ad civilia & artes, qua in sermone & opinione posita sunt, rectissime adhibeatur; natura tamen subtilitatem longo intervallo non attingit, & prensando quod non capit, ad errores potius stabiliendos & quasi fingendos, quam ad viam veritati aperiendam valuit.*

“ They, says he, who attributed so much to Logick, perceived very well “ and truly, that it was not safe to trust the Understanding to it self, without the Guard of any Rules. But the Remedy reach'd not the Evil, but “ became a part of it: For the Logick which took place, though it might “ do well enough in civil Affairs, and the Arts which consisted in Talk “ and Opinion; yet comes very far short of Subtilty in the real Performances “ of Nature, and catching at what it cannot reach, has served to confirm “ and establish Errors, rather than to open a way to Truth. And therefore a little after he says, “ That it is absolutely necessary that a better and perfecter Use and Employment of the Mind and Understanding should be “ introduced. *Necessario requiritur ut melior & perfectior mentis & intellectus humani usus & adoperatio introducatur.*

Parts.

§. 2. There is, 'tis visible, great Variety in Mens Understandings, and their natural Constitutions put so wide a difference between some Men in this respect, that Art and Industry would never be able to master; and their very Natures seem to want a Foundation to raise on it that which other Men easily attain unto.——Amongst Men of equal Education there is great Inequality of Parts. And the Woods of *America*, as well as the Schools of *Athens*, produce Men of several Abilities in the same kind. Though this be so, yet I imagine most Men come very short of what they might attain unto in their several degrees by a Neglect of their Understandings. A few Rules of Logick are thought sufficient in this case for those who pretend to the highest Improvement; whereas I think there are a great many natural Defects in the Understanding capable of Amendment, which are overlook'd and wholly neglected. And it is easie to perceive that Men are guilty of a great many Faults in the Exercise and Improvement of this Faculty of the Mind, which hinder them in their Progress, and keep them in Ignorance and Error all their Lives. Some of them I shall take notice of, and endeavour to point out proper Remedies for, in the following Discourse.

Reasoning.

§. 3. Besides the want of determin'd Ideas, and of Sagacity, and Exercise in finding out, and laying in order intermediate Ideas, there are three Mis-carriages that Men are guilty of in reference to their Reason, whereby this Faculty is hinder'd in them from that Service it might do and was design'd for. And he that reflects upon the Actions and Discourses of Mankind, will find their Defects in this kind very frequent, and very observable.

1. The first is of those who seldom reason at all, but do and think according to the Example of others, whether Parents, Neighbours, Ministers, or who else they are pleas'd to make choice of to have an implicit Faith in, for the saving of themselves the Pains and Trouble of thinking and examining for themselves.

2. The second is of those who put Passion in the place of Reason, and being resolv'd that shall govern their Actions and Arguments, neither use their own, nor hearken to other People's Reason, any farther than it suits their Humour, Interest, or Party; and these one may observe commonly content themselves with Words which have no distinct Ideas to them, though, in other Matters that they come with an unbyass'd Indifferency to, they want

want not Abilities to talk and hear Reason, where they have no secret Inclination that hinders them from being tractable to it. *Inclination-Reasoning.*

3. The third sort is of those who readily and sincerely follow Reason, but for want of having that which one may call *large, sound, round about Sense*, have not a full view of all that relates to the Question, and may be of Moment to decide it. We are all short-sighted, and very often see but one side of a matter; our Views are not extended to all that has a Connexion with it. From this Defect I think no Man is free. We see but in part, and we know but in part, and therefore 'tis no wonder we conclude not right from our partial Views. This might instruct the proudest Esteemer of his own Parts how useful it is to talk and consult with others, even such as came short of him in Capacity, Quickness and Penetration: For since no one sees all, and we generally have different Prospects of the same thing, according to our different, as I may say, Positions to it, 'tis not incongruous to think, nor beneath any Man to try, whether another may not have Notions of things which have escaped him, and which his Reason would make use of if they came into his Mind. The Faculty of Reasoning seldom or never deceives those who trust to it; its Consequences from what it builds on are evident and certain, but that which it ofteneft, if not only, misleads us in, is, that the Principles from which we conclude, the Grounds upon which we bottom our Reasoning, are but a part, something is left out which should go into the reckoning to make it just and exact. Here we may imagine a vast and almost infinite advantage that Angels and separate Spirits may have over us; who, in their several degrees of Elevation above us, may be endowed with more comprehensive Faculties, and some of them perhaps have perfect and exact Views of all finite Beings that come under their Consideration, can as it were, in the twinkling of an Eye, collect together all their scatter'd and almost boundless Relations. A Mind so furnish'd, what Reason has it to acquiesce in the Certainty of its Conclusions!

In this we may see the Reason why some Men of Study and Thought, that reason right, and are Lovers of Truth, do make no great Advances in their Discoveries of it. Error and Truth are uncertainly blended in their Minds; their Decisions are lame and defective, and they are very often mistaken in their Judgments: The Reason whereof is, they converse but with one sort of Men, they read but one sort of Books, they will not come in the hearing but of one sort of Notions; the truth is, they canton out to themselves a little *Goshen* in the intellectual World, where Light shines, and, as they conclude, Day blesses them; but the rest of that vast *Expansum* they give up to Night and Darkness, and so avoid coming near it. They have a pretty Traffick with known Correspondents in some little Creek, within that they confine themselves, and are dextrous Managers enough of the Wares and Products of that Corner with which they content themselves, but will not venture out into the great Ocean of Knowledge, to survey the Riches that Nature hath stored other Parts with, no less genuine, no less solid, no less useful, than what has fallen to their Lot in the admired Plenty and Sufficiency of their own little Spot, which to them contains whatsoever is good in the Universe. Those who live thus mew'd up within their own contracted Territories, and will not look abroad beyond the Boundaries that Chance, Conceit, or Laziness has set to their Enquiries, but live separate from the Notions, Discourses and Attainments of the rest of Mankind, may not amiss be represented by the Inhabitants of the *Marian* Islands; who being separated by a large Tract of Sea from all Communion with the habitable Parts of the Earth, thought themselves the only People of the World. And though the Straitness of the Conveniences of Life amongst them had never reach'd so far as to the use of Fire, till the *Spaniards*, not many years since, in their Voyages from *Acapulco* to *Manilia* brought it amongst them; yet in the Want and Ignorance of almost all things, they look'd upon themselves, even after that the *Spaniards* had brought amongst them the Notice of variety of Nations abounding in Sciences, Arts and Conveniences of Life, of which they knew nothing, they look'd upon themselves, I say, as the happiest and wisest People of the Universe. But for all that, no body, I think, will imagine them

Reasoning. them deep Naturalists, or solid Metaphysicians; no Body will deem the quickest-sighted amongst them to have very enlarg'd Views in Ethicks or Politicks, nor can any one allow the most capable amongst them to be advanced so far in his Understanding, as to have any other Knowledge but of the few little things of his and the neighbouring Islands within his Commerce; but far enough from that comprehensive Enlargement of Mind which adorns a Soul devoted to Truth, assisted with Letters, and a free Generation of the several Views and Sentiments of thinking Men of all sides. Let not Men therefore, that would have a sight of what every one pretends to be desirous to have a sight of, Truth in its full Extent, narrow and blind their own Prospect. Let not Men think there is no Truth but in the Sciences that they study, or the Books that they read. To prejudice other Mens Notions before we have look'd into them, is not to shew their Darkeness, but to put out our own Eyes. *Try all things, hold fast that which is good*, is a Divine Rule, coming from the Father of Light and Truth; and 'tis hard to know what other way Men can come at Truth, to lay hold of it, if they do not dig and search for it as for Gold and hid Treasure; but he that does so must have much Earth and Rubbish before he gets the pure Metal; Sand, and Pebbles, and Dross usually lie blended with it, but the Gold is never the less Gold, and will enrich the Man that employs his Pains to seek and separate it. Neither is there any danger he should be deceived by the Mixture. Every Man carries about him a Touch-Stone, if he will make use of it, to distinguish substantial Gold from superficial Glitterings, Truth from Appearances. And indeed the Use and Benefit of this Touch-stone, which is natural Reason, is spoil'd and lost only by assumed Prejudices, overweening Presumption, and narrowing our Minds. The Want of exercising it in the full Extent of things intelligible, is that which weakens and extinguishes this noble Faculty in us. Trace it, and see whether it be not so. The Day-Labourer in a Country-Village has commonly but a small Pittance of Knowledge, because his Ideas and Notions have been confined to the narrow Bounds of a poor Conversation and Employment: The low Mechanick of a Country-Town does somewhat out-do him; Porters and Coblers of great Cities surpass them. A Country-Gentleman, who leaving Latin and Learning in the University, removes thence to his Mansion-House, and associates with Neighbours of the same strain, who relish nothing but Hunting and a Bottle; with those alone he spends his time, with these alone he converses, and can away with no Company whose Discourse goes beyond what Claret, and Dissoluteness inspires. Such a Patriot, formed in this happy way of Improvement, cannot fail, as we see, to give notable Decisions upon the Bench at Quarter-Sessions, and eminent Proofs of his Skill in Politicks, when the Strength of his Purse and Party have advanced him to a more conspicuous Station. To such a one truly an ordinary Coffee-house Gleaner of the City is an errant Statesman, and as much superior too, as a Man, conversant about *Whitehall* and the Court, is to an ordinary Shop-keeper. To carry this a little farther. Here is one muffled up in the Zeal and Infallibility of his own Sect, and will not touch a Book, or enter into Debate with a Person that will question any of those things which to him are Sacred. Another surveys our Differences in Religion with an equitable and fair Indifference, and so finds probably that none of them are in every thing unexceptionable. These Divisions and Systems were made by Men, and carry the Mark of Fallible on them; and in those whom he differs from, and till he open'd his Eyes had a general Prejudice against, he meets with more to be said for a great many things than before he was aware of, or could have imagined. Which of these two now is most likely to judge right in our religious Controversies, and to be most stored with Truth, the Mark all pretend to aim at? All these Men that I have instanced in, thus unequally furnished with Truth, and advanced in Knowledge, I suppose of equal natural Parts; all the Odds between them has been the different Scope that has been given to their Understandings to range in, for the gathering up of Information, and furnishing their Heads with Ideas, Notions and Observations, whereon to employ their Minds, and form their Understandings.

It will possibly be objected, who is sufficient for all this? I answer, more *Reasoning*. than can be imagined. Every one knows what his proper Business is, and what, according to the Character he makes of himself, the World may justly expect of him; and to answer that, he will find he will have Time and Opportunity enough to furnish himself, if he will not deprive himself, by a Narrowness of Spirit, of those Helps that are at hand. I do not say to be a good Geographer that a Man should visit every Mountain, River, Promontory and Creek upon the Face of the Earth, view the Buildings, and survey the Land every where, as if he were going to make a Purchase. But yet every one must allow that he shall know a Country better that makes often Sallies into it, and traverses it up and down, than he that like a Mill-Horse goes still round in the same Track, or keeps within the narrow Bounds of a Field or two that delight him. He that will enquire out the best Books in every Science, and inform himself of the most material Authors of the several Sects of Philosophy and Religion, will not find it an infinite Work to acquaint himself with the Sentiments of Mankind concerning the most weighty and comprehensive Subjects. Let him exercise the Freedom of his Reason and Understanding in such a Latitude as this, and his Mind will be strengthen'd, his Capacity enlarged, his Faculties improved; and the Light, which the remote and scatter'd parts of Truth will give to one another, will so assist his Judgment, that he will seldom be widely out, or miss giving Proof of a clear Head, and a comprehensive Knowledge. At least, this is the only way I know to give the Understanding its due Improvement to the full extent of its Capacity, and to distinguish the two most different things I know in the World, a logical Chicaner from a Man of Reason. Only he that would thus give the Mind its flight, and send abroad his Enquiries into all Parts after Truth, must be sure to settle in his Head determined Ideas of all that he employs his Thoughts about, and never fail to judge himself, and judge unbiassedly of all that he receives from others, either in their Writings or Discourses. Reverence or Prejudice must not be suffer'd to give Beauty or Deformity to any of their Opinions.

§. 4. We are born with Faculties and Powers capable almost of any thing, *Of Practice* such at least as would carry us farther than can easily be imagined: But 'tis *and Habits* only the Exercise of those Powers which gives us Ability and Skill in any thing, and leads us towards Perfection.

A middle-aged Ploughman will scarce ever be brought to the Carriage and Language of a Gentleman, though his Body be as well proportioned, and his Joints as supple, and his natural Parts not any way inferior. The Legs of a Dancing-master, and the Fingers of a Musician fall as it were naturally without Thought or Pains into regular and admirable Motions. Bid them change their Parts, and they will in vain endeavour to produce like Motions in the Members not used to them, and it will require length of Time and long Practice to attain but some degrees of a like Ability. What incredible and astonishing Actions do we find Rope-dancers and Tumblers bring their Bodies to! Not but that sundry in almost all manual Arts are as wonderful; but I name those which the World takes notice of for such, because on that very account, they give Money to see them. All these admired Motions, beyond the Reach and almost the Conception of unpractised Spectators, are nothing but the mere Effects of Use and Industry in Men, whose Bodies have nothing peculiar in them from those of the amazed Lookers on.

As it is in the Body, so it is in the Mind; Practice makes it what it is, and most, even of those Excellencies which are look'd on as natural Endowments, will be found, when examined into more narrowly, to be the Product of Exercise, and to be raised to that pitch only by repeated Actions. Some Men are remarked for Pleasantness in Railery; others for Apologues and apposite diverting Stories. This is apt to be taken for the Effect of pure Nature, and that the rather, because it is not got by Rules, and those who excel in either of them, never purposely set themselves to the Study of it as an Art to be learnt. But yet it is true, that at first some lucky Hit which took with some body, and gain'd him Commendation, encouraged him to try again, inclined

*Of Practice
and Habits.*

inclined his Thoughts and Endeavours that way, 'till at last he insensibly got a Facility in it without perceiving how, and that is attributed wholly to Nature, which was much more the Effect of Use and Practice. I do not deny that natural Disposition may often give the first rise to it: but that never carries a Man far without Use and Exercise, and 'tis Practice alone that brings the Powers of the Mind as well as those of the Body to their Perfection. Many a good Poetick Vein is buried under a Trade, and never produces any thing for want of Improvement. We see the ways of Discourse and Reasoning are very different, even concerning the same matter, at Court and in the University. And he that will go but from *Westminster-Hall* to the *Exchange*, will find a different Genius and Turn in their ways of Talking, and yet one cannot think that all, whose lot fell in the City, were born with different Parts from those who were bred at the University or Inns of Court.

To what purpose all this, but to shew that the Difference, so observable in Men's Understandings and Parts, does not arise so much from their natural Faculties as acquired Habits. He would be laughed at that should go about to make a fine Dancer out of a Country Hedger, at past Fifty. And he will not have much better Success, who shall endeavour at that age to make a Man reason well, or speak handsomely who has never been used to it, though you should lay before him a Collection of all the best Precepts of Logick or Oratory. No body is made any thing by hearing of Rules, or laying them up in his Memory; Practice must settle the Habit of doing without reflecting on the Rule, and you may as well hope to make a good Painter or Musician extempore by a Lecture and Instruction in the Arts of Musick and Painting, as a coherent Thinker, or strict Reasoner by a Set of Rules, shewing him wherein right Reasoning consists.

This being so, that Defects and Weakness in Mens Understandings, as well as other Faculties, come from Want of a right Use of their own Minds; I am apt to think the Fault is generally mislaid upon Nature, and there is often a Complaint of Want of Parts, when the Fault lies in Want of a due Improvement of them. We see Men frequently dextrous and sharp enough in making a bargain, who, if you reason with them about Matters of Religion, appear perfectly stupid.

Ideas.

§. 5. I will not here, in what relates to the right Conduct and Improvement of the Understanding, repeat again the getting clear and determined *Ideas*, and the employing our Thoughts rather about them than about Sounds put for them, nor of settling the Signification of Words which we use with our selves in the Search of Truth, or with others in discoursing about it. Those Hindrances of our Understandings in the pursuit of Knowledge, I have sufficiently enlarged upon in another place; so that nothing more needs here to be said of those Matters.

Principles.

§. 6. There is another Fault that stops or misleads Men in their Knowledge, which I have also spoken something of, but yet is necessary to mention here again, that we may examine it to the bottom, and see the Root it springs from, and that is a Custom of taking up with Principles that are not self-evident, and very often not so much as true. 'Tis not unusual to see Men rest their Opinions upon Foundations that have no more Certainty and Solidity than the Propositions built on them, and embraced for their sake. Such Foundations are these and the like, *viz.* The Founders or Leaders of my Party are good Men, and therefore their Tenets are true; it is the Opinion of a Sect that is erroneous, therefore it is false: It hath been long received in the World, therefore it is true; or it is new, and therefore false.

These, and many the like, which are by no means the Measures of Truth and Falshood, the Generality of Men make the Standards by which they accustom their Understanding to judge. And thus they falling into a Habit of determining Truth and Falshood by such wrong Measures, 'tis no wonder they should embrace Error for Certainty, and be very positive in things they have no ground for.

There is not any, who pretends to the least Reason, but, when any of these his false Maxims are brought to the Test, must acknowledge them to be fallible, and such as he will not allow in those that differ from him; and yet after

after he is convinced of this, you shall see him go on in the use of them, and *Principles*. the very next Occasion that offers argue again upon the same Grounds. Would one not be ready to think that Men are willing to impose upon themselves, and mislead their own Understandings, who conduct them by such wrong Measures, even after they see they cannot be relied on? But yet they will not appear so blameable as may be thought at first sight; for I think there are a great many that argue thus in Earnest, and do it not to impose on themselves or others. They are persuaded of what they say, and think there is Weight in it, tho' in a like Case they have been convinced there is none; but Men would be intolerable to themselves, and contemptible to others, if they should embrace Opinions without any Ground, and hold what they could give no manner of Reason for. True or false, solid or sandy, the Mind must have some Foundation to rest it self upon, and, as I have remark'd in another place, it no sooner entertains any Proposition, but it presently hastens to some Hypothesis to bottom it on, till then it is unquiet and unsettled. So much do our own very Tempers dispose us to a right Use of our Understandings, if we would follow as we should the Inclinations of our Nature.

In some Matters of Concernment, especially those of Religion, Men are not permitted to be always wavering and uncertain, they must embrace and profess some Tenets or other; and it would be a Shame, nay a Contradiction too heavy for any one's Mind to lie constantly under; for him to Pretend seriously to be persuaded of the Truth of any Religion, and yet not to be able to give any Reason of his Belief, or to say any thing for his Preference of this to any other Opinion; and therefore they must make use of some Principles or other, and those can be no other than such as they have and can manage; and to say they are not in earnest persuaded by them, and do not rest upon those they make use of, is contrary to Experience, and to alledge that they are not misled when we complain they are.

If this be so, it will be urged, why then do they not make use of sure and unquestionable Principles, than rest on such Grounds as may deceive them, and will, as is visible, serve to support Error as well as Truth?

To this I answer, the Reason why they do not make use of better and surer Principles, is because they cannot: But this Inability proceeds not from Want of Natural Parts (for those few whose Case that is are to be excused) but for want of Use and Exercise. Few Men are from their Youth accustomed to strict Reasoning, and to trace the Dependence of any Truth in a long train of Consequences to its remote Principles, and to observe its Connection; and he that by frequent Practice has not been used to this Employment of his Understanding, 'tis no more wonder that he should not, when he is grown into Years, be able to bring his Mind to it, than that he should not be on a sudden able to grave or design, dance on the Ropes, or write a good Hand, who has never practised either of them.

Nay, the most of Men are so wholly Strangers to this, that they do not so much as perceive their Want of it, they dispatch the ordinary Business of their Callings by Rote, as we say, as they have learnt it, and if at any time they miss Success, they impute it to any thing rather than Want of Thought or Skill, that they conclude (because they know no better) they have in Perfection; or if there be any Subject that Interest or Fancy has recommended to their Thoughts, their Reasoning about it is still after their own fashion, be it better or worse, it serves their turns, and is the best they are acquainted with; and therefore when they are led by it into Mistakes, and their business succeeds accordingly, they impute it to any cross Accident, or default of others, rather than to their own Want of Understanding; that is, what no Body discovers or complains of in himself. Whatsoever made his Business to miscarry, it was not want of right Thought and Judgment in himself: He sees no such Defect in himself, but is satisfied that he carries on his Designs well enough by his own Reasoning, or at least should have done, had it not been for unlucky Traverses not in his Power. Thus being content with this short and very imperfect Use of his Understanding, he never troubles

Principles. himself to seek out Methods of improving his Mind, and lives all his Life without any Notion of close Reasoning, in a continued Connection of a long train of Consequences from sure Foundations, such as is requisite for the making out, and clearing most of the speculative Truths most Men own to believe and are most concern'd in. Not to mention here what I shall have occasion to insist on by and by more fully, *viz.* that in many cases 'tis not one Series of Consequences will serve the turn, but many different and opposite Deductions must be examin'd and laid together, before a Man can come to make a right Judgment of the Point in question. What then can be expected from Men that neither see the Want of any such kind of Reasoning as this; nor if they do, know they how to set about it, or could perform it? You may as well set a Country-Man, who scarce knows the Figures, and never cast up a Sum of three Particulars, to state a Merchant's long Account, and find the true Balance of it.

What then should be done in the Case? I answer, we should always remember what I said above, that the Faculties of our Souls are improv'd and made useful to us, just after the same manner as our Bodies are. Would you have a Man write or paint, dance or fence well, or perform any other manual Operation dexterously and with Ease, let him have ever so much Vigour and Activity, Suppleness and Address naturally; yet no Body expects this from him unless he has been used to it, and has employ'd Time and Pains in fashioning and forming his Hand or outward Parts to these Motions. Just so it is in the Mind; would you have a Man reason well, you must use him to it betimes, exercise his Mind in observing the Connection of Ideas, and following them in train. Nothing does this better than Mathematicks, which therefore I think should be taught all those who have the Time and Opportunity, not so much to make them Mathematicians, as to make them reasonable Creatures; for though we all call our selves so, because we are born to it if we please; yet we may truly say Nature gives us but the Seeds of it; we are born to be, if we please, rational Creatures, but 'tis Use and Exercise only that makes us so, and we are indeed so no farther than Industry and Application has carried us. And therefore in ways of Reasoning which Men have not been used to, he that will observe the Conclusions they take up, must be satisfied they are not all Rational.

This has been the less taken notice of, because every one in his private Affairs, uses some sort of Reasoning or other, enough to denominate him reasonable. But the Mistake is, that he that is found reasonable in one thing is concluded to be so in all, and to think or say otherwise, is thought so unjust an Affront, and so senseless a Censure, that no Body ventures to do it. It looks like the Degradation of a Man below the Dignity of his Nature. It is true, that he that reasons well in any one thing, has a Mind naturally capable of reasoning well in others, and to the same degree of Strength and Clearness, and possibly much greater, had his Understanding been so employed. But 'tis as true, that he who can reason well to Day about one sort of Matters, cannot at all reason to Day about others, though perhaps a Year hence he may. But where-ever a Man's rational Faculty fails him, and will not serve him to reason, there we cannot say he is rational, how capable soever he may be by Time and Exercise to become so.

Try in Men of low and mean Education, who have never elevated their Thoughts above the Spade and the Plough, nor look'd beyond the ordinary Drudgery of a Day-Labourer. Take the Thoughts of such an one, used for many Years to one Track, out of that narrow Compass he has been all his Life confin'd to, you will find him no more capable of reasoning than almost a perfect Natural. Some one or two Rules, on which their Conclusions immediately depend, you will find in most Men have govern'd all their Thoughts; these, true or false, have been the Maxims they have been guided by: Take these from them, and they are perfectly at a loss, their Compass and Pole-Star then are gone, and their Understanding is perfectly at a Nonplus, and therefore they either immediately return to their old Maxims again as the Foundations of all Truth to them, notwithstanding all that can be said to shew their Weakness; or if they give them up to their Reasons, they

they with them give up all Truth and further Enquiry, and think there is no such thing as Certainty. For if you would enlarge their Thoughts, and settle them upon more remote and surer Principles, they either cannot easily apprehend them, or if they can, know not what use to make of them; for long Deductions from remote Principles, is what they have not been us'd to, and cannot manage.

What then, can grown Men never be improv'd or enlarg'd in their Understandings? I say not so, but this I think I may say, that it will not be done without Industry and Application, which will require more Time and Pains than grown Men, settled in their Course of Life, will allow to it, and therefore very seldom is done. And this very Capacity of attaining it by Use and Exercise only, brings us back to that which I laid down before, that it is only Practice that improves our Minds as well as Bodies, and we must expect nothing from our Understandings any farther than they are perfected by Habits.

The *Americans* are not all born with worse Understandings than the *Europeans*, tho' we see none of them have such Reaches in the Arts and Sciences. And among the Children of a poor Country-man, the lucky chance of Education, and getting into the World, gives one infinitely the Superiority in Parts over the rest, who continuing at home, had continued also just of the same size with his Brethren.

He that has to do with young Scholars, especially in Mathematicks, may perceive how their Minds open by degrees, and how it is Exercise alone that opens them. Sometimes they will stick a long time at a part of a Demonstration, not for want of Will and Application, but really for want of perceiving the Connection of two Ideas; that, to one whose Understanding is more exercised, is as visible as any thing can be. The same would be with a grown Man beginning to study Mathematicks, the Understanding for want of use, often sticks in very plain way, and he himself that is so puzzled, when he comes to see the Connection, wonders what it was he stuck at in a Case so plain.

§. 7. I have mentioned *Mathematicks* as a way to settle in the Mind an Habit of Reasoning closely and in train; not that I think it necessary that all Men should be deep Mathematicians, but that having got the way of Reasoning, which that Study necessarily brings the Mind to, they might be able to transfer it to other parts of Knowledge as they shall have occasion. For in all sorts of Reasoning, every single Argument should be manag'd as a Mathematical Demonstration, the Connection and Dependence of Ideas should be follow'd till the Mind is brought to the Source on which it bottoms, and observes the Coherence all along, tho' in Proofs of Probability, one such train is not enough to settle the Judgment as in demonstrative Knowledge.

Where a Truth is made out by one Demonstration, there needs no farther Enquiry, but in Probabilities where there wants Demonstration to establish the Truth beyond Doubt, there 'tis not enough to trace one Argument to its Source, and observe its Strength and Weakness, but all the Arguments, after having been so examined on both sides, must be laid in Balance one against another, and upon the whole the Understanding determine its Assent.

This is a way of Reasoning the Understanding should be accustomed to, which is so different from what the Illiterate are used to, that even learned Men oftentimes seem to have very little or no Notion of it. Nor is it to be wonder'd, since the way of disputing in the Schools leads them quite away from it, by insisting on one topical Argument, by the Success of which the Truth or Falshood of the Question is to be determined, and Victory adjudged to the Opponent or Defendant; which is all one as if one should balance an Account by one Sum charged and discharged, when there are an hundred others to be taken into Consideration.

This therefore it would be well if Men's Minds were accustomed to, and that early, that they might not erect their Opinions upon one single View, when so many other are requisite to make up the Account, and must come into

Mathematicks.

into the reckoning before a Man can form a right Judgment. This would enlarge their Minds, and give a due Freedom to their Understandings, that they might not be led into Error by Presumption, Laziness or Precipitancy; for I think no Body can approve such a Conduct of the Understanding, as should mislead it from Truth, tho' it be ever so much in fashion to make use of it.

To this perhaps it will be objected, that to manage the Understanding as I propose, would require every Man to be a Scholar, and to be furnished with all the Materials of Knowledge, and exercised in all the Ways of Reasoning. To which I answer, that it is a shame for those that have time, and the means to attain Knowledge, to want any helps or assistance for the Improvement of their Understandings that are to be got, and to such I would be thought here chiefly to speak. Those methinks, who by the Industry and Parts of their Ancestors have been set free from a constant Drudgery to their Backs and their Bellies, should bestow some of their spare time on their Heads, and open their Minds by some Tryals and Essays in all the sorts and matters of Reasoning. I have before mention'd *Mathematicks*, wherein *Algebra* gives new Helps and Views to the Understanding. If I propose these, it is not, as I said, to make every Man a thorough Mathematician, or a deep Algebraist; but yet I think the Study of them is of infinite Use even to grown Men; first by experimentally convincing them, that to make any one reason well, it is not enough to have Parts wherewith he is satisfied, and that serve him well enough in his ordinary Course. A Man in those Studies will see, that however good he may think his Understanding, yet in many things, and those very visible, it may fail him. This would take off that Presumption that most Men have of themselves in this part; and they would not be so apt to think their Minds wanted no Helps to enlarge them, that there could be nothing added to the acuteness and penetration of their Understandings.

Secondly, The Study of *Mathematicks* would shew them the Necessity there is, in Reasoning, to separate all the distinct Ideas, and see the Habitues that all those concern'd in the present Enquiry have to one another, and to lay by those which relate not to the Proposition in hand, and wholly to leave them out of the reckoning. This is that, which in other Subjects besides Quantity, is what is absolutely requisite to just Reasoning, tho' in them it is not so easily observ'd, nor so carefully practis'd. In those parts of Knowledge where 'tis thought Demonstration has nothing to do, Men reason as it were in the Lump; and if, upon a summary and confus'd View, or upon a partial Consideration, they can raise the appearance of a Probability, they usually rest content; especially if it be in a Dispute where every little Straw is laid hold on, and every thing that can but be drawn-in any way to give Colour to the Argument, is advanced with Ostentation. But that Mind is not in a posture to find the Truth, that does not distinctly take all the Parts asunder, and, omitting what is not at all to the Point, draw a Conclusion from the Result of all the Particulars which any way influence it. There is another no less useful Habit to be got by an application to Mathematical Demonstrations, and that is of using the Mind to a long train of Consequences; but having mention'd that already, I shall not again here repeat it.

As to Men whose Fortunes and Time is narrower, what may suffice them is not of that vast Extent as may be imagin'd, and so comes not within the Objection.

No Body is under an Obligation to know every thing. Knowledge and Science in general, is the business only of those who are at Ease and Leisure. Those who have particular Callings ought to understand them; and 'tis no unreasonable Proposal, nor impossible to be compass'd, that they should think and reason right about what is their daily Employment. This one cannot think them incapable of, without levelling them with the Brutes, and charging them with a Stupidity below the Rank of rational Creatures.

Religion.

§. 8. Besides his particular Calling for the Support of this Life, every one has a Concern in a future Life, which he is bound to look after. This engages his Thoughts in *Religion*; and here it mightily lies upon him to understand and reason right. Men therefore cannot be excused from understanding

standing the Words, and framing the general Notions relating to *Religion*.
 right. The one Day of seven, besides other Days of Rest, allows in the Christian World time enough for this (had they no other idle Hours) if they would but make use of these Vacancies from their daily Labour, and apply themselves to an Improvement of Knowledge, with as much Diligence as they often do to a great many other things that are useless, and had but those that would enter them according to their several Capacities in a right way to this Knowledge. The Original Make of their Minds is like that of other Men, and they would be found not to want Understanding fit to receive the Knowledge of *Religion*, if they were a little encourag'd and help'd in it as they should be. For there are Instances of very mean People, who have rais'd their Minds to a great Sense and Understanding of *Religion*: And tho' these have not been so frequent as could be wish'd; yet they are enough to clear that Condition of Life from a Necessity of gross Ignorance, and to shew that more might be brought to be rational Creatures and Christians (for they can hardly be thought really to be so, who, wearing the Name, know not so much as the very Principles of that Religion) if due Care were taken of them. For, if I mistake not, the Peasantry lately in *France* (a Rank of People under a much heavier Pressure of Want and Poverty than the Day-Labourers in *England*) of the Reformed *Religion*, understood it much better, and could say more for it, than those of a higher Condition among Us.

But if it shall be concluded that the meaner sort of People must give themselves up to a brutish Stupidity in the things of their nearest Concernment, which I see no reason for, this excuses not those of a freer Fortune and Education, if they neglect their Understandings, and take no Care to employ them as they ought, and set them right in the Knowledge of those things, for which principally they were given them. At least those, whose plentiful Fortunes allow them the Opportunities and Helps of Improvements, are not so few, but that it might be hoped great Advancements might be made in Knowledge of all kinds, especially in that of the greatest Concern and largest Views, if Men would make a right use of their Faculties, and study their own Understandings.

§ 9. Outward corporeal Objects, that constantly importune our Senses, and captivate our Appetites, fail not to fill our Heads with lively and lasting *Ideas* of that kind. Here the Mind needs not be set upon getting greater store; they offer themselves fast enough, and are usually entertained in such plenty, and lodged so carefully, that the Mind wants Room or Attention for others that it has more Use and Need of. To fit the Understanding therefore for such Reasoning as I have been above speaking of, care should be taken to fill it with moral and more abstract *Ideas*; for these not offering themselves to the Senses, but being to be framed to the Understanding, People are generally so neglectful of a Faculty they are apt to think wants nothing; that I fear most Mens Minds are more unfurnished with such *Ideas* than is imagined. They often use the Words, and how can they be suspected to want the *Ideas*? What I have said in the Third Book of my Essay, will excuse me from any other Answer to this Question. But to convince People of what moment it is to their Understandings, to be furnished with such abstract *Ideas* steady and settled in them, give me leave to ask how any one shall be able to know, whether he be obliged to be just, if he has not establish'd *Ideas* in his Mind, of Obligation and of Justice, since Knowledge consists in nothing but the perceiv'd Agreement or Disagreement of those *Ideas*? And so of all others the like, which concern our Lives and Manners. And if Men do find a Difficulty to see the Agreement or Disagreement of two Angles which lye before their Eyes, unalterable in a Diagram, how utterly impossible will it be to perceive it in *Ideas* that have no other sensible Objects to represent them to the Mind, but Sounds, with which they have no manner of Conformity, and therefore had need to be clearly settled in the Mind themselves, if we would make any clear Judgment about them? This therefore is one of the first things the Mind should be employ'd about in the right Conduct of the Understanding, without which it is impossible it should be capable of Reasoning right about those

those Matters. But in these, and all other *Ideas*, Care must be taken that they harbour no Inconsistencies, and that they have a real Existence where real Existence is supposed, and are not mere Chimeras with a supposed Existence.

Prejudice. §. 10. Every one is forward to complain of the *Prejudices* that mislead other Men or Parties, as if he were free, and had none of his own. This being objected on all sides, 'tis agreed, that it is a Fault and an Hindrance to Knowledge. What now is the Cure? No other but this, that every Man should let alone other's *Prejudices* and examine his own. No body is convinced of his by the Accusation of another, he recriminates by the same Rule and is clear. The only way to remove this great Cause of Ignorance and Error out of the World, is, for every one impartially to examine himself. If others will not deal fairly with their own Minds; does that make my Errors Truths, or ought it to make me in love with them, and willing to impose on my self? If others love Cataracts on their Eyes, should that hinder me from couching mine as soon as I could? Every one declares against Blindness, and yet who almost is not fond of that which dims his Sight, and keeps the clear Light out of his Mind, which should lead him into Truth and Knowledge? False or doubtful Positions, rely'd upon as unquestionable Maxims, keep those in the dark from Truth who build on them. Such are usually the *Prejudices* imbibed from Education, Party, Reverence, Fashion, Interest, &c. This is the Mote which every one sees in his Brother's Eye, but never regards the Beam in his own. For who is there almost that is ever brought fairly to examine his own Principles, and see whether they are such as will bear the Trial? But yet this should be one of the first things every one should set about, and be scrupulous in, who would rightly conduct his Understanding in the Search of Truth and Knowledge.

To those who are willing to get rid of this great Hindrance of Knowledge, (for to such only I write) to those who would shake off this great and dangerous Impostor *Prejudice*, who dresses up Falshood in the Likeness of Truth, and so dextrously hoodwinks Mens Minds, as to keep them in the Dark, with a Belief that they are more in the Light than any that do not see with their Eyes; I shall offer this one Mark whereby *Prejudice* may be known. He that is strongly of any Opinion, must suppose (unless he be self-condemn'd) that his Persuasion is built upon good Grounds; and that his Assent is no greater than what the Evidence of the Truth he holds forces him to; and that they are Arguments, and not Inclination or Fancy that make him so confident and positive in his Tenets. Now if after all his Profession, he cannot bear any Opposition to his Opinion, if he cannot so much as give a patient Hearing, much less examine and weigh the Arguments on the other side, does he not plainly confess 'tis *Prejudice* governs him? And 'tis not the Evidence of Truth, but some lazy Anticipation, some beloved Presumption that he desires to rest undisturb'd in. For if what he holds be, as he gives out, well fenced with Evidence, and he sees it to be true, what need he fear to put it to the Proof? If his Opinion be settled upon a firm Foundation, if the Arguments that support it, and have obtained his Assent, be clear, good and convincing, why should he be shy to have it try'd whether they be Proof or not? He whose Assent goes beyond his Evidence, owes this Excess of his Adherence only to *Prejudice*, and does in effect own it, when he refuses to hear what is offer'd against it; declaring thereby, that 'tis not Evidence he seeks, but the quiet Enjoyment of the Opinion he is fond of, with a forward Condemnation of all, that may stand in opposition to it, unheard and unexamined; which, what is it but *Prejudice*? *Qui aquum statuerit parte inauditâ alterâ, etiam si aquum statuerit, haud æquus fuerit.* He that would acquit himself in this Case as a Lover of Truth, not giving way to any Pre-occupation, or Byass that may mislead him, must do Two things that are not very common, nor very easy.

Indifference. §. 11. First, he must not be in love with any Opinion, or wish it to be true, till he knows it to be so, and then he will not need to wish it: For nothing that is false can deserve our good Wishes, nor a Desire that it should have the Place and Force of Truth; and yet nothing is more frequent than this. Men are fond of certain Tenets upon no other Evidence but Respect
and

and Custome, and think they must maintain them, or all is gone, tho' they *Indifferen*. have never examined the Ground they stand on, nor have ever made them out to themselves, or can make them out to others. We should contend earnestly for the Truth, but we should first be sure that it is Truth, or else we fight against God, who is the God of Truth, and do the Work of the Devil, who is the Father and Propagator of Lies; and our Zeal, tho' never so warm, will not excuse us; for this is plainly Prejudice.

§. 12. Secondly, He must do that which he will find himself very averse *Examine*. to, as judging the thing unnecessary, or himself incapable of doing it. He must try whether his Principles be certainly true or not, and how far he may safely rely upon them. This whether fewer have the Heart or the Skill to do, I shall not determine; but this I am sure, this is that which every one ought to do, who professes to love Truth, and would not impose upon himself; which is a surer Way to be made a Fool of than by being exposed to the Sophistry of others. The Disposition to put any Cheat upon our selves, works constantly, and we are pleas'd with it, but are impatient of being banter'd or misled by others. The Inability I here speak of, is not any natural Defect that makes Men incapable of examining their own Principles: To such, Rules of conducting their Understandings are useless, and that is the Case of very few. The great Number is of those whom the ill Habit of never exerting their Thoughts has disabled: The Powers of their Minds are starved by Disuse, and have lost that Reach and Strength which Nature fitted them to receive from Exercise. Those who are in a Condition to learn the first Rules of plain Arithmetick, and could be brought to cast up an ordinary Sum, are capable of this, if they had but accusom'd their Minds to Reasoning: But they that have wholly neglected the Exercise of their Understandings in this way, will be very far at first from being able to do it, and as unfit for it as one unpractis'd in Figures to cast up a Shop-Book, and perhaps think it as strange to be set about it. And yet it must nevertheless be confess'd to be a wrong Use of our Understandings, to build our Tenets (in things where we are concern'd to hold the Truth) upon Principles that may lead us into Error. We take our Principles at hap-hazard upon Trust, and without ever having examin'd them, and then believe a whole System, upon a Presumption that they are true and solid; and what is all this but childish, shameful, senseless Credulity?

In these two things, *viz.* an equal Indifferency for all Truth; I mean the receiving it in the Love of it as Truth, but not loving it for any other reason before we know it to be true; and in the Examination of our Principles, and not receiving any for such, nor building on them till we are fully convinc'd, as rational Creatures, of their Solidity, Truth and Certainty, consists that Freedom of the Understanding, which is necessary to a rational Creature, and without which it is not truly an Understanding. 'Tis Conceit, Fancy, Extravagance, any thing rather than Understanding, if it must be under the Constraint of receiving and holding Opinions by the Authority of any thing but their own, not fancy'd, but perceiv'd, Evidence. This was rightly call'd Imposition, and is of all other the worst and most dangerous sort of it. For we impose upon our selves, which is the strongest Imposition of all others; and we impose upon our selves in that part which ought with the greatest care to be kept free from all Imposition. The World is apt to cast great Blame on those who have an Indifferency for Opinions, especially in Religion. I fear this is the Foundation of great Error and worse Consequences. To be indifferent which of two Opinions is true, is the right Temper of the Mind that preserves it from being impos'd on, and disposes it to examine with that Indifferency, till it has done its best to find the Truth, and this is the only direct and safe way to it. But to be indifferent whether we embrace Falshood or Truth or no, is the great Road to Error. Those who are not indifferent which Opinion is true, are guilty of this, they suppose, without examining, that what they hold is true, and then think they ought to be zealous for it. Those, 'tis plain by their Warmth and Eagerness, are not indifferent for their own Opinions, but methinks are very indifferent whether they be true or false, since they cannot endure to have

Examine. any Doubts raised, or Objections made against them; and 'tis visible they never have made any themselves, and so never having examin'd them, know not, nor are concern'd, as they should be, to know whether they be true or false.

These are the common and most general Miscarriages which I think Men should avoid or rectify in a right Conduct of their Understandings, and should be particularly taken care of in Education. The business whereof in respect of Knowledge, is not, as I think, to perfect a Learner in all or any one of the Sciences, but to give his Mind that Freedom, that Disposition, and those Habits that may enable him to attain any part of Knowledge he shall apply himself to, or stand in need of in the future Course of his Life.

This, and this only is well principling, and not the instilling a Reverence and Veneration for certain Dogmas, under the specious Title of Principles, which are often so remote from that Truth and Evidence which belongs to Principles, that they ought to be rejected as false and erroneous, and is often the Cause to Men so educated, when they come abroad into the World, and find they cannot maintain the Principles so taken up and rested in, to cast off all Principles, and turn perfect Scepticks, regardless of Knowledge and Virtue.

There are several Weaknesses and Defects in the Understanding, either from the natural Temper of the Mind, or ill Habits taken up, which hinder it in its Progress to Knowledge. Of these there are as many possibly to be found, if the Mind were thoroughly study'd, as there are Diseases of the Body, each whereof clogs and disables the Understanding to some degree, and therefore deserve to be look'd after and cur'd. I shall set down some few to excite Men, especially those who make Knowledge their Business, to look into themselves, and observe whether they do not indulge some Weakness, allow some Miscarriages in the Management of their intellectual Faculty, which is prejudicial to them in the Search of Truth.

Observation.

§. 13. Particular Matters of Fact are the undoubted Foundations on which our civil and natural Knowledge is built: The Benefit the Understanding makes of them is to draw from them Conclusions, which may be as standing Rules of Knowledge, and consequently of Practice. The Mind often makes not that Benefit it should of the Information it receives from the Accounts of Civil or Natural Historians, in being too forward, or too slow in making Observations on the particular Facts recorded in them.

There are those who are very assiduous in reading, and yet do not much advance their Knowledge by it. They are delighted with the Stories that are told, and perhaps can tell them again, for they make all they read nothing but History to themselves; but not reflecting on it, nor making to themselves Observations from what they read, they are very little improv'd by all that Croud of Particulars, that either pass through, or lodge themselves in their Understandings. They dream-on in a constant Course of reading and cramping themselves, but, not digesting any thing, it produces nothing but an heap of Crudities.

If their Memories retain well, one may say they have the Materials of Knowledge, but like those for Building, they are of no Advantage, if there be no other Use made of them but to let them lie heaped up together. Opposite to these, there are others who lose the Improvement they should make of Matters of Fact by a quite contrary Conduct. They are apt to draw general Conclusions, and raise Axioms from every Particular they meet with. These make as little true Benefit of History as the other; nay, being of forward and active Spirits receive more harm by it; it being of worse Consequence to steer one's Thoughts by a wrong Rule, than to have none at all, Error doing to busy Men much more Harm, than Ignorance to the slow and sluggish. Between these, those seem to do best, who taking material and useful Hints sometimes from single Matters of Fact, carry them in their Minds to be judg'd of, by what they shall find in History to confirm or reverse these imperfect Observations; which may be establish'd into Rules fit to be rely'd on, when they are justify'd by a sufficient and wary Induction
of

of Particulars. He that makes no such Reflections on what he reads, only loads his Mind with a Rapsody of Tales fit in Winter-Nights for the Entertainment of others; and he that will improve every Matter of Fact into a Maxim, will abound in contrary Observations, that can be of no other Use but to perplex and pudder him if he compares them; or else to misguide him, if he gives himself up to the Authority of that, which for its Novelty, or for some other Fancy, best pleases him.

§. 13. Next to these we may place those, who suffer their own natural Tempers and Passions they are possess'd with to influence their Judgments, especially of Men and Things that may any way relate to their present Circumstances and Interest. Truth is all simple, all pure, will bear no Mixture of any thing else with it. 'Tis rigid and inflexible to any bye Interests; and so should the Understanding be, whose Use and Excellency lies in conforming it self to it. To think of every thing just as it is in it self, is the proper Business of the Understanding, though it be not that which Men always employ it to. This all Men, at first hearing, allow is the right Use every one should make of his Understanding. No body will be at such an open Defiance with common Sense, as to profess that we should not endeavour to know, and think of things as they are in themselves, and yet there is nothing more frequent than to do the contrary; and Men are apt to excuse themselves, and think they have Reason to do so, if they have but a Pretence that it is for God, or a good Cause, that is, in effect for Themselves, their own Persuasion, or Party: For to those in their turns the several Sects of Men, especially in Matters of Religion, entitle God and a good Cause. But God requires not Men to wrong or misuse their Faculties for him, nor to lie to others or themselves for his Sake; which they purposely do, who will not suffer their Understandings to have right Conceptions of the things proposed to them, and designedly restrain themselves from having just Thoughts of every thing, as far as they are concern'd to enquire. And as for a good Cause, that needs not such ill Helps; if it be good, Truth will support it, and it has no need of Fallacy or Falshood.

§. 14. Very much of kin to this, is the hunting after Arguments to make good one side of a Question, and wholly to neglect and refuse those which favour the other side. What is this but wilfully to misguide the Understanding, and is so far from giving Truth its due Value, that it wholly debases it: Espouse Opinions that best comport with their Power, Profit, or Credit, and then seek Arguments to support them? Truth light upon this way, is of no more avail to us than Error; for what is so taken up by us, may be false as well as true, and he has not done his Duty who has thus stumbled upon Truth in his way to Preferment.

There is another, but more innocent way of collecting Arguments, very familiar among Bookish Men, which is to furnish themselves with the Arguments they meet with Pro and Con in the Questions they study. This helps them not to judge right, nor argue strongly, but only to talk copiously on either side, without being steady and settled in their own Judgments: For such Arguments gather'd from other Men's Thoughts, floating only in the Memory, are there ready indeed to supply copious Talk with some appearance of Reason, but are far from helping us to judge right. Such Variety of Arguments only distract the Understanding that relies on them, unless it has gone farther than such a superficial way of Examining; this is to quit Truth for Appearance, only to serve our Vanity. The sure and only way to get true Knowledge, is to form in our Minds clear settled Notions of Things, with Names annex'd to those determin'd Ideas. These we are to consider, and with their several Relations and Habitues, and not amuse our selves with floating Names, and Words of indetermined Signification, which we can use in several Senses to serve a Turn. 'Tis in the Perception of the Habitues and Respects our Ideas have one to another, that real Knowledge consists; and when a Man once perceives how far they agree or disagree one with another, he will be able to judge of what other People say, and will not need to be led by the Arguments of others, which are many of them nothing

Arguments. thing but plausible Sophistry. This will teach him to state the Question right, and see whereon it turns; and thus he will stand upon his own Legs, and know by his own Understanding. Whereas by collecting and learning Arguments by heart, he will be but a Retainer to others; and when any one questions the Foundations they are built upon, he will be at a Nonplus, and be fain to give up his implicit Knowledge.

Haste. §. 15. Labour for Labour-sake is against Nature. The Understanding, as well as all the other Faculties, chooses always the shortest way to its End, would presently obtain the Knowledge it is about, and then set upon some new Enquiry. But this, whether Laziness or Haste often misleads it, and makes it content it self with improper ways of Search, and such as will not serve the Turn: Sometimes it rests upon Testimony, when Testimony of right has nothing to do, because it is easier to believe than to be scientifically instructed: Sometimes it contents it self with one Argument, and rests satisfied with that, as it were a Demonstration; whereas the Thing under Proof is not capable of Demonstration, and therefore must be submitted to the Trial of Probabilities, and all the material Arguments Pro and Con be examined and brought to a Balance. In some Cases the Mind is determin'd by probable Topicks in Enquiries, where Demonstration may be had. All these and several others, which Laziness, Impatience, Custom, and Want of Use and Attention lead Men into, are Misapplications of the Understanding in the Search of Truth. In every Question the Nature and Manner of the Proof it is capable of should be consider'd, to make our Enquiry such as it should be. This would save a great deal of frequently employ'd Pains, and lead us sooner to that Discovery and Possession of Truth we are capable of. The multiplying Variety of Arguments, especially frivolous ones, such as are all that are merely Verbal, is not only lost Labour, but cumpers the Memory to no purpose, and serves only to hinder it from seizing and holding of the Truth in all those Cases which are capable of Demonstration. In such a way of Proof the Truth and Certainty is seen, and the Mind fully possesses it self of it; when in the other way of Assent it only hovers about it, is amused with Uncertainties. In this superficial Way indeed the Mind is capable of more variety of plausible Talk, but is not enlarged as it should be in its Knowledge. 'Tis to this same Haste and Impatience of the Mind also, that a not due Tracing of the Arguments to their true Foundation, is owing; Men see a little, presume a great deal, and so jump to the Conclusion. This is a short way to Fancy and Conceit, and (if firmly imbrac'd) to Opiniatrey, but is certainly the farthest way about to Knowledge. For he that will know, must by the Connexion of the Proofs see the Truth, and the Ground it stands on; and therefore, if he has for haste skipt over what he should have examin'd, he must begin and go over all again, or else he will never come to Knowledge.

Desultory. §. 16. Another Fault of as ill Consequence as this, which proceeds also from Laziness with a mixture of Vanity, is the skipping from one sort of Knowledge to another. Some Men's Tempers are quickly weary of any one Thing. Constancy and Assiduity is what they cannot bear: The same Study long continu'd in, is as intolerable to them, as the appearing long in the same Cloths or Fashion is to a Court-Lady.

Smattering. §. 17. Others, that they may seem universally Knowing, get a little smattering in every Thing. Both these may fill their Heads with superficial Notions of Things, but are very much out of the way of attaining Truth or Knowledge.

Universality. §. 18. I do not here speak against the taking a Taste of every sort of Knowledge; it is certainly very useful and necessary to form the Mind, but then it must be done in a different Way, and to a different End. Not for Talk and Vanity to fill the Head with Shreds of all Kinds, that he who is possess'd of such a Frippery, may be able to match the Discourses of all he shall meet with, as if nothing could come amiss to him; and his Head was so well stor'd a Magazine, that nothing could be propos'd which he was not Master of, and was readily furnish'd to entertain any one on. This is an Excellency indeed, and a great one too, to have a real and true Knowledge in all, or most

most of the Objects of Contemplation. But 'tis what the Mind of one and the same Man can hardly attain unto; and the Instances are so few of those who have in any Measure approach'd towards it, that I know not whether they are to be propos'd as Examples in the ordinary Conduct of the Understanding. For a Man to understand fully the Business of his particular Calling in the Common-wealth, and of Religion, which is his Calling as he is a Man in the World, is usually enough to take up his whole Time; and there are few that inform themselves in these, which is every Man's proper and peculiar Business, so to the Bottom as they should do. But though this be so, and there are very few Men that extend their Thoughts towards universal Knowledge; yet I do not doubt, but if the right Way were taken, and the Methods of Enquiry were order'd as they should be, Men of little Business and great Leisure might go a great deal farther in it than is usually done. To return to the Business in Hand, the End and Use of a little Insight in those Parts of Knowledge, which are not a Man's proper Business, is to accustom our Minds to all sorts of Ideas, and the proper ways of examining their Habitudes and Relations. This gives the Mind a Freedom, and the exercising the Understanding in the several ways of Enquiry and Reasoning, which the most Skilful have made use of, teaches the Mind Sagacity and Wariness, and a Suppleness to apply it self more closely and dexterously to the Bents and Turns of the Matter in all its Researches. Besides this universal Taste of all the Sciences, with an Indifferency before the Mind is possess'd with any one in particular, and grown into Love and Admiration of what is made its Darling, will prevent another Evil very commonly to be observ'd in those who have from the beginning been season'd only by one part of Knowledge. Let a Man be given up to the Contemplation of one sort of Knowledge, and that will become every thing. The Mind, that will take such a Tincture from a Familiarity with that Object, that every thing else, how remote soever, will be brought under the same View. A Metaphysician will bring Plowing and Gardening immediately to abstract Notions, the History of Nature shall signify nothing to him. An Alchymist, on the contrary, shall reduce Divinity to the Maxims of his Laboratory, explain Morality by *Sal, Sulphur* and *Mercury*, and allegorize the Scripture it self, and the sacred Mysteries thereof, into the Philosopher's Stone. And I heard once a Man, who had a more than ordinary Excellency in Musick, seriously accommodate *Moses's* seven Days of the first Week to the Notes of Musick, as if from thence had been taken the measure and method of the Creation. 'Tis of no small Consequence to keep the Mind from such a Possession, which I think is best done by giving it a fair and equal View of the whole intellectual World, wherein it may see the Order, Rank, and Beauty of the Whole, and give a just Allowance to the distinct Provinces of the several Sciences in the due Order and Usefulness of each of them.

If this be that which old Men will not think necessary, nor be easily brought to; 'tis fit at least that it should be practis'd in the breeding of the Young. The Business of Education, as I have already observ'd, is not, as I think, to make them perfect in any one of the Sciences, but so to open and dispose their Minds as may best make them capable of any, when they shall apply themselves to it. If Men are for a long time accusom'd only to one sort or method of Thoughts, their Minds grow stiff in it, and do not readily turn to another. 'Tis therefore to give them this Freedom, that I think they should be made look into all sorts of Knowledge, and exercise their Understandings in so wide a Variety and Stock of Knowledge. But I do not propose it as a Variety and Stock of Knowledge, but a Variety and Freedom of Thinking, as an Increase of the Powers and Activity of the Mind, not as an Enlargement of its Possessions.

§. 19. This is that which I think great Readers are apt to be mistaken in. Those who have read of every Thing, are thought to understand every thing too; but it is not always so. Reading furnishes the Mind only with Materials of Knowledge, 'tis Thinking makes what we read our's. We are of the ruminating Kind, and 'tis not enough to cram our selves with a great Load of Collections; unless we chew them over again, they will not give us Strength

Reading. Strength and Nourishment. There are indeed in some Writers visible Instances of deep Thoughts, close and acute Reasoning, and Ideas well pursued. The Light these would give would be of great Use, if their Reader would observe and imitate them; all the rest at best are but Particulars fit to be turn'd into Knowledge; but that can be done only by our own Meditation, and examining the Reach, Force and Coherence of what is said; and then as far as we apprehend and see the Connexion of Ideas, so far it is our's; without that, it is but so much loose Matter floating in our Brain. The Memory may be stor'd, but the Judgment is little better, and the Stock of Knowledge not increased by being able to repeat what others have said, or produce the Arguments we have found in them. Such a Knowledge as this, is but Knowledge by hear-say, and the Ostentation of it, is at best but talking by Roar, and very often upon weak and wrong Principles. For all that is to be found in Books, is not built upon true Foundations, nor always rightly deduc'd from the Principles it is pretended to be built on. Such an Examen as is requisite to discover that, every Reader's Mind is not forward to make; especially in those who have given themselves up to a Party, and only hunt for what they can scrape together, that may favour and support the Tenets of it. Such Men wilfully exclude themselves from Truth, and from all true Benefit to be received by Reading. Others of more Indifference often want Attention and Industry. The Mind is backward in it self to be at the pains to trace every Argument to its Original, and to see upon what Basis it stands, and how firmly; but yet it is this that gives so much the Advantage to one Man more than another in Reading. The Mind should, by severe Rules, be ty'd down to this at first uneasy Task; Use and Exercise will give it Facility. So that those who are accusom'd to it, readily, as it were with one cast of the Eye, take a View of the Argument, and presently, in most cases, see where it bottoms. Those who have got this Faculty, one may say, have got the true Key of Books, and the Clue to lead them, through the Mizmaze of Variety of Opinions and Authors, to Truth and Certainty. This young Beginners should be enter'd in, and shew'd the Use of, that they might profit by their Reading. Those who are Strangers to it, will be apt to think it too great a Clog in the way of Men's Studies, and they will suspect they shall make but small Progress, if, in the Books they read, they must stand to examine and unravel every Argument, and follow it step by step up to its Original.

I answer, this is a good Objection, and ought to weigh with those whose Reading is design'd for much Talk and little Knowledge, and I have nothing to say to it. But I am here enquiring into the Conduct of the Understanding in its Progress towards Knowledge; and to those who aim at that, I may say, that he, who fair and softly goes steadily forward in a Course that points right, will sooner be at his Journey's-end, than he that runs after every one he meets, though he gallop all Day full-speed.

To which let me add, that this way of thinking on, and profiting by, what we read, will be a Clog and Rub to any one only in the Beginning; when Custom and Exercise has made it familiar, it will be dispatch'd in most Occasions, without Resting or Interruption in the course of our Reading. The Motions and Views of a Mind exercis'd that way, are wonderfully quick; and a Man used to such sort of Reflections, sees as much at one glimpse as would require a long Discourse to lay before another, and make out in an entire and gradual Deduction. Besides, that when the first Difficulties are over, the Delight and sensible Advantage it brings, mightily encourages and enlivens the Mind in Reading, which without this is very improperly called Study.

Intermediate Principles.

§. 20. As an Help to this, I think it may be propos'd, that for the saving the long Progression of the Thoughts to remote and first Principles in every case, the Mind should provide it several Stages; that is to say, intermediate Principles, which it might have recourse to in the examining those Positions that come in its way. These, though they are not self-evident Principles, yet if they have been made out from them by a wary and unquestionable Deduction, may be depended on as certain and infallible Truths, and serve as unque-

unquestionable Truths to prove other Points depending on them by a nearer ^{interme-} and shorter View than remote and general Maxims. These may serve as ^{mediate Prin-} Land-marks to shew what lies in the direct way of Truth, or is quite besides ^{ciples.} it. And thus Mathematicians do, who do not in every new Problem run it back to the first Axioms, through all the whole Train of intermediate Propositions. Certain Theorems, that they have settled to themselves upon sure Demonstration, serve to resolve to them multitudes of Propositions which depend on them, and are as firmly made out from thence, as if the Mind went afresh over every Link of the whole Chain that tie them to first self-evident Principles. Only in other Sciences great Care is to be taken that they establish those intermediate Principles with as much Caution, Exactness and Indifferency, as Mathematicians use in the settling any of their great Theorems. When this is not done, but Men take up the Principles in this or that Science upon Credit, Inclination, Interest, &c. in Haste, without due Examination, and most unquestionable Proof, they lay a Trap for themselves, and as much as in them lies captivate their Understandings to Mistake, Falshood and Error.

§. 21. As there is a Partiality to Opinions, which, as we have already ^{Partiality.} observ'd, is apt to mislead the Understanding ; so there is often a Partiality to Studies, which is prejudicial also to Knowledge and Improvement. Those Sciences which Men are particularly vers'd in, they are apt to value and extol, as if that Part of Knowledge, which every one has acquainted himself with, were that alone which was worth the having, and all the rest were idle, and empty Amusements, comparatively of no Use or Importance. This is the Effect of Ignorance and not Knowledge, the being vainly puffed up with a Flatulency, arising from a weak and narrow Comprehension. 'Tis not amiss that every one should relish the Science that he has made his peculiar Study ; a View of its Beauties, and a Sense of its Usefulness, carries a Man on with the more Delight and Warmth in the Pursuit and Improvement of it. But the Contempt of all other Knowledge, as if it were nothing in comparison of Law or Physick, of Astronomy or Chymistry, or perhaps some yet meaner Part of Knowledge, wherein I have got some smattering, or am somewhat advanced, is not only the Mark of a vain or little Mind ; but does this Prejudice in the Conduct of the Understanding, that it coops it up within narrow Bounds, and hinders it from looking abroad into other Provinces of the intellectual World, more beautiful possibly, and more fruitful than that which it had till then labour'd in ; wherein it might find, besides new Knowledge, Ways or Hints whereby it might be enabled the better to cultivate its own.

§. 22. There is indeed one Science (as they are now distinguish'd) in- ^{Theology.} comparably above all the rest, where it is not by Corruption narrow'd into a Trade or Faction, for mean or ill Ends, and secular Interests ; I mean Theology, which, containing the Knowledge of God and his Creatures, our Duty to him and our fellow Creatures, and a View of our present and future State, is the Comprehension of all other Knowledge directed to its true End ; i. e. the Honour and Veneration of the Creator, and the Happiness of Mankind. This is that noble Study which is every Man's Duty, and every one that can be call'd a rational Creature is capable of. The Works of Nature, and the Words of Revelation, display it to Mankind in Characters so large and visible, that those who are not quite blind may in them read, and see the first Principles and most necessary Parts of it ; and from thence, as they have Time and Industry, may be enabled to go on to the more abstruse Parts of it, and penetrate into those infinite Depths fill'd with the Treasures of Wisdom and Knowledge. This is that Science which would truly enlarge Men's Minds, were it study'd, or permitted to be study'd every where with that Freedom, Love of Truth and Charity which it teaches, and were not made, contrary to its Nature, the occasion of Strife, Faction, Malignity, and narrow Impositions. I shall say no more here of this, but that it is undoubtedly a wrong Use of my Understanding, to make it the Rule and Measure of another Man's ; a Use which it is neither fit for, nor capable of.

§. 23. This

Partiality. §. 23. This Partiality, where it is not permitted an Authority to render all other Studies insignificant or contemptible, is often indulg'd so far as to be rely'd upon, and made use of in other parts of Knowledge, to which it does not at all belong, and wherewith it has no manner of Affinity. Some Men have so us'd their Heads to Mathematical Figures; that, giving a Preference to the Methods of that Science, they introduce Lines and Diagrams into their Study of Divinity, or Politick Enquiries, as if nothing could be known without them; and others, accusom'd to retir'd Speculations, run Natural Philosophy into Metaphysical Notions, and the abstract Generalities of Logick; and how often may one meet with Religion and Morality treated of in the Terms of the Laboratory, and thought to be improv'd by the Methods and Notions of Chymistry? But he, that will take care of the conduct of his Understanding to direct it right to the Knowledge of Things, must avoid those undue Mixtures, and not, by a Fondness for what he has found useful and necessary in one, transfer it to another Science, where it serves only to perplex and confound the Understanding. It is a certain Truth, that *res nolunt malè administrari*, 'tis no less certain *res nolunt malè intelligi*. Things themselves are to be consider'd as they are in themselves, and then they will shew us in what way they are to be understood. For to have right Conceptions about them, we must bring our Understandings to the inflexible Natures, and unalterable Relations of things, and not endeavour to bring things to any preconceiv'd Notions of our own.

There is another Partiality very commonly observable in Men of Study, no less prejudicial nor ridiculous than the former; and that is a fantastical and wild-attributing all Knowledge to the Ancients alone, or to the Moderns. This raving upon Antiquity in Matter of Poetry, *Horace* has wittily describ'd and expos'd in one of his Satyrs. The same sort of Madness may be found in reference to all the other Sciences. Some will not admit an Opinion not Authoriz'd by Men of Old, who were then all Giants in Knowledge. Nothing is to be put into the Treasury of Truth or Knowledge, which has not the Stamp of *Greece* or *Rome* upon it; and, since their Days, will scarce allow that Men have been able to see, think or write. Others with a like Extravagancy, condemn all that the Ancients have left us, and being taken with the Modern Inventions and Discoveries, lay by all that went before, as if whatever is called old must have the Decay of Time upon it, and Truth too were liable to Mould and Rottenness. Men, I think, have been much the same for natural Indowments in all Times. Fashion, Discipline and Education, have put eminent Differences in the Ages of several Countries, and made one Generation much differ from another in Arts and Sciences: But Truth is always the same; Time alters it not, nor is it the better or worse for being of antient or modern Tradition. Many were eminent in former Ages of the World for their Discovery and Delivery of it; but though the Knowledge they have left us be worth our Study; yet they exhausted not all its Treasure; they left a great deal for the Industry and Sagacity of after-Ages, and so shall we. That was once new to them, which any one now receives with Veneration for its Antiquity, nor was it the worse for appearing as a Novelty; and that which is now embrac'd for its Newness, will to Posterity be old, but not thereby be less true or less genuine. There is no occasion on this account to oppose the Ancients and the Moderns to one another, or to be squeamish on either side. He, that wisely conducts his Mind in the Pursuit of Knowledge, will gather what Lights, and get what Helps he can from either of them, from whom they are best to be had, without adoring the Errors, or rejecting the Truths, which he may find mingled in them.

Another Partiality may be observ'd, in some to vulgar, in others, to heretodox Tenets: Some are apt to conclude, that what is the common Opinion cannot but be true; so many Men's Eyes they think cannot but see right; so many Men's Understandings of all sorts cannot be deceiv'd, and therefore will not venture to look beyond the receiv'd Notions of the Place and Age, nor have so presumptuous a Thought as to be wiser than their Neigh-

Neighbours. They are content to go with the Crowd, and so go easily, *Partiality*. which they think is going right, or at least serves them as well. But however *vox Populi vox Dei* has prevail'd as a Maxim; yet I do not remember wherever God deliver'd his Oracles by the Multitude, or Nature Truths by the Herd. On the other side, some fly all common Opinions as either false or frivolous. The Title of many-headed Beast is a sufficient Reason to them to conclude, that no Truths of Weight or Consequence can be lodg'd there. Vulgar Opinions are suited to vulgar Capacities, and adapted to the Ends of those that govern. He that will know the Truth of Things, must leave the common and beaten Track, which none but weak and servile Minds are satisfy'd to trudge along continually in. Such nice Palates relish nothing but strange Notions quite out of the way: Whatever is commonly receiv'd, has the Mark of the Beast on it; and they think it a lessening to them to hearken to it, or receive it; their Mind runs only after Paradoxes; these they seek, these they embrace, these alone they vent, and so, as they think, distinguish themselves from the Vulgar. But common or uncommon are not the Marks to distinguish Truth or Falshood, and therefore should not be any Byass to us in our Enquiries. We should not judge of Things by Men's Opinions, but of Opinions by Things. The Multitude reason but ill, and therefore may be well suspected, and cannot be rely'd on, nor should be follow'd as a sure Guide; but Philosophers, who have quitted the Orthodoxy of the Community, and the popular Doctrines of their Countries, have fallen into as extravagant and as absurd Opinions as ever common Reception countenanced. 'Twould be Madness to refuse to breathe the common Air, or quench one's Thirst with Water, because the Rabble use them to these Purposes; and if there are Conveniencies of Life which common Use reaches not, 'tis not reason to reject them, because they are not grown into the ordinary Fashion of the Country, and every Villager doth not know them.

Truth, whether in or out of Fashion, is the Measure of Knowledge, and the Business of the Understanding; whatsoever is besides that, however authoriz'd by Consent, or recommended by Rarity, is nothing but Ignorance, or something worse.

Another sort of Partiality there is, whereby Men impose upon themselves, and by it make their Reading little useful to themselves; I mean the making use of the Opinions of Writers, and laying Strefs upon their Authorities, wherever they find them to favour their own Opinions.

There is nothing almost has done more Harm to Men dedicated to Letters, than giving the Name of Study to Reading, and making a Man of great Reading to be the same with a Man of great Knowledge, or at least to be a Title of Honour. All that can be recorded in Writing, are only Facts or Reasonings. Facts are of three sorts;

1. Meerly of natural Agents, observable in the ordinary Operations of Bodies one upon another, whether in the visible Course of things left to themselves, or in Experiments made by Men, applying Agents and Patients to one another after a peculiar and artificial manner.
2. Of voluntary Agents, more especially the Actions of Men in Society, which makes Civil and Moral History.
3. Of Opinions.

In these three consists, as it seems to me, that which commonly has the Name of Learning; to which perhaps some may add a distinct Head of Critical Writings, which indeed at Bottom is nothing but Matter of Fact, and resolves it self into this, that such a Man, or Set of Men, used such a Word or Phrase in such a Sense, *i. e.* that they made such Sounds the Marks of such Ideas.

Under Reasonings I comprehend all the Discoveries of general Truths made by human Reason, whether found by Intuition, Demonstration, or probable Deductions. And this is that which is, if not alone Knowledge, (because the Truth or Probability of particular Propositions may be known too) yet is, as may be suppos'd, most properly the Business of those who pretend to improve their Understandings, and make themselves knowing by Reading.

Partiality.

Books and Reading are look'd upon to be the great Helps of the Understanding, and Instruments of Knowledge, as it must be allowed that they are; and yet I beg leave to question whether these do not prove an Hindrance to many, and keep several bookish Men from attaining to solid and true Knowledge. This, I think, I may be permitted to say, that there is no part wherein the Understanding needs a more careful and wary Conduct, than in the use of Books; without which they will prove rather innocent Amusements than profitable Employments of our Time, and bring but small additions to our Knowledge.

There is not seldom to be found even amongst those who aim at Knowledge, who with an unwearied Industry imploy their whole Time in Books, who scarce allow themselves time to eat or sleep, but read, and read, and read on, but yet make no great Advances in real Knowledge, tho' there be no Defect in their intellectual Faculties, to which their little Progress can be imputed. The Mistake here is, that it is usually suppos'd, that by reading, the Author's Knowledge is transfus'd into the Reader's Understanding; and so it is, but not by bare reading, but by reading and understanding what he writ. Whereby I mean, not barely comprehending what is affirmed or denied in each Proposition (though that great Readers do not always think themselves concern'd precisely to do) but to see and follow the Train of his Reasonings, observe the Strength and Clearness of their Connection, and examine upon what they bottom. Without this a Man may read the Discourses of a very rational Author, writ in a Language, and in Propositions that he very well understands, and yet acquire not one Jot of his Knowledge; which consisting only in the perceived, certain, or probable Connection of the Ideas made use of in his Reasonings, the Reader's Knowledge is no farther encreased than he perceives that; so much as he sees of this Connection, so much he knows of the Truth or Probability of that Author's Opinions.

All that he relies on without this Perception, he takes upon Trust upon the Author's Credit, without any knowledge of it at all. This makes me not at all wonder to see some Men so abound in Citations, and build so much upon Authorities, it being the sole Foundation on which they bottom most of their own Tenets; so that in Effect they have but a second Hand, or implicit Knowledge, *i. e.* are in the Right if such an one, from whom they borrow'd it, were in the Right in that Opinion which they took from him, which indeed is no Knowledge at all. Writers of this or former Ages may be good Witnesses of Matters of Fact which they deliver, which we may do well to take upon their Authority; but their Credit can go no farther than this, it cannot at all affect the Truth and Falshood of Opinions, which have no other sort of Trial but Reason and Proof, which they themselves made use of to make themselves knowing, and so must others too that will partake in their Knowledge. Indeed 'tis an Advantage that they have been at the Pains to find out the Proofs, and lay them in that order that may shew the Truth or Probability of their Conclusions; and for this we owe them great Acknowledgements for saving us the Pains in searching out those Proofs which they have collected for us, and which possibly, after all our Pains, we might not have found, nor been able to have set them in so good a Light as that which they left them us in. Upon this Account we are mightily beholden to judicious Writers of all Ages, for those Discoveries and Discourses they have left behind them for our Instruction, if we know how to make a right Use of them; which is not to run them over in an hasty Perusal, and perhaps lodge their Opinions, or some remarkable Passages in our Memories; but to enter into their Reasonings, examine their Proofs, and then judge of the Truth or Falshood, Probability or Improbability of what they advance; not by any Opinion we have entertain'd of the Author, but by the Evidence he produces, and the Conviction he affords us, drawn from things themselves. Knowing is Seeing, and if it be so, it is Madness to persuade our selves that we do so by another Man's Eyes, let him use ever so many Words to tell us, that what he asserts is very visible. Till we our selves see it with our own Eyes, and perceive it by our own Understandings,

ings, we are as much in the Dark, and as void of Knowledge as before, let *Partiality*. us believe any learned Author as much as we will.

Euclid and *Archimedes* are allowed to be knowing, and to have demonstrated what they say; and yet whoever shall read over their Writings without perceiving the Connection of their Proofs, and seeing what they shew, though he may understand all their Words, yet he is not the more knowing: He may believe indeed, but does not know what they say, and so is not advanced one jot in Mathematical Knowledge by all his reading of those approv'd Mathematicians.

§. 24. The Eagerness and strong Bent of the Mind after Knowledge, if not *Haste* warily regulated, is often an Hindrance to it. It still presses into farther Discoveries and new Objects, and catches at the variety of Knowledge, and therefore often stays not long enough on what is before it, to look into it as it should, for *Haste* to pursue what is yet out of Sight. He that rides Post through a Country, may be able, from the transient View, to tell how in general the Parts lie, and may be able to give some loose Description of here a Mountain, and there a Plain, here a Morass, and there a River; Woodland in one part, and Savanas in another. Such superficial Ideas and Observations as these he may collect in Galloping over it: But the more useful Observations of the Soil, Plants, Animals and Inhabitants, with their several Sorts and Properties, must necessarily 'scape him; and 'tis seldom Men ever discover the rich Mines, without some digging. Nature commonly lodges her Treasure and Jewels in Rocky Ground. If the Matter be knotty, and the Sense lies deep, the Mind must stop and buckle to it, and stick upon it with Labour and Thought, and close Contemplation, and not leave it till it has master'd the Difficulty, and got possession of Truth. But here Care must be taken to avoid the other Extream: A Man must not stick at every useless Nicety, and expect Mysteries of Science in every trivial Question or Scruple that he may raise. He that will stand to pick up and examine every Pebble that comes in his way, is as unlikely to return enrich'd and laden with Jewels, as the other that travell'd full-speed. Truths are not the better nor the worse for their Obviousness or Difficulty, but their Value is to be measur'd by their Usefulness and Tendency. Insignificant Observations should not take up any of our Minutes, and those that enlarge our View, and give Light towards farther and useful Discoveries, should not be neglected, though they stop our Course, and spend some of our Time in a fix'd Attention.

There is another *Haste* that does often, and will mislead the Mind if it be left to its self, and its own Conduct. The Understanding is naturally forward, not only to learn its Knowledge by Variety (which makes it skip over one to get speedily to another part of Knowledge) but also eager to enlarge its Views, by running too fast into general Observations and Conclusions, without a due Examination of Particulars enough whereon to found those general Axioms. This seems to enlarge their Stock, but 'tis of Fancies not Realities; such Theories built upon narrow Foundations stand but weakly, and, if they fall not of themselves, are at least very hardly to be supported against the Assaults of Opposition. And thus Men being too hasty to erect to themselves general Notions and ill-grounded Theories, find themselves deceiv'd in their Stock of Knowledge, when they come to examine their hastily assum'd Maxims themselves, or to have them attack'd by others. General Observations drawn from Particulars, are the Jewels of Knowledge, comprehending great Store in a little Room; but they are therefore to be made with the greater Care and Caution, lest if we take Counterfeit for True, our Loss and Shame be the greater when our Stock comes to a severe Scrutiny. One or two Particulars may suggest Hints of Enquiry, and they do well to take those Hints; but if they turn them into Conclusions, and make them presently general Rules, they are forward indeed, but it is only to impose on themselves by Propositions assum'd for Truths without sufficient Warrant. To make such Observations, is, as has been already remark'd, to make the Head a Magazine of Materials, which can hardly be call'd Knowledge, or at least 'tis but like a Collection of Lumber not reduc'd

Haste. to Use or Order; and he that makes every thing an Observation, has the same useless Plenty and much more Falshood mix'd with it. The Extreams on both sides are to be avoided, and he will be able to give the best Account of his Studies who keeps his Understanding in the right Mean between them.

Anticipation.

§. 25. Whether it be a Love of that which brings the first Light and Information to their Minds, and want of Vigour and Industry to enquire, or else that Men content themselves with any appearance of Knowledge, right or wrong: which, when they have once got, they will hold fast: This is visible, that many Men give themselves up to the first Anticipations of their Minds, and are very tenacious of the Opinions that first possess them; they are often as fond of their first Conceptions as of their first Born, and will by no Means recede from the Judgment they have once made, or any Conjecture or Conceit which they have once entertain'd. This is a Fault in the Conduct of the Understanding, since this Firmness, or rather Stiffness of the Mind, is not from an Adherence to Truth, but a Submission to Prejudice. 'Tis an unreasonable Homage paid to Prepossession, whereby we shew a Reverence not to (what we pretend to seek) Truth; but what by Hazard we chance to light on, be it what it will. This is visibly a preposterous Use of our Faculties, and is a downright prostituting of the Mind to resign it thus, and put it under the Power of the first Comer. This can never be allow'd, or ought to be follow'd as a right way to Knowledge, till the Understanding (whose Business it is to conform it self to what it finds on the Objects without) can by its own Opiniatrey change that, and make the unalterable Nature of Things comply with its own hasty Determinations, which will never be. Whatever we fancy, things keep their Course; and their Habitudes, Correspondencies and Relations, keep the same to one another.

Resignation.

§. 26. Contrary to these, but by a like dangerous Excess on the other side, are those who always resign their Judgment to the last Man they heard or read. Truth never sinks into these Men's Minds, nor gives any Tincture to them, but Camelion-like, they take the Colour of what is laid before them, and as soon lose and resign it to the next that happens to come in their way. The Order wherein Opinions are propos'd, or receiv'd by us, is no Rule of their Rectitude, nor ought to be a Cause of their Preference. First or last in this Case, is the Effect of Chance, and not the Measure of Truth or Falshood. This every one must confess, and therefore should, in the pursuit of Truth, keep his Mind free from the Influence of any such Accidents. A Man may as reasonably draw Cutts for his Tenets, regulate his Persuasion by the Cast of a Die, as take it up for its Novelty, or retain it because it had his first Assent, and he was never of another Mind. Well-weighed Reasons are to determine the Judgment; those the Mind should be always ready to hearken and submit to, and by their Testimony and Suffrage, entertain or reject any Tenet indifferently, whether it be a perfect Stranger, or an old Acquaintance.

Practice.

§. 27. Tho' the Faculties of the Mind are improv'd by Exercise, yet they must not be put to a Stress beyond their Strength. *Quid valeant bumeri, quid ferre recusent*, must be made the Measure of every one's Understanding, who has a Desire not only to perform well, but to keep up the Vigour of his Faculties, and not to baulk his Understanding by what is too hard for it. The Mind, by being engag'd in a Task beyond its Strength, like the Body, strain'd by lifting at a Weight too heavy, has often its Force broken, and thereby gets an Unaptness or an Aversion to any vigorous Attempt ever after. A Sinew crack'd seldom recovers its former Strength, or at least the Tenderness of the Sprain remains a good while after, and the Memory of it longer, and leaves a lasting Caution in the Man, not to put the Part quickly again to any robust Employment. So it fares in the Mind once jaded by an Attempt above its Power, it either is disabled for the future, or else checks at any vigorous Undertaking ever after, at least is very hardly brought to exert its Force again on any Subject that requires Thought and Meditation. The Understanding should be brought to the difficult and knotty Parts of Knowledge, that

that try the Strength of Thought, and a full Bent of the Mind by insensible *Practice.* Degrees; and in such a gradual Proceeding nothing is too hard for it. Nor let it be objected, that such a slow Progress will never reach the Extent of some Sciences. It is not to be imagin'd how far Constancy will carry a Man; however it is better walking slowly in a rugged Way, than to break a Leg and be a Cripple. He that begins with the Calf may carry the Ox; but he that will at first go to take up an Ox, may so disable himself, as not to be able to lift a Calf after that. When the Mind, by insensible Degrees, has brought it self to Attention and close Thinking, it will be able to cope with Difficulties, and master them without any Prejudice to it self, and then it may go on roundly. Every abstruse Problem, every intricate Question will not baffle, discourage, or break it. But though putting the Mind unprepared upon an unusual Stress, that may discourage or damp it for the future, ought to be avoided; yet this must not run it, by an over-great Shyness of Difficulties, into a lazy Sauntering about ordinary and obvious Things, that demand no Thought or Application. This debases and enervates the Understanding, makes it weak and unfit for Labour. This is a sort of Hovering about the Surface of Things, without any Insight into them or Penetration; and when the Mind has been once habituated to this lazy Recumbency and Satisfaction on the obvious Surface of Things, it is in danger to rest satisfy'd there, and go no deeper, since it cannot do it without Pains and Digging. He, that has for some time accustomed himself to take up with what easily offers it self at first View, has Reason to fear he shall never reconcile himself to the Fatigue of turning and tumbling Things in his Mind, to discover their more retir'd and more valuable Secrets.

'Tis not strange that Methods of Learning, which Scholars have been accustomed to in their beginning and entrance upon the Sciences, should influence them all their Lives, and be settled in their Minds by an over-ruling Reverence, especially if they be such as universal Use has establish'd. Learners must at first be Believers, and their Master's Rules having been once made Axioms to them, 'tis no wonder they should keep that Dignity, and by the Authority they have once got, mislead those who think it sufficient to excuse them, if they go out of their way in a well-beaten Track.

§. 28. I have copiously enough spoken of the Abuse of Words in another *Words.* place, and therefore shall, upon this Reflection that the Sciences are full of them, warn those, that would conduct their Understandings right, not to take any Term howsoever authorized by the Language of the Schools, to stand for any thing till they have an Idea of it. A Word may be of frequent Use and great Credit with several Authors, and be by them made use of as if it stood for some real Being; but yet if he that reads cannot frame any distinct Idea of that Being, it is certain to him a mere empty Sound without a Meaning, and he learns no more by all that is said of it, or attributed to it, than if it were affirm'd only of that bare empty Sound. They who would advance in Knowledge, and not deceive and swell themselves with a little articulated Air, should lay down this as a Fundamental Rule, not to take Words for Things, nor suppose that Names in Books signify real Entities in Nature, till they can frame clear and distinct Ideas of those Entities. It will not perhaps be allow'd, if I should set down *Substantial Forms* and *intentional Species*, as such that may justly be suspected to be of this kind of insignificant Terms. But this I am sure, to one that can form no determin'd Ideas of what they stand for, they signify nothing at all; and all that he thinks he knows about them, is to him so much Knowledge about nothing, and amounts at most but to a learned Ignorance. 'Tis not without all Reason supposed, that there are many such empty Terms to be found in some learned Writers, to which they had Recourse to etch out their Systems where their Understandings could not furnish them with Conceptions from things. But yet I believe the supposing of some Realities in Nature, answering those and the like Words, have much perplex'd some, and quite misled others in the Study of Nature. That which in any Discourse signifies, *I know not what*, should be consider'd *I know not when*. Where Men have any Conceptions, they can, if they are ever so abstruse or abstracted, explain them, and

Words. and the Terms they use for them. For our Conceptions being nothing but Ideas, which are all made up of simple Ones: If they cannot give us the Ideas their Words stand for, 'tis plain they have none. To what Purpose can it be to hunt after his Conceptions, who has none, or none distinct? He that knew not what he himself meant by a learned Term, cannot make us know any thing by his Use of it, let us beat our Heads about it ever so long. Whether we are able to comprehend all the Operations of Nature, and the Manners of them, it matters not to enquire; but this is certain, that we can comprehend no more of them than we can distinctly conceive; and therefore to obtrude Terms where we have no distinct Conceptions, as if they did contain, or rather conceal something, is but an Artifice of learned Vanity, to cover a Defect in an Hypothesis or our Understandings. Words are not made to conceal but to declare and shew something; where they are, by those, who pretend to instruct, otherwise us'd, they conceal indeed something; but that which they conceal is nothing but the Ignorance, Error, or Sophistry of the Talker, for there is, in Truth, nothing else under them.

Wandering. §. 29. That there is constant Succession and Flux of Ideas in our Minds, I have observ'd in the former Part of this Essay, and every one may take notice of it in himself. This, I suppose, may deserve some part of our Care in the Conduct of our Understandings; and I think it may be of great Advantage, if we can by Use get that Power over our Minds, as to be able to direct that Train of Ideas, that so, since there will new Ones perpetually come into our Thoughts by a constant Succession, we may be able by Choice so to direct them, that none may come in View, but such as are pertinent to our present Enquiry, and in such order as may be most useful to the Discovery we are upon; or at least, if some foreign and unsought Ideas will offer themselves, that yet we might be able to reject them, and keep them from taking off our Minds from its present Pursuit, and hinder them from running away with our Thoughts quite from the Subject in Hand. This is not, I suspect, so easy to be done, as perhaps may be imagin'd; and yet, for ought I know, this may be, if not the chief, yet one of the great Differences that carry some Men in their Reasoning so far beyond others, where they seem to be naturally of equal Parts. A proper and effectual Remedy for this Wandering of Thoughts I would be glad to find. He, that shall propose such an One, would do great Service to the studious and contemplative Part of Mankind, and perhaps help unthinking Men to become thinking. I must acknowledge that hitherto I have discover'd no other way to keep our Thoughts close to their Business, but the endeavouring as much as we can, and by frequent Attention and Application, getting the Habit of Attention and Application. He that will observe Children, will find, that even when they endeavour their utmost, they cannot keep their Minds from straggling. The way to cure it, I am satisfy'd, is not angry Chiding or Beating, for that presently fills their Heads with all the Ideas that Fear, Dread, or Confusion can offer to them. To bring back gently their wandering Thoughts, by leading them into the Path, and going before them in the Train they should pursue, without any Rebuke, or so much as taking notice (where it can be avoided) of their roving, I suppose would sooner reconcile and inure them to Attention, than all those rougher Methods which more distract their Thought, and, hindering the Application they would promote, introduce a contrary Habit.

Distinction. §. 30. Distinction and Division are (if I mistake not the Import of the Words) very different things; the one being the Perception of a Difference that Nature has plac'd in things; the other our making a Division where there is yet none; at least, if I may be permitted to consider them in this Sense, I think I may say of them, that one of them is the most necessary and conducive to true Knowledge that can be; the other, when too much made use of, serves only to puzzle and confound the Understanding. To observe every the least Difference that is in things, argues a quick and clear Sight, and this keeps the Understanding steady, and right in its way to Knowledge. But tho' it be useful to discern every Variety that is to be found in

in Nature, yet it is not convenient to consider every Difference that is in *Distinct-* things, and divide them into distinct Classes under every such Difference. *ons.* This will run us, if follow'd, into Particulars, (for every Individual has something that differences it from another) and we shall be able to establish no general Truths, or else at least shall be apt to perplex the Mind about them. The Collection of several things into several Classes, gives the Mind more general and larger Views; but we must take Care to unite them only in that, and so far as they do agree; for so far they may be united under the Consideration. For Entity it self, that comprehends all things, as general as it is, may afford us clear and rational Conceptions. If we would weigh and keep in our Minds what it is we are considering, that would best instruct us when we should, or should not branch into farther Distinctions, which are to be taken only from a due Contemplation of things; to which there is nothing more opposite than the Art of Verbal Distinctions, made at pleasure in learned and arbitrarily invented Terms, to be applied at a venture, without comprehending or conveying any distinct Notions, and so altogether fitted to artificial Talk, or empty Noise in Dispute, without any clearing of Difficulties, or advance in Knowledge. Whatsoever Subject we examine and would get Knowledge in, we should, I think, make as general and as large as it will bear; nor can there be any Danger of this, if the Idea of it be settled and determined: For if that be so, we shall easily distinguish it from any other Idea, though comprehended under the same Name. For it is to fence against the Intanglements of Equivocal Words, and the great Art of Sophistry which lies in them, that Distinctions have been multiplied, and their Use thought necessary. But had every distinct abstract Idea a distinct known Name, there would be little need of these multiplied Scholastick Distinctions, though there would be nevertheless as much need still of the Mind's observing the Differences that are in things, and discriminating them thereby one from another. 'Tis not therefore the right way to Knowledge, to hunt after, and fill the Head with abundance of Artificial and Scholastick Distinctions, wherewith learned Men's Writings are often fill'd; we sometimes find what they treat of so divided and subdivided, that the Mind of the most attentive Reader loses the Sight of it, as it is more than probable the Writer himself did; for in things crumbled into Dust, 'tis in vain to affect or pretend Order, or expect Clearness. To avoid Confusion by too few or too many Divisions, is a great Skill in Thinking as well as Writing, which is but the Copying our Thoughts; but what are the Boundaries of the Mean between the two vicious Excesses on both Hands, I think is hard to set down in Words: Clear and distinct Ideas is all that I yet know able to regulate it. But as to Verbal Distinctions receiv'd and apply'd to common Terms, *i. e.* Equivocal Words; they are more properly, I think, the Business of Criticisms and Dictionaries than of real Knowledge and Philosophy, since they, for the most part, explain the meaning of Words, and give us their several Significations. The dexterous Management of Terms, and being able to *send* and *prove* with them, I know has and does pass in the World for a great part of Learning; but it is Learning distinct from Knowledge, for Knowledge consists only in perceiving the Habitues and Relations of Ideas one to another, which is done without Words; the Intervention of a Sound helps nothing to it. And hence we see that there is least use of Distinctions where there is most Knowledge; I mean in Mathematicks, where Men have determin'd Ideas with known Names to them; and so there being no room for Equivocations, there is no need of Distinctions. In arguing, the Opponent uses as comprehensive and equivocal Terms as he can, to involve his Adversary in the Doubtfulness of his Expressions: This is expected, and therefore the Answerer on his side makes it his Play to distinguish as much as he can, and thinks he can never do it too much, nor can he indeed in that way wherein Victory may be had without Truth and without Knowledge. This seems to me to be the Art of Disputing. Use your Words as cautiously as you can in your arguing on one side, and apply Distinctions as much as you can on the other side to every Term, to nonplus your Opponent; so that in this sort of Scholarship, there being no Bounds

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Distinctions.

set to distinguishing, some Men have thought all Acuteness to have lain in it; and therefore in all they have read or thought on, their great Business has been to amuse themselves with Distinctions, and multiply to themselves Divisions, at least, more than the Nature of the thing requir'd. There seems to me, as I said, to be no other Rule for this, but a due and right Consideration of Things as they are in themselves. He that has settled in his Mind determin'd Ideas, with Names affix'd to them, will be able both to discern their Differences one from another, which is really distinguishing; and, where the Penury of Words affords not Terms answering every distinct Idea, will be able to apply proper distinguishing Terms to the Comprehensive and Equivocal Names he is forc'd to make use of. This is all the need I know of distinguishing Terms; and in such Verbal Distinctions, each Term of the Distinction, joyn'd to that whose Signification it distinguishes, is but a distinct Name for a distinct Idea. Where they are so, and Men have clear and distinct Conceptions that answer their Verbal Distinctions, they are right, and are pertinent as far as they serve to clear any thing in the Subject under Consideration. And this is that which seems to me the proper and only Measure of Distinctions and Divisions; which he that will conduct his Understanding right, must not look for in the Acuteness of Invention, nor the Authority of Writers, but will find only in the Consideration of Things themselves, whether they are led into it by their own Meditations, or the Information of Books.

An Aptness to jumble Things together, wherein can be found any Likeness, is a Fault in the Understanding on the other side, which will not fail to mislead it, and by thus lumping of Things, hinder the Mind from distinct and accurate Conceptions of them.

Similies.

§. 31. To which let me here add another near of Kin to this, at least in Name, and that is letting the Mind upon the Suggestion of any new Notion, run immediately after Similies to make it the clearer to it self; which, though it may be a good way, and useful in the explaining our Thoughts to others; yet it is by no Means a right Method to settle true Notions of any thing in our selves, because Similies always fail in some part, and come short of that Exactness which our Conceptions should have to Things, if we would think aright. This indeed makes Men plausible Talkers; for those are always most acceptable in Discourse who have the way to let their Thoughts into other Men's Minds with the greatest Ease and Facility, whether those Thoughts are well formed and correspond with Things, matters not; few Men care to be instructed but at an easy rate. They, who in their Discourse strike the Fancy, and take the Hearers Conceptions along with them as fast as their Words flow, are the applauded Talkers, and go for the only Men of clear Thoughts. Nothing contributes so much to this as Similies, whereby Men think they themselves understand better, because they are the better understood. But it is one thing to think right, and another thing to know the right way to lay our Thoughts before others with Advantage and Clearness, be they right or wrong. Well chosen Similies, Metaphors, and Allegories, with Method and Order, do this the best of any thing, because being taken from Objects already known, and familiar to the Understanding, they are conceiv'd as fast as spoken; and the Correspondence being concluded, the thing they are brought to explain and elucidate is thought to be understood too. Thus Fancy passes for Knowledge, and what is prettily said is mistaken for solid. I say not this to decry Metaphor, or with Design to take away that Ornament of Speech; my Business here is not with Rhetoricians and Orators, but with Philosophers and Lovers of Truth; to whom I would beg leave to give this one Rule whereby to try whether, in the Application of their Thoughts to any thing for the Improvement of their Knowledge, they do in Truth comprehend the Matter before them really such as it is in it self. The way to discover this is to observe, whether in the laying it before themselves or others, they make use only of borrow'd Representations and Ideas foreign to the things which are apply'd to it by way of Accommodation, as bearing some Proportion or imagin'd Likeness to the Subject under Consideration. Figur'd
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and Metaphorical Expressions do well to illustrate more abstruse and unfamiliar Ideas which the Mind is not yet thoroughly accustomed to; but then they must be made use of to illustrate Ideas that we already have, not to paint to us those which we yet have not. Such borrow'd and allusive Ideas may follow real and solid Truth, to set it off when found, but must by no means be set in its place, and taken for it. If all our Search has yet reach'd no farther than Similie and Metaphor, we may assure our selves we rather fancy than know, and are not yet penetrated into the Inside and Reality of the thing be it what it will, but content our selves with what our Imaginations, not Things themselves, furnish us with.

§. 32. In the whole Conduct of the Understanding, there is nothing of *Assent* more moment than to know when and where, and how far to give Assent, and possibly there is nothing harder. 'Tis very easily said, and no Body questions it, That giving and with-holding our Assent, and the Degrees of it, should be regulated by the Evidence which things carry with them; and yet we see Men are not the better for this Rule; some firmly embrace Doctrines upon slight Grounds, some upon no Grounds, and some contrary to Appearance: Some admit of Certainty, and are not to be moved in what they hold: Others waver in every thing, and there want not those that reject All as uncertain. What then shall a Novice, an Enquirer, a Stranger do in the Case? I answer, Use his Eyes. There is a Correspondence in things, and Agreement and Disagreement in Ideas, discernible in very different Degrees, and there are Eyes in Men to see them if they please, only their Eyes may be dim'd or dazzled, and the discerning Sight in them impair'd or lost. Interest and Passion dazzles; the Custom of Arguing on any Side, even against our Perswasions, dims the Understanding, and makes it by Degrees lose the Faculty of Discerning clearly between Truth and Falshood, and so of adhering to the right Side. 'Tis not safe to play with Error, and dress it up to our selves or others in the Shape of Truth. The Mind by Degrees loses its natural Relish of real solid Truth, is reconciled insensibly to any thing that can but be dress'd up into any feint Appearance of it; and if the Fancy be allowed the place of Judgment at first in Sport, it afterwards comes by Use to usurp it, and what is recommended by this Flatterer (that studies but to please) is receiv'd for Good. There are so many Ways of Fallacy, such Arts of giving Colours, Appearances and Resemblances by this Court-Dresser, the Fancy, that he, who is not wary to admit nothing but Truth it self, very careful not to make his Mind subservient to any thing else, cannot but be caught. He that has a Mind to believe has half assented already; and he, that by often arguing against his own Sense, imposes Falshoods on others, is not far from believing himself. This takes away the great Distance there is betwixt Truth and Falshood; it brings them almost together, and makes it no great odds, in things that approach so near, which you take; and when things are brought to that Pass, Passion or Interest, &c. easily, and without being perceiv'd, determine which shall be the right.

§. 33. I have said above, that we should keep a perfect Indifferency for all *Indifferent* Opinions; not wish any of them true, or try to make them appear so; but *9.* being indifferent, receive and embrace them according as Evidence, and that alone, gives the Attestation of Truth. They that do thus, *i. e.* keep their Mind indifferent to Opinions, to be determined only by Evidence, will always find the Understanding has Perception enough to distinguish between Evidence or no Evidence, betwixt plain and doubtful; and if they neither give nor refuse their Assent but by that Measure, they will be safe in the Opinions they have. Which being perhaps but few, this Caution will have also this Good in it, that it will put them upon Considering, and teach them the Necessity of Examining more than they do; without which, the Mind is but a Receptacle of Inconsistencies, not the Store-House of Truths. They, that do not keep up this Indifferency in themselves for all but Truth, not supposed, but evidenc'd in themselves, put colour'd Spectacles before their Eyes, and look on things through false Glasses, and then think themselves excus'd in following the false Appearances which they themselves put upon them. I do not expect that by this way the Assent should in every one be

*Indifferen-
cy.* proportion'd to the Grounds and Clearness wherewith every Truth is capable to be made out, or that Men should be perfectly kept from Error: That is more than Humane Nature can by any means be advanc'd to; I aim at no such unattainable Privilege; I am only speaking of what they should do, who would deal fairly with their own Minds, and make a right Use of their Faculties in the pursuit of Truth; we fail them a great deal more than they fail us. 'Tis Mismanagement more than want of Abilities that Men have reason to complain of, and which they actually do complain of in those that differ from them. He, that by an Indifferency for all but Truth, suffers not his Assent to go faster than his Evidence, nor beyond it, will learn to examine, and examine fairly instead of presuming, and no Body will be at a Loss, or in Danger for want of embracing those Truths which are necessary in his Station and Circumstances. In any other way but this all the World are born to Orthodoxy; they imbibe at first the allow'd Opinions of their Country and Party, and so never questioning their Truth, not one of an hundred ever examines. They are applauded for presuming they are in the right. He that considers, is a Foe to Orthodoxy, because possibly he may deviate from some of the receiv'd Doctrines there. And thus Men, without any Industry or Acquisition of their own, inherit local Truths (for it is not the same every where) and are inur'd to Assent without Evidence. This influences farther than is thought; for what one of an hundred of the zealous Bigots in all Parties, ever examin'd the Tenets he is so stiff in, or ever thought it his Business or Duty so to do? It is suspected of Luke-warmness to suppose it necessary, and a Tendency to Apostacy to go about it. And if a Man can bring his Mind once to be positive and fierce for Positions, whose Evidence he has never once examin'd, and that in Matters of greatest Concernment to him, what shall keep him from this short and easie Way of being in the right in Cases of less Moment? Thus we are taught to cloth our Minds as we do our Bodies after the Fashion in Vogue, and 'tis accounted Fantasticalness, or something worse not to do so. This Custom (which who dares oppose) makes the short-sighted Bigots, and the warier Scepticks, as far as it prevails. And those that break from it are in danger of Heresy; for taking the whole World, how much of it doth Truth and Orthodoxy possess together? Though 'tis by the last alone (which has the good Luck to be every where) that Error and Heresy are judg'd of; for Argument and Evidence signify nothing in the Case, and excuse no where, but are sure to be born down in all Societies by the infallible Orthodoxy of the place. Whether this be the way to Truth and right Assent, let the Opinions, that take place and prescribe in the several habitable Parts of the Earth, declare. I never saw any reason yet why Truth might not be trusted to its own Evidence: I am sure if that be not able to support it, there is no Fence against Error, and then Truth and Falshood are but Names that stand for the same things. Evidence therefore is that by which alone every Man is (and should be) taught to regulate his Assent, who is then, and then only, in the right way when he follows it.

Men deficient in Knowledge are usually in one of these three States, either wholly Ignorant, or as doubting of some Proposition they have either embrac'd formerly, or at present inclin'd to: Or lastly, they do with Assurance hold and profess without ever having examin'd, and being convinc'd by well-grounded Arguments.

The first of these are in the best State of the three, by having their Minds yet in their perfect Freedom and Indifferency, the likelier to pursue Truth the better, having no Biass yet clap'd on to mislead them.

§. 34. For Ignorance with an Indifferency for Truth is nearer to it, than Opinion with ungrounded Inclination, which is the great Source of Error; and they are more in danger to go out of the way, who are marching under the Conduct of a Guide, that 'tis an hundred to one will mislead them, than he that has not yet taken a Step, and is likelier to be prevail'd on to enquire after the right Way. The last of the three Sorts are in the worst Condition of all; for if a Man can be persuaded, and fully assur'd of any thing for a Truth, without having examin'd what is there that he may not embrace for Truth;

Truth ; and if he has given himself up to believe a Lie, what Means is there *Indifferen-* left to recover one who can be assur'd without examining ? To the other *9.* two this I crave leave to say, That as he that is Ignorant is in the best State of the two, so he should pursue Truth in a Method suitable to that State, *i. e.* by enquiring directly into the Nature of the thing it self, without minding the Opinions of others, or troubling himself with their Questions or Disputes about it, but to see what he himself can, sincerely searching after Truth, find out. He that proceeds upon others Principles in his Enquiry into any Sciences, though he be resolv'd to examine them, and judge of them freely, does yet at least put himself on that side, and post himself in a Party which he will not quit till he be beaten out ; by which the Mind is insensibly engag'd to make what Defence it can, and so is unawares byass'd. I do not say but a Man should embrace some Opinion when he has examin'd, else he examines to no purpose ; but the surest and safest way is to have no Opinion at all till he has examin'd, and that without any the least Regard to the Opinions or Systems of other Men about it. For Example, were it my Business to understand Physick, would not the safer and readier way be to consult Nature her self, and inform my self in the History of Diseases and their Cures, than espousing the Principles of the Dogmatists, Methodists or Chymists engage in all the Disputes concerning either of those Systems, and suppose it to be true, till I have try'd what they can say to beat me out of it ? Or, supposing that *Hippocrates*, or any other Book, infallibly contains the whole Art of Physick, would not the direct way be to study, read, and consider that Book, weigh and compare the Parts of it to find the Truth, rather than espouse the Doctrines of any Party ; who, tho' they acknowledge his Authority, have already interpreted and wire-drawn all his Text to their own Sense ; the Tincture whereof when I have imbib'd, I am more in danger to misunderstand his true Meaning, than if I had come to him with a Mind unprepossess'd by Doctors and Commentators of my Sect, whose Reasonings, Interpretation and Language which I have been us'd to, will of Course make all chime that way, and make another, and perhaps the genuine Meaning of the Author seem harsh, strain'd and uncouth to me ? For Words having naturally none of their own, carry that Signification to the Hearer, that he is us'd to put upon them, whatever be the Sense of him that uses them. This, I think, is visibly so ; and if it be, he that begins to have any Doubt of any of his Tenets, which he receiv'd without Examination, ought, as much as he can, to put himself wholly into this State of Ignorance in reference to that Question, and throwing wholly by all his former Notions, and the Opinions of others, examine, with a perfect Indifferency, the Question in its Source, without any Inclination to either Side, or any Regard to his or others unexamined Opinions. This I own is no easy thing to do, but I am not enquiring the easy way to Opinion, but the right way to Truth ; which they must follow who will deal fairly with their own Understandings and their own Souls.

§. 35. The Indifferency that I here propose, will also enable them to state the Question right, which they are in Doubt about, without which they can never come to a fair and clear Decision of it. *Question.*

§. 36. Another Fruit from this Indifferency, and the considering Things in themselves abstract from our own Opinions and other Men's Notions, and Discourses on them, will be, that each Man will pursue his Thoughts in that Method which will be most agreeable to the Nature of the thing, and to his Apprehension of what it suggests to him ; in which he ought to proceed with Regularity and Constancy, until he come to a well-grounded Resolution wherein he may acquiesce. If it be objected that this will require every Man to be a Scholar, and quit all his other Business, and betake himself wholly to Study ; I answer, I propose no more to any one than he has time for. Some Men's State and Condition requires no great Extent of Knowledge ; the necessary Provision for Life swallows the greatest part of their Time. But one Man's want of Leisure is no Excuse for the Oscitancy and Ignorance of those who have time to spare ; and every one has enough to

get as much Knowledge as is requir'd and expected of him, and he that does not that, is in love with Ignorance, and is accountable for it.

*Presump-
tion.*

§. 37. The Variety of Distempers in Men's Minds is as great as of those in their Bodies ; some are Epidemick, few 'scape them, and every one too, if he would look into himself, would find some Defect of his particular Genius. There is scarce any one without some Idiosyncrasy that he suffers by. This Man presumes upon his Parts, that they will not fail him at time of Need, and so thinks it superfluous Labour to make any Provision before-hand. His Understanding is to him like *Fortunatus's* Purse, which is always to furnish him without ever putting any thing into it before-hand ; and so he sits still satisfy'd, without endeavouring to store his Understanding with Knowledge. 'Tis the spontaneous Product of the Country, and what need of Labour in Tillage? Such Men may spread their native Riches before the Ignorant ; but they were best not come to Strefs and Trial with the skilful. We are born ignorant of every thing. The Superficies of things that surround them, make Impressions on the negligent, but no Body penetrates into the inside without Labour, Attention and Industry. Stones and Timber grow of themselves, but yet there is no uniform Pile with Symmetry and Convenience to lodge in without Toil and Pains. God has made the intellectual World harmonious and beautiful without us ; but it will never come into our Heads all at once, we must bring it home Piece-meal, and there set it up by our own Industry, or else we shall have nothing but Darkness and a Chaos within, whatever Order and Light there be in Things without us.

*Despon-
dency.*

§. 38. On the other side, there are others that depress their own Minds, despond at the first Difficulty, and conclude that the getting an Insight in any of the Sciences, or making any Progress in Knowledge farther than serves their ordinary Business, is above their Capacities. These sit still, because they think they have not Legs to go as the others I last mention'd do, because they think they have Wings to fly, and can soar on high when they please. To these latter one may for Answer apply the Proverb, *Use Legs and have Legs*. No body knows what Strength of Parts he has till he has try'd them. And of the Understanding one may most truly say, that its Force is greater generally than it thinks, till it is put to it. *Viresque acquirit eundo*.

And therefore the proper Remedy here is but to set the Mind to work, and apply the Thoughts vigorously to the Business ; for it holds in the Struggles of the Mind as in those of War, *Dum putant se vincere, vicere* ; a Persuasion that we shall overcome any Difficulties that we meet with in the Sciences, seldom fails to carry us through them. No body knows the Strength of his Mind, and the Force of steady and regular Application till he has try'd. This is certain, he that sets out upon weak Legs, will not only go farther, but grow stronger too than one, who with a vigorous Constitution and firm Limbs, only sits still.

Something of kin to this Men may observe in themselves, when the Mind frights it self (as it often does) with any thing reflected on in Grofs, and transiently view'd confusedly, and at a Distance. Things thus offer'd to the Mind, carry the Shew of nothing but Difficulty in them, and are thought to be wrap'd up in impenetrable Obscurity. But the Truth is, these are nothing but Spectres that the Understanding raises to it self to flatter its own Laziness. It sees nothing distinctly in things remote, and in a huddle, and therefore concludes too faintly, that there is nothing more clear to be discover'd in them. 'Tis but to approach nearer, and that Mist of our own raising that enveloped them will remove ; and those that in that Mist appear'd hideous Giants not to be grappled with, will be found to be of the ordinary and natural Size and Shape. Things, that in a remote and confus'd View seem very obscure, must be approach'd by gentle and regular Steps ; and what is most visible, easie and obvious in them first consider'd. Reduce them into their distinct Parts ; and then in their due Order bring all that should be known concerning every one of those Parts into plain and simple Questions ; and then what was thought obscure, perplex'd, and too hard for our weak Parts, will lay it self open to the Understanding in a fair View, and let the Mind into that which before it was aw'd with, and kept at a distance from, as wholly myste-

mysterious. I appeal to my Reader's Experience, whether this has never *Despondency* happen'd to him, especially when, busy on one thing, he has occasionally reflected on another. I ask him whether he has never thus been fear'd with a sudden Opinion of mighty Difficulties, which yet have vanish'd, when he has seriously and methodically apply'd himself to the Consideration of this seeming terrible Subject; and there has been no other Matter of Astonishment left, but that he amus'd himself with so discouraging a Prospect of his own raising, about a Matter, which in the handling was found to have nothing in it more strange nor intricate than several other things which he had long since, and with Ease master'd. This Experience would teach us how to do deal with such Bugbears another time, which should rather serve to excite our Vigour than enervate our Industry. The surest way for a Learner in this as in all other Cases, is not to advance by Jumps and large Strides; let that which he sets himself to learn next be indeed the next, *i. e.* as nearly conjoin'd with what he knows already as is possible; let it be distinct but not remote from it: Let it be new, and what he did not know before, that the Understanding may advance; but let it be as little at once as may be, that its Advances may be clear and sure. All the Ground that it gets this way it will hold. This distinct gradual Growth in Knowledge is firm and sure, it carries its own Light with it in every Step of its Progression in an easie and orderly Train, than which there is nothing of more Use to the Understanding. And though this perhaps may seem a very slow and lingering way to Knowledge; yet I dare confidently affirm, that whoever will try it in himself, or any one he will teach, shall find the Advances greater in this Method, than they would in the same space of time have been in any other he could have taken. The greatest part of true Knowledge lies in a distinct Perception of Things in themselves distinct. And some Men give more clear Light and Knowledge by the bare distinct stating of a Question, than others by talking of it in Gross whole Hours together. In this, they who so state a Question, do no more but separate and disentangle the Parts of it one from another, and lay them, when so disentangled, in their due Order. This often, without any more ado, resolves the Doubt, and shews the Mind where the Truth lies. The Agreement or Disagreement of the Ideas in question, when they are once separated and distinctly consider'd, is, in many Cases, presently perceiv'd, and thereby clear and lasting Knowledge gain'd; whereas Things in Gross taken up together, and so lying together in Confusion, can produce in the Mind but a confus'd, which in Effect is no Knowledge; or at least when it comes to be examin'd and made use of, will prove little better than none. I therefore take the liberty to repeat here again what I have said elsewhere, that in learning any thing, as little should be propos'd to the Mind at once as is possible; and that being understood and fully master'd, to proceed to the next adjoining Part yet unknown, simple, unperplex'd Proposition belonging to the Matter in Hand, and tending to the clearing what is principally design'd.

§. 39. Analogy is of great Use to the Mind in many Cases, especially in natural Philosophy; and that part of it chiefly which consists in happy and successful Experiments. But here we must take care that we keep our selves within that wherein the Analogy consists. For Example, the acid Oyl of *Vitriol* is found to be good in such a Case, therefore the Spirit of *Nitre* or *Vinegar* may be us'd in the like Case. If the good Effect of it be owing wholly to the Acidity of it, the Trial may be justified; but if there be something else besides the Acidity in the Oil of *Vitriol*, which produces the Good we desire in the Case, we mistake that for Analogy, which is not, and suffer our Understanding to be misguided by a wrong Supposition of Analogy where there is none. *Analogy.*

§. 40. Though I have, in the Second Book of my Essay concerning Human Understanding, treated of the Association of Ideas; yet having done it there Historically, as giving a View of the Understanding in this as well as its several other ways of operating, rather than designing there to inquire into the Remedies ought to be applied to it: It will, under this latter Consideration, afford other Matter of Thought to those who have a mind to instruct *Association.*

Association. instruct themselves thoroughly in the right way of conducting their Understandings; and that the rather, because this, if I mistake not, is as frequent a Cause of Mistake and Error in us, as perhaps any thing else that can be named; and is a Disease of the Mind as hard to be cur'd as any; it being a very hard thing to convince any one that things are not so, and naturally so as they constantly appear to him.

By this one easie and unheeded Miscarriage of the Understanding, sandy and loose Foundations become infallible Principles, and will not suffer themselves to be touch'd or question'd: Such unnatural Connections become by Custom as natural to the Mind as Sun and Light: Fire and Warmth go together, and so seem to carry with them as natural an Evidence as Self-evident Truths themselves. And where then shall one with hopes of Success begin the Cure? Many Men firmly embrace Falshood for Truth; not only because they never thought otherwise, but also because thus blinded as they have been from the beginning, they never could think otherwise; at least without a Vigour of Mind able to contest the Empire of Habit, and look into its own Principles; a Freedom which few Men have the Notion of in themselves, and fewer are allow'd the Practice of by others; it being the great Art and Business of the Teachers and Guides in most Sects, to suppress, as much as they can, this fundamental Duty which every Man owes himself, and is the first steady Step towards Right and Truth in the whole Train of his Actions and Opinions. This would give one Reason to suspect, that such Teachers are conscious to themselves of the Falshood or Weakness of the Tenets they profess, since they will not suffer the Grounds whereon they are built to be examin'd; whereas those who seek Truth only, and desire to own and propagate nothing else, freely expose their Principles to the Test, are pleas'd to have them examin'd, give Men leave to reject them if they can; and if there be any thing weak and unsound in them, are willing to have it detected, that they themselves, as well as others, may not lay any Strefs upon any receiv'd Proposition beyond what the Evidence of its Truth will warrant and allow.

There is, I know, a great Fault among all sorts of People of principling their Children and Scholars; which at last, when look'd into, amounts to no more, but making them imbibe their Teacher's Notions and Tenets, by an implicit Faith, and firmly to adhere to them whether true or false. What Colours may be given to this, or of what Use it may be when practis'd upon the Vulgar, destin'd to Labour, and given up to the Service of their Bellies, I will not here enquire. But as to the ingenuous part of Mankind, whose Condition allows them Leisure, and Letters, and Enquiry after Truth; I can see no other right way of principling them, but to take heed, as much as may be, that in their tender Years Ideas, that have no natural Cohesion, come not to be united in their Heads, and that this Rule be often inculcated to them to be their Guide in the whole Course of their Lives and Studies, (*viz.*) That they never suffer any Ideas to be joyn'd in their Understandings, in any other or stronger Combination than what their own Nature and Correspondence give them; and that they often examine those that they find link'd together in their Minds, whether this Association of Ideas be from the visible Agreement that is in the Ideas themselves, or from the habitual and prevailing Custom of the Mind joyning them thus together in Thinking.

This is for Caution against this Evil, before it be thoroughly riveted by Custom in the Understanding; but he, that would cure it when Habit has establish'd it, must nicely observe the very quick and almost imperceptible Motions of the Mind in its habitual Actions. What I have said in another Place about the Change of the Ideas of Sense into those of Judgment, may be Proof of this. Let any one not skill'd in Painting, be told when he sees Bottles and Tobacco-pipes, and other things so painted, as they are in some Places shewn, that he does not see Protuberancies, and you will not convince him but by the Touch: He will not believe that by an instantaneous Legerdermain of his own Thoughts, one Idea is substituted for the other. How frequent Instances may one meet with of this in the Arguings of the Learned, who not seldom in two Ideas that they have been accusom'd to join

join in their Minds, substitute one for the other; and, I am apt to think, *Association* often without perceiving it themselves? This, whilst they are under the De-
ceit of it, makes them incapable of Conviction, and they applaud themselves as zealous Champions for Truth, when indeed they are contending for Error. And the Confusion of two different Ideas, which a customary Connection of them in their Minds hath made to them almost one, fills their Head with false Views, and their Reasonings with false Consequences.

§. 41. Right Understanding consists in the Discovery and Adherence to *Fallacies* Truth, and that in the Perception of the visible or probable Agreement or Disagreement of Ideas, as they are affirm'd and deny'd one of another. From whence it is evident, that the right Use and Conduct of the Understanding, whose Business is purely Truth and nothing else, is, that the Mind should be kept in a perfect Indifferency, not inclining to either Side, any farther than Evidence settles it by Knowledge, or the Over-balance of Probability gives it the turn of Assent and Belief; but yet it is very hard to meet with any Discourse wherein one may not perceive the Author not only maintain (for that is reasonable and fit) but inclin'd and bias'd to one Side of the Question, with Marks of a Desire that That should be true. If it be ask'd me, How Authors who have such a Bias, and lean to it may be discover'd? I answer, By observing how in their Writings or Arguings they are often led by their Inclinations to change the Ideas of the Question, either by changing the Terms, or by adding and joining others to them, whereby the Ideas under Consideration are so varied, as to be more serviceable to their Purpose, and to be thereby brought to an easier and nearer Agreement, or more visible and remoter Disagreement one with another. This is plain and direct Sophistry; but I am far from thinking, that wherever it is found, it is made use of with design to deceive and mislead the Readers. It is visible that Men's Prejudices and Inclinations by this way impose often upon themselves; and their Affection for Truth, under their Prepossession in favour of one Side, is the very thing that leads them from it. Inclination suggests and slides into their Discourse favourable Terms, which introduce favourable Ideas, till at last by this means That is concluded clear and evident, thus dress'd up, which, taken in its native State, by making use of none but the precise determin'd Ideas, would find no Admittance at all. The putting these Glosses on what they affirm, these, as they are thought, handsome, easie, and graceful Explanations of what they are discoursing on, is so much the Character of what is call'd and esteem'd Writing well, that it is very hard to think that Authors will ever be persuaded to leave what serves so well to propagate their Opinions, and procure themselves Credit in the World, for a more jejune and dry way of Writing, by keeping to the same Terms precisely annexed to the same Ideas, a sower and blunt Stiffness tolerable in Mathematicians only, who force their way, and make Truth prevail by irresistible Demonstration.

But yet if Authors cannot be prevail'd with to quit the looser, tho' more insinuating ways of Writing, if they will not think fit to keep close to Truth and Instruction by unvaried Terms, and plain unsophisticated Arguments; yet it concerns Readers not to be impos'd on by Fallacies, and the prevailing ways of Insinuation. To do this, the surest and most effectual Remedy, is to fix in the Mind the clear and distinct Ideas of the Question strip'd of Words; and so likewise in the Train of Argumentation, to take up the Author's Ideas neglecting his Words, observing how they connect or separate those in the Question. He that does this will be able to cast off all that is superfluous; he will see what is pertinent, what coherent, what is direct to, what slides by, the Question. This will readily shew him all the foreign Ideas in the Discourse, and where they were brought in; and though they perhaps dazzled the Writer; yet he will perceive that they give no Light nor Strength to his Reasonings.

This, though it be the shortest and easiest way of reading Books with Profit, and keeping ones-self from being misled by great Names or plausible Discourses; yet it being hard and tedious to those who have not accusom'd themselves to it; it is not to be expected that every one (amongst those few who

Fallacies. who really pursue Truth) should this way guard his Understanding from being impos'd on by the wilful, or at least undesign'd Sophistry, which creeps into most of the Books of Argument. They, that write against their Conviction, or that next to them, are resolv'd to maintain the Tenets of a Party they are engag'd in, cannot be suppos'd to reject any Arms that may help to defend their Cause, and therefore such should be read with the greatest Caution. And they, who write for Opinions they are sincerely perswaded of, and believe to be true, think they may so far allow themselves to indulge their laudable Affection to Truth, as to permit their Esteem of it to give it the best Colours, and set it off with the best Expressions and Dress they can, thereby to gain it the easiest Enterance into the Minds of their Readers, and fix it deepest there.

One of those being the State of Mind we may justly suppose most Writers to be in, 'tis fit their Readers, who apply to them for Instruction, should not lay by that Caution which becomes a sincere Pursuit of Truth, and should make them always watchful against whatever might conceal or misrepresent it. If they have not the Skill of representing to themselves the Author's Sense by pure Ideas separated from Sounds, and thereby divested of the false Lights and deceitful Ornaments of Speech; this yet they should do, they should keep the precise Question steadily in their Minds, carry it along with them through the whole Discourse, and suffer not the least Alteration in the Terms, either by Addition, Subtraction, or Substituting any other. This every one can do who has a mind to it; and he that has not a mind to it, 'tis plain makes his Understanding only the Ware-house of other Men's Lumber; I mean false and unconcluding Reasonings, rather than a Repository of Truth for his own Use, which will prove substantial, and stand him in Stead, when he has occasion for it. And whether such an one deals fairly by his own Mind, and conducts his own Understanding right, I leave to his own Understanding to judge.

Fundamental Verities.

§. 42. The Mind of Man being very narrow, and so slow in making Acquaintance with things, and taking in new Truths, that no one Man is capable, in a much longer Life than our's, to know all Truths; it becomes our Prudence, in our Search after Knowledge, to imploy our Thoughts about fundamental and material Questions, carefully avoiding those that are trifling, and not suffering our selves to be diverted from our main even Purpose, by those that are meerly incidental. How much of many young Mens Time is thrown away in purely Logical Enquiries, I need not mention. This is no better than if a Man, who was to be a Painter, should spend all his Time in examining the Threads of the several Cloths he is to paint upon, and counting the Hairs of each Pencil and Brush he intends to use in the laying on of his Colours. Nay, it is much worse than for a young Painter to spend his Apprenticeship in such useless Niceties; for he, at the End of all his Pains to no Purpose, finds that it is not Painting, nor any help to it, and so is really to no Purpose: Whereas Men design'd for Scholars have often their Heads so fill'd and warm'd with Disputes on Logical Questions, that they take those airy useless Notions for real and substantial Knowledge, and think their Understandings so well furnished with Science, that they need not look any farther into the Nature of Things, or descend to the Mechanical Drudgery of Experiment and Enquiry. This is so obvious a Mismanagement of the Understanding, and that in the profess'd way to Knowledge, that it could not be pass'd by; to which might be joyn'd abundance of Questions, and the way of handling of them in the Schools. What Faults in particular of this Kind, every Man is, or may be guilty of, would be infinite to enumerate; it suffices to have shewn, That superficial and slight Discoveries and Observations that contain nothing of Moment in themselves, nor serve as Clues to lead us into farther Knowledge, should not be thought worth our searching after.

There are fundamental Truths that lie at the bottom, the Basis upon which a great many others rest, and in which they have their Consistency. These are teeming Truths, rich in Store, with which they furnish the Mind, and, like the Lights of Heaven, are not only beautiful and enter-

entertaining in themselves, but give Light and Evidence to other things, *Funda-
mental Ver-
ities,* that without them could not be seen or known. Such is that admirable Discovery of Mr. *Newton*, that all Bodies gravitate to one another, which may be counted as the Basis of Natural Philosophy; which, of what Use it is to the Understanding of the great Frame of our Solar System, he has to the Astonishment of the Learned World shewn, and how much farther it would guide us in other things, if rightly pursu'd, is not yet known. Our Saviour's great Rule, that *we should love our Neighbour as our selves*, is such a Fundamental Truth for the regulating human Society; that, I think, by that alone, one might without Difficulty determine all the Cases and Doubts in Social Morality. These, and such as these are the Truths we should endeavour to find out, and store our Minds with. Which leads me to another thing in the Conduct of the Understanding that is no less necessary, *viz.*

§. 43. To accustom our selves in any Question propos'd, to examine and *Bottom-
ing.* find out upon what it bottoms. Most of the Difficulties that come in our way, when well consider'd and trac'd, lead us to some Proposition, which known to be true clears the Doubt, and gives an easie Solution of the Question, whilst Topical and Superficial Arguments, of which there is store to be found on both sides, filling the Head with Variety of Thoughts, and the Mouth with copious Discourse, serve only to amuse the Understanding, and entertain Company without coming to the Bottom of the Question; the only Place of Rest and Stability for an inquisitive Mind, whose Tendency is only to Truth and Knowledge.

For Example, if it be demanded, whether the Grand Seignior can lawfully take what he will from any of his People? This Question cannot be resolv'd without coming to a Certainty, whether all Men are naturally equal; for upon that it turns, and that Truth well settled in the Understanding, and carried in the Mind through the various Debates concerning the various Rights of Men in Society, will go a great way in putting an End to them, and shewing on which side the Truth is.

§. 44. There is scarce any thing more for the Improvement of Knowledge, *Transfer-
ing of
Thoughts.* for the Ease of Life, and the Dispatch of Business, than for a Man to be able to dispose of his own Thoughts; and there is scarce any thing harder in the whole Conduct of the Understanding than to get a full Mastery over it. The Mind, in a waking Man, has always some Object that it applies it self to; which, when we are lazy or unconcern'd, we can easily change, and at pleasure transfer our Thoughts to another, and from thence to a third, which has no Relation to either of the former. Hence Men forwardly conclude, and frequently say, nothing is so free as Thought, and it were well it were so; but the contrary will be found true in several Instances; and there are many Cases wherein there is nothing more resty and ungovernable than our Thoughts: They will not be directed what Objects to pursue, nor be taken off from those they have once fix'd on, but run away with a Man in pursuit of those Ideas they have in View, let him do what he can.

I will not here mention again what I have above taken notice of, how hard it is to get the Mind, narrow'd by a Custom of thirty or forty Years standing to a scanty Collection of obvious and common Ideas, to enlarge it self to a more copious Stock, and grow into an Acquaintance with those that would afford more abundant Matter of useful Contemplation; 'tis not of this I am here speaking. The Inconveniency I would here represent and find a Remedy for, is the Difficulty there is sometimes to transfer our Minds from one Subject to another, in Cases where the Ideas are equally familiar to us.

Matters, that are recommended to our Thoughts by any of our Passions, take possession of our Minds with a kind of Authority, and will not be kept out or dislodg'd, but as if the Passion that rules, were, for the time, the Sheriff of the Place, and came with all the *Posse*, the Understanding is seiz'd and taken with the Object it introduces, as if it had a legal Right to be alone consider'd there. There is scarce any Body, I think, of so calm a Temper who hath not sometime found this Tyranny on his Understanding, and suffer'd under the Inconvenience of it. Who is there almost, whose Mind, at

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some time or other, Love or Anger, Fear or Grief has not so fasten'd to some Clog, that it could not turn it self to any other Object? I call it a Clog, for it hangs upon the Mind so as to hinder its Vigour and Activity in the pursuit of other Contemplations, and advances it self little or not at all in the Knowledge of the thing which it so closely hugs and constantly pores on. Men thus possess'd, are sometimes as if they were so in the worst Sense, and lay under the Power of an Inchantment. They see not what passes before their Eyes; hear not the audible Discourse of the Company; and when by any strong Application to them they are rous'd a little, they are like Men brought to themselves from some remote Region; whereas in Truth they come no farther than their secret Cabinet within, where they have been wholly taken up with the Puppet, which is for that time appointed for their Entertainment. The Shame that such Dumps cause to well-bred People, when it carries them away from the Company, where they should bear a part in the Conversation, is a sufficient Argument, that it is a Fault in the Conduct of our Understanding, not to have that Power over it as to make use of it to those Purposes, and on those Occasions wherein we have Need of its Assistance. The Mind should be always free and ready to turn it self to the Variety of Objects that occur, and allow them as much Consideration as shall for that time be thought fit. To be ingrossed so by one Object, as not to be prevail'd on to leave it for another that we judge fitter for our Contemplation, is to make it of no Use to us. Did this State of Mind remain always so, every one would, without Scruple, give it the Name of perfect Madness; and whilst it does last, at whatever Intervals it returns, such a Rotation of Thoughts about the same Object no more carries us forwards towards the Attainment of Knowledge, than getting upon a Mill-horse whilst he jogs on in his Circular Track would carry a Man a Journey.

I grant something must be allow'd to legitimate Passions, and to natural Inclinations. Every Man, besides occasional Affections, has below'd Studies, and those the Mind will more closely stick to; but yet it is best that it should be always at Liberty, and under the free Disposal of the Man, to act how, and upon what he directs. This we should endeavour to obtain, unless we would be content with such a Flaw in our Understandings, that sometimes we should be as it were without it; for it is very little better than so in Cases where we cannot make use of it to those Purposes we would, and which stand in present need of it.

But before fit Remedies can be thought on for this Disease, we must know the several Causes of it, and thereby regulate the Cure, if we will hope to labour with Success.

One we have already instanced in, whereof all Men that reflect have so general a Knowledge, and so often an Experience in themselves, that no Body doubts of it. A prevailing Passion so pins down our Thoughts to the Object and Concern of it, that a Man passionately in Love, cannot bring himself to think of his ordinary Affairs, or a kind Mother drooping under the Loss of a Child, is not able to bear a part as she was wont in the Discourse of the Company or Conversation of her Friends.

But though Passion be the most obvious and general, yet it is not the only Cause that binds up the Understanding, and confines it for the time to one Object, from which it will not be taken off.

Besides this, we may often find that the Understanding, when it has a while employ'd it self upon a Subject which either Chance, or some slight Accident offer'd to it, without the Interest or Recommendation of any Passion, works it self into a Warmth, and by degrees gets into a Career, wherein, like a Bowl down a Hill, it increases its Motion by going, and will not be stop'd or diverted, though, when the Heat is over, it sees all this earnest Application was about a Trifle not worth a Thought, and all the Pains employ'd about it, lost Labour.

There is a third sort, if I mistake not, yet lower than this: 'tis a sort of Childishness, if I may so say, of the Understanding, wherein, during the Fit, it plays with, and dandles, some insignificant Puppet to no End, nor with any Design at all, and yet cannot easily be got off from it. Thus some trivial

trivial Sentence, or a Scrap of Poetry will sometimes get into Men's Heads, <sup>Transfer-
ing of
Thoughts.</sup> and make such a Chiming there, that there is no stilling of it; no Peace to be obtain'd, nor Attention to any thing else, but this impertinent Guest will take up the Mind and possess the Thoughts in spite of all Endeavours to get rid of it. Whether every one hath experimented in themselves this troublesome Intrusion of some frisking Ideas which thus importune the Understanding, and hinder it from being better employ'd, I know not. But Persons of very good Parts, and those more than one, I have heard speak and complain of it themselves. The reason I have to make this Doubt, is from what I have known in a Case something of kin to this, though much odder, and that is of a sort of Visions that some People have lying quiet, but perfectly awake, in the Dark, or with their Eyes shut. It is a great Variety of Faces, most commonly very odd ones, that appear to them in Train one after another; so that having had just the Sight of one, it immediately passes away to give place to another, that the same instant succeeds, and has as quick an Exit as its Leader, and so they march on in a constant Succession; nor can any one of them by any Endeavour be stop'd or retain'd beyond the instant of its Appearance, but is thrust out by its Follower, which will have its Turn. Concerning this fantastical Phenomenon, I have talked with several People, whereof some have been perfectly acquainted with it, and others have been so wholly Strangers to it, that they could hardly be brought to conceive or believe it. I knew a Lady of excellent Parts who had got past Thirty, without having ever had the least Notice of any such thing; she was so great a Stranger to it, that when she heard me and another talking of it, could scarce forbear thinking we banter'd her; but sometime after drinking a large Dose of dilute Tea (as she was order'd by a Physician) going to Bed, she told us at next Meeting, that she had now experimented what our Discourse had much a do to persuade her of. She had seen a great Variety of Faces in a long Train, succeeding one another, as we had describ'd, they were all Strangers and Intruders, such as she had no Acquaintance with before, nor sought after then, and as they came of themselves they went too; none of them stay'd a Moment, nor could be detain'd by all the Endeavours she could use, but went on in their solemn Procession, just appear'd and then vanish'd. This odd Phenomenon seems to have a mechanical Cause, and to depend upon the Matter and Motion of the Blood or animal Spirits.

When the Fancy is bound by Passion, I know no way to set the Mind free, and at liberty to prosecute what Thoughts the Man would make choice of, but to allay the present Passion, or counter-balance it with another, which is an Art to be got by Study, and Acquaintance with the Passions.

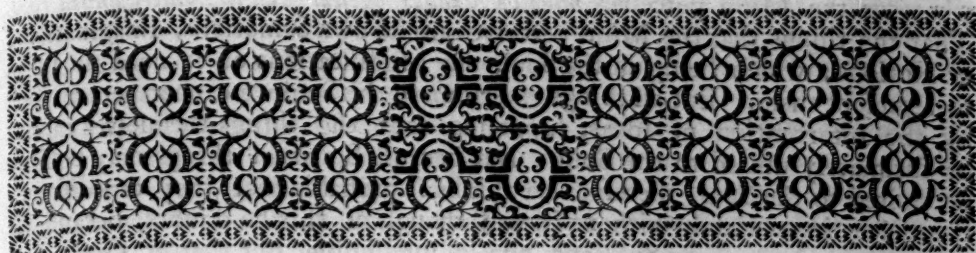
Those, who find themselves apt to be carried away with the spontaneous Current of their own Thoughts, not excited by any Passion or Interest, must be very wary and careful in all the Instances of it to stop it, and never humour their Minds in being thus triflingly busie. Men know the Value of their corporal Liberty, and therefore suffer not willingly Fetters and Chains to be put upon them. To have the Mind captivated, is, for the time, certainly the greater Evil of the two, and deserves our utmost Care and Endeavours to preserve the Freedom of our better Part. And in this Case our Pains will not be lost; striving and struggling will prevail, if we constantly, in all such Occasions, make use of it. We must never indulge these trivial Attentions of Thought; as soon as we find the Mind makes it self a Business of nothing, we should immediately disturb and check it, introduce new and more serious Considerations, and not leave till we have beaten it off from the Pursuit it was upon. This, at first, if we have let the contrary Practice grow to an Habit, will perhaps be difficult; but constant Endeavours will by degrees prevail, and at last make it easie. And when a Man is pretty well advanced, and can command his Mind off at Pleasure from incidental and undesign'd Pursuits, it may not be amiss for him to go on farther, and make Attempts upon Meditations of greater Moment, that at last he may have a full Power over his own Mind, and be so fully Master of his own Thoughts, as to be able to transfer them from one Subject to another, with the same Ease that he can lay by any thing he has in his Hand, and take something else

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that he has a Mind to in the room of it. This Liberty of Mind is of great Use both in Business and Study, and he that has got it will have no small Advantage of Ease and Dispatch in all that is the chosen and useful Employment of his Understanding.

The third and last way which I mention'd the Mind to be sometimes taken up with, I mean the Chiming of some particular Words or Sentence in the Memory, and, as it were, making a Noise in the Head, and the like, seldom happens, but when the Mind is lazy or very loosely and negligently employ'd. It were better indeed be without such impertinent and useless Repetitions. Any obvious Idea, when it is roving causlessly at a venture, being of more Use, and apter to suggest something worth Consideration, than the insignificant Buzz of purely empty Sounds. But since the Rousing of the Mind, and Setting the Understanding on work with some degrees of Vigour, does for the most part presently set it free from these idle Companions; it may not be amiss, whenever we find our selves troubled with them, to make use of so profitable a Remedy that is always at hand.





A N
 EXAMINATION
 O F
P. MALEBRANCHE'S
 OPINION
 O F
 Seeing all Things in GOD.

1.  HE acute and ingenious Author of the *Recherche de la Verité*, among a great many very fine Thoughts, judicious Reasonings, and uncommon Reflections, has in that Treatise started the Notion of *Seeing all things in God*, as the best way to explain the Nature and Manner of the Ideas in our Understanding. The Desire I had to have my unaffected Ignorance remov'd, has made it necessary for me to see, whether this Hypothesis, when examin'd, and the Parts of it put together, can be thought to cure our Ignorance, or is intelligible and satisfactory to one who would not deceive himself, take Words for Things, and think he knows what he knows not.

2. This I observe at the Entrance, that *P. Malebranche* having enumerated, and in the following Chapters shew'd the Difficulties of the other Ways, whereby he thinks human Understanding may be attempted to be explain'd, and how insufficient they are to give a satisfactory Account of the Ideas we have, erects this of *Seeing all things in God* upon their Ruin, as the true, because it is impossible to find a better. Which Argument so far being only *Argumentum ad Ignorantiam*, loses all its Force as soon as we consider the Weakness of our Minds, and the Narrowness of our Capacities, and have but Humility enough to allow, that there may be many things which we cannot fully comprehend, and that God is not bound in all he does to subject his ways of Operation to the Scrutiny of our Thoughts, and confine himself to do nothing but what we must comprehend. And it will very little help to cure my Ignorance, that this is the best of four or five Hypotheses propos'd, which are all defective; if this too has in it what is inconsistent with it self, or unintelligible to me.

*Recherche
de la Verité*, l. 3. P.
2. c. 1.

3. The

3. The *P. Malebranche's Recherche de la Verité*, l. 3. p. 2. c. 1. tells us, that whatever the Mind perceives *must be actually present and intimately united to it*. That the things that the Mind perceives are its own Sensations, Imaginations, or Notions; which being in the Soul, the Modifications of it need no Ideas to represent them. But all things exterior to the Soul we cannot perceive but by the Intervention of Ideas, supposing that the things themselves cannot be intimately united to the Soul. But because Spiritual things may possibly be united to the Soul, therefore he thinks it probable that they can discover themselves immediately without Ideas; though of this he doubts, because he believes not there is any Substance purely intelligible, but that of God; and that though Spirits can possibly unite themselves to our Minds; yet at present we cannot entirely know them. But he speaks here principally of material things, which he says certainly cannot unite themselves to our Souls in such a manner, as is necessary that it should perceive them; because being extended, the Soul not being so, there is no Proportion between them.

4. This is the Sum of his Doctrine contained in the 1st Ch. of the 2d Part of the 3d Book, as far as I can comprehend it. Wherein, I confess, there are many Expressions, which carrying with them, to my Mind, no clear Ideas, are like to remove but little of my Ignorance by their Sounds. *V. g. What it is to be intimately united to the Soul.* What it is for two Souls or Spirits to be intimately united; for intimate Union being an Idea taken from Bodies, when the Parts of one get within the Surface of the other, and touch their inward Parts: What is the Idea of intimate Union, I must have, between two Beings that hath neither of them any Extension or Surface? And if it be not so explain'd as to give me a clear Idea of that Union, it will make me understand very little more of the Nature of the Ideas in my Mind, when 'tis said I see them in God, who being *intimately united to the Soul* exhibits them to it; than when it is only said they are by the Appointment of God produced in the Mind by certain Motions of our Bodies, to which our Minds are united. Which, however imperfect a way of explaining this Matter, will still be as good as any other, that does not by clear Ideas remove my Ignorance of the Manner of my Perception.

5. But he says that *certainly material things cannot unite themselves to our Souls*. Our Bodies are united to our Souls, yes; but, says he, not after a manner which is necessary that the Soul may perceive them. Explain this Manner of Union, and shew wherein the Difference consists betwixt the Union necessary and not necessary to Perception, and then I shall confess this Difficulty removed.

The Reason that he gives why *material things cannot be united to our Souls after a manner that is necessary to the Soul's perceiving them*, is this, *viz.* That *material things being extended, and the Soul not, there is no Proportion between them*. This, if it shews any thing, shews only that a Soul and a Body cannot be united, because one has Surface to be united by, and the other none. But it shews not why a Soul united to a Body, as our's is, cannot, by that Body, have the Idea of a Triangle excited in it, as well as by being united to God (between whom and the Soul there is as little Proportion, as between any Creature immaterial or material and the Soul) see in God the Idea of a Triangle that is in him, since we cannot conceive a Triangle, whether seen in Matter, or in God, to be without Extension.

6. He says, *There is no Substance purely intelligible but that of God*. Here again I must confess my self in the Dark, having no Notion at all of the Substance of God; nor being able to conceive how his is more intelligible than any other Substance.

7. One thing more there is, which, I confess, stumbles me in the very Foundation of this Hypothesis, which stands thus; we cannot perceive any thing but what is *intimately united to the Soul*. The Reason why some things (*viz.* material) cannot be *intimately united to the Soul*, is, because *there is no Proportion between the Soul and them*. If this be a good Reason, it follows, that the greater the Proportion there is between the Soul and any other Being, the better, and more intimately they can be united. Now then I ask, whether there be a greater Proportion between God, an Infinite Being, and the Soul, or between Finite Created Spirits and the Soul? And yet the Author says, that

that he believes that there is no Substance purely intelligible but that of God, and that we cannot intirely know created Spirits at present. Make this out upon your Principles of *Intimate Union* and *Proportion*, and then they will be of some Use to the clearing of your Hypothesis, otherwise *Intimate Union* and *Proportion* are only Sounds serving to amuse, not instruct us.

8. In the Close of this Chapter he enumerates the several Ways whereby he thinks we come by Ideas, and compares them severally with his own way. Which how much more intelligible it is than either of those, the following Chapters will shew; to which I shall proceed, when I have observ'd that it seems a bold Determination, when he says, that it must be one of these Ways, and we can see Objects no other. Which Assertion must be built on this good Opinion of our Capacities; that God cannot make the Creatures operate; but in ways conceivable to us. That we cannot discourse and reason about them farther than we conceive, is a great Truth: And 'twould be well if we would not, but would ingenuously own the Shortness of our Sight where we do not see. To say there can be no other, because we conceive no other, does not, I confess, much instruct. And if I should say, that 'tis possible God has made our Souls so, and so united them to our Bodies, that, upon certain Motions made in our Bodies by external Objects, the Soul should have such or such Perceptions or Ideas, though in a Way unconceivable to us; this perhaps would appear as true and as instructive a Proposition as what is so positively laid down.

9. Tho' the Peripatetick Doctrine of the *Species* does not at all satisfy me, yet I think it were not hard to shew, that it is as easie to account for the Difficulties he charges on it, as for those his own Hypothesis is laden with. But it being not my Business to defend what I do not understand, nor to prefer the Learned Gibberish of the Schools, to what is yet unintelligible to me in *P. M.* I shall only take notice of so much of his Objections, as concerns what I guess to be the Truth. Though I do not think any material *Species*, carrying the Resemblance of Things by a continual Flux from the Body we perceive, bring the Perception of them to our Senses; yet I think the Perception we have of Bodies at a Distance from our's, may be accounted for, as far as we are capable of understanding it, by the Motion of Particles of Matter coming from them and striking on our Organs. In Feeling and Tasting there is immediate Contact. Sound is not unintelligibly explain'd by a vibrating Motion communicated to the Medium, and the Effluvia of odorous Bodies, will, without any great Difficulties, account for Smells. And therefore *P. M.* makes his Objections only against visible *Species*, as the most difficult to be explain'd by material Causes, as indeed they are. But he that shall allow extream Smallness in the Particles of Light, and exceeding Swiftness in their Motion; and the great Porosity that must be granted in Bodies, (if we compare Gold, which wants them not, with Air, the Medium wherein the Rays of Light come to our Eyes, and that of a Million of Rays that rebound from any visible Area of any Body, perhaps the ... or ... Part coming to the Eye, is enough to move the *Retina* sufficiently to cause a Sensation in the Mind) will not find any great Difficulty in the Objections are brought from the Impenetrability of Matter; and these Rays ruffling and breaking one another in the Medium which is full of them. As to what is said, that from one Point we can see a great Number of Objects, that is no Objection against the *Species*, or visible Appearances of Bodies, being brought into the Eye by the Rays of Light; for the Bottom of the Eye or *Retina*, which, in regard of these Rays, is the Place of Vision, is far from being a Point. Nor is it true, that though the Eye be in any one place; yet that the Sight is performed in one Point; *i. e.* That the Rays that bring those visible *Species* do all meet in a Point; for they cause their distinct Sensations, by striking on distinct parts of the *Retina*, as is plain in Opticks; and the Figure they paint there must be of some considerable Bigness, since it takes up on the *Retina* an Area whose Diameter is at least Thirty Seconds of a Circle, whereof the Circumference is in the *Retina*, and the Centre somewhere in the Crystalline; as a little Skill in Opticks will manifest to any one that considers, that few Eyes can perceive an Object less than Thirty Minutes of a Circle, whereof the Eye is the Centre.

And,

*Recherche
de la Veri-
té, l. 3.
pt. 2. c. 2.*

And, he that will but reflect on that seeming odd Experiment of seeing only the two outward ones of three Bits of Paper stuck up against a Wall, at about half a Foot, or a Foot one from another, without seeing the middle one at all, whilst his Eye remains fixed in the same posture, must confess that Vision is not made in a Point, when 'tis plain, that looking with one Eye there is always one part between the Extrems of the *Area* that we see, which is not seen at the same time that we perceive the Extrems of it; though the looking with two Eyes, or the quick turning of the *Axis* of the Eye to the part we would distinctly view, when we look but with one, does not let us take notice of it.

10. What I have here said I think sufficient to make intelligible, how by material Rays of Light visible *Species* may be brought into the Eye, notwithstanding any of *P. M.*'s Objections against so much of material Causes, as my *Hypothesis* is concern'd in. But when by this means an Image is made on the *Retina*, how we see it, I conceive no more than when I am told we see it in God. How we see it, is, I confess, what I understand not in the one or in the other, only it appears to me more difficult to conceive a distinct visible Image in the uniform unvariable Essence of God, than in variously modifiable Matter; but the Manner how I see either, still 'scapes my Comprehension. Impressions made on the *Retina* by Rays of Light, I think I understand; and Motions from thence continued to the Brain may be conceived, and that these produce Ideas in our Minds, I am persuaded, but in a manner to me incomprehensible. This I can resolve only into the good Pleasure of God, whose Ways are past finding out. And, I think, I know it as well when I am told these are Ideas that the Motion of the Animal Spirits, by a Law establish'd by God, produces in me, as when I am told they are Ideas I see in God. The Ideas 'tis certain I have, and God both ways is the original Cause of my having them; but the Manner how I come by them, how it is that I perceive, I confess I understand not; though it be plain Motion has to do in the producing of them: And Motion so modified, is appointed to be the Cause of our having of them; as appears by the curious and artificial Structure of the Eye, accommodated to all the Rules of Refraction and Dioptricks, that so visible Objects might be exactly and regularly painted on the Bottom of the Eye.

11. The Change of Bigness in the Ideas of visible Objects, by Distance and Optick-Glasses, which is the next Argument he uses against visible Species, is a good Argument against them, as supposed by the Peripateticks, but when consider'd, would persuade one that we see the Figures and Magnitudes of Things rather in the Bottom of our Eyes than in God; the Idea we have of them and their Grandure being still proportion'd to the Bigness of the *Area*, on the Bottom of our Eyes, that is affected by the Rays which paint the Image there, and we may be said to see the Picture in the *Retina*, as when it is prick'd, we are truly said to feel the Pain in our Finger.

12. In the next place where he says, that when we look on a Cube we see all its sides equal. This, I think, is a Mistake; and I have in another place shewn, how the Idea we have from a regular Solid, is not the true Idea of that Solid, but such an one as by Custom (as the name of it does,) serves to excite our Judgment to form such an one.

13. What he says of seeing an Object several Millions of Leagues, the very same Instant that it is uncover'd, I think may be shewn to be a Mistake in Matter of Fact. For by Observations made on the *Satellites* of *Jupiter*, it is discover'd that Light is successively propagated, and is about ten Minutes coming from the Sun to us.

14. By what I have said, I think it may be understood how we may conceive, that from remote Objects material Causes may reach our Senses, and therein produce several Motions that may be the Causes of Ideas in us; notwithstanding what *P. M.* has said in this second Chapter against Material Species. I confess his Arguments are good against those Species as usually understood by the Peripateticks: But, since my Principles have been said to be conformable to the *Aristotelian* Philosophy, I have endeavour'd to remove the Difficulties it is charged with, as far as my Opinion is concerned in them.

15. His

15. His third Chapter is to confute the *Opinion of those who think our Minds have a Power to produce the Ideas of Things on which they would think, and that they are excited to produce them by the Impressions which Objects make on the Body.* One who thinks Ideas are nothing but Perceptions of the Mind annex'd to certain Motions of the Body by the Will of God, who hath order'd such Perceptions always to accompany such Motions, though we know not how they are produced, does in effect conceive those Ideas or Perceptions to be only Passions of the Mind, when produced in it, whether we will or no, by external Objects. But he conceives them to be a Mixture of Action and Passion when the Mind attends to them or revives them in the Memory. Whether the Soul has such a Power as this, we shall perhaps have occasion to consider hereafter; and this Power our Author does not deny, since in this very Chapter he says, *When we conceive a Square by pure Understanding, we can yet imagine it, i. e. perceive it in our selves by tracing an Image of it on the Brain.* Here then he allows the Soul power to trace Images on the Brain, and perceive them. This, to me, is Matter of new Perplexity in this Hypothesis; for if the Soul be so united to the Brain as to trace Images on it, and perceive them, I do not see how this conflicts with what he says a little before in the first Chapter, *viz. That certainly material Things cannot be united to our Souls after a manner necessary to its perceiving them.*

16. That which is said about Objects exciting Ideas in us by Motion; and our reviving the Ideas we have once got in our Memories, does not, I confess, fully explain the manner how it is done. In this I frankly avow my Ignorance, and should be glad to find in him any thing that would clear it to me; but in his Explications I find these difficulties which I cannot get over.

17. The Mind cannot produce Ideas, says he, because they are *real Spiritual Beings*, i. e. Substances; for so is the Conclusion of that Paragraph, where he mentions it as an Absurdity to think they are *annihilated when they are not present to the Mind.* And the whole Force of this Argument would persuade one to understand him so; though I do not remember that he any where speaks it out, or in direct Terms calls them Substances.

18. I shall here only take notice how inconceivable it is to me, that a Spiritual, i. e. an unextended Substance should represent to the Mind an extended Figure, v. g. a Triangle of unequal sides, or two Triangles of different Magnitudes. Next, supposing I could conceive an unextended Substance to represent a Figure, or be the Idea of a Figure, the Difficulty still remains to conceive how it is my Soul sees it. Let this substantial Being be ever so sure, and the Picture ever so clear; yet how we see it, is to me unconceivable. Intimate Union, were it as intelligible of two unextended Substances, as of two Bodies, would not yet reach Perception, which is something beyond Union. But yet a little lower he agrees, that an Idea is *not a Substance*, but yet affirms, 'tis a *Spiritual Thing*: This *Spiritual Thing* therefore must either be a *Spiritual Substance*, or a Mode of a Spiritual Substance, or a Relation; for besides these I have no Conception of any thing. And if any shall tell me it is a *Mode*, it must be a Mode of the Substance of God; which, besides that it will be strange to mention any Modes in the simple Essence of God; whosoever shall propose any such Modes, as a way to explain the Nature of our Ideas, proposes to me something unconceivable, as a means to conceive what I do not yet know; and so, bating a new Phrase, teaches me nothing, but leaves me as much in the dark as one can be where he conceives nothing. So that supposing Ideas real Spiritual Things never so much, if they are neither Substances nor Modes, let them be what they will, I am no more instructed in their Nature, than when I am told they are Perceptions, such as I find them. And I appeal to my Reader, whether that Hypothesis be to be prefer'd for its Easiness to be understood, which is explain'd by real Beings, that are neither Substances nor Modes.

19. In the fourth Chapter he proves, that we do not see Objects by Ideas that are created with us; because the Ideas we have even of one very simple Figure, v. g. a Triangle, are not infinite, though there may be infinite Triangles. What this proves I will not here examine; but the Reason he gives being built on his Hypotheses, I cannot get over, and that is, *That 'tis not for*

want of Ideas, or that infinite is not present to us, but 'tis only for want of Capacity and Extension of our Souls, because the Extension of our Spirits is very narrow and limited. To have a limited Extension, is to have some Extension which agrees but ill with what is before said of our Souls, that they have no Extension. By what he says here and in other places, one would think he were to be understood, as if the Soul, being but a small Extension, could not at once receive all the Ideas conceivable in infinite Space, because but a little Part of that infinite Space can be apply'd to the Soul at once. To conceive thus of the Soul's intimate Union with an infinite Being, and by that Union receiving of Ideas, leads one as naturally into as gross Thoughts, as a Country-Maid would have of an infinite Butter-print, in which were ingraven Figures of all Sorts and Sizes, the several Parts whereof being, as there was occasion, apply'd to her Lump of Butter, left on it the Figure or Idea there was present need of. But whether any one would thus explain our Ideas, I will not say, only I know not well how to understand what he says here, with what he says before of Union in a better Sense.

20. He farther says, that had we a Magazine of all Ideas that are necessary for seeing things, they would be of no Use, since the Mind could not know which to choose, and set before it self to see the Sun. What he here means by the Sun, is hard to conceive, and according to his Hypothesis of *Seeing all things in God*, how can he know that there is any such real Being in the World as the Sun? Did he ever see the Sun? No, but on occasion of the Presence of the Sun to his Eyes, he has seen the Idea of the Sun in God, which God has exhibited to him; but the Sun, because it cannot be united to his Soul, he cannot see. How then does he know that there is a Sun which he never saw? And since God does all things by the most compendious ways, what need is there that God should make a Sun that we might see its Idea in him when he pleas'd to exhibit it, when this might as well be done without any real Sun at all?

21. He farther says, that God does not actually produce in us as many new Ideas as we every Moment perceive different things. Whether he has prov'd this or no, I will not examine.

22. But he says, That we have at all times actually in our selves the Ideas of all things. Then we have always actually in our selves the Ideas of all Triangles, which was but now denied, but we have them confusedly. If we see them in God, and they are not in him confusedly, I do not understand how we can see them in God confusedly.

23. In the fifth Chapter he tells us *All things are in God*, even the most Corporeal and Earthly, but *after a manner altogether Spiritual*, and which we cannot comprehend. Here therefore He and I are like ignorant of these good Words; *material things are in God after a Spiritual manner*, signifie nothing to either of us; and *Spiritual manner*, signifies no more but this, that material things are in God immaterially. This and the like are ways of speaking, which our Vanity has found out to cover, not remove our Ignorance. But *material things are in God*, because *their Ideas are in God*, and those Ideas which God had of them before the World was created, are not at all different from himself. This seems to me to come very near saying, not only that there is Variety in God, since we see Variety in what is not different from himself; but that material things are God, or a Part of him; which, though I do not think to be what our Author designs; yet thus I fear he must be forc'd to talk, who thinks he knows God's Understanding so much better than his own, that he will make use of the Divine Intellect to explain the Human.

24. In the sixth Chapter he comes more particularly to explain his own Doctrine, where he first says, *the Ideas of all Beings are in God*. Let it be so, God has the Idea of a Triangle, of a Horse, of a River just as we have; for hitherto this signifies no more, for we see them as they are in him; and so the Ideas that are in him, are the Ideas we perceive. Thus far I then understand God hath the same Ideas we have. This tells us indeed that there are Ideas, which was agreed before, and I think no Body denies; but tells me not yet what they are.

25. Ha-

25. Having said that they are in God, the next thing he tells us is, that we can see them in God. His Proof, that our Souls can see them in God, is because God is most straitly united to our Souls by his Presence, insomuch that one may say, God is the place of Spirits, as Spaces are the places of Bodies; In which there is not, I confess, one Word that I can understand. For, first, In what Sense can he say, that Spaces are the places of Bodies; when he makes Body and Space, or Extension to be the same thing? So that I do no more understand what he means, when he says, Spaces are the places of Bodies, than if he had said, Bodies are the places of Bodies. But when this Simile is apply'd to God and Spirits, it makes this saying, that God is the place of Spirits, either to be merely Metaphorical, and so signifies literally nothing, or else being literal, makes us conceive that Spirits move up and down, and have their Distances and Intervals in God, as Bodies have in Space. When I am told in which of these Senses he is to be understood, I shall be able to see how far it helps us to understand the Nature of Ideas. But is not God as straitly united to Bodies as to Spirits? For he is also present, even where they are, but yet they see not these Ideas in him. He therefore adds, *That the Soul can see in God the Works of God, supposing God would discover to it what there is in him to represent them*, viz. the Ideas that are in him. Union therefore is not the Cause of this seeing; for the Soul may be united to God, and yet not see the Ideas are in him, till he discover them to it; so that after all I am but where I was. I have Ideas, that I know, but I would know what they are; and to that I am yet only told, that I see them in God. I ask how I see them in God? and 'tis answer'd, by my intimate Union with God, for he is every where present. I answer, if that were enough, Bodies are also intimately united with God, for he is every where present; besides, if that were enough, I should see all the Ideas that are in God. No, but only those that he pleases to discover. Tell me where-in this Discovery lies, besides barely making me see them, and you explain the Manner of my having Ideas: Otherwise all that has been said amounts to no more but this, that I have those Ideas that it pleases God I should have, but by Ways that I know not; and of this Mind I was before, and am not got one jot farther.

26. In the next Paragraph he calls them *Beings*, representative *Beings*. But whether these *Beings* are Substances, Modes, or Relations, I am not told; and so by being told they are Spiritual *Beings*, I know no more but that they are something, I know not what, and that I knew before.

27. To explain this Matter a little farther, he adds, *It must be observ'd, that it cannot be concluded, that Souls see the Essence of God, in that they see all things in God; because what they see is very imperfect, and God is very perfect. They see Matter divisible, figured, &c. and in God there is nothing divisible and figured: For God is all Being, because he is Infinite, and comprehends all things; but he is not any Being in particular. Whereas what we see is but some one or more Beings in particular; and we do not at all comprehend that perfect Simplicity of God which contains all Beings. Moreover, one may say, that we do not so much see the Ideas of things, as the things themselves, which the Ideas represent. For when, for Example, one sees a Square, one says not that one sees the Idea of a Square, which is united to the Soul, but only the Square that is without. I do not pretend not to be short-sighted; but if I am not duller than ordinary, this Paragraph shews, that P. M. himself is at a stand in this Matter, and comprehends not what it is we see in God, or how. C. 4. he says, in express Words, that it is necessary that at all times we should have actually in our selves the Ideas of all things. And in this very Chapter, a little lower, he says, that all *Beings* are present to our Minds, and that we have general Ideas antecedent to particular. And, C. 8. that we are never without the general Idea of Being: And yet here he says, that which we see is but one or more *Beings* in particular. And after having taken a great deal of Pains to prove, that we cannot possibly see things themselves, but only Ideas; here he tells us we do not so much see the Ideas of things as the things themselves. In this Uncertainty of the Author what 'tis we see, I am to be excus'd, if my Eyes see not more clearly in his Hypothesis than he himself does.*

28. He farther tells us in this sixth Chapter, that we see all *Beings*, because God wills that That which is in him that represents them should be discover'd to us. This tells us only, that there are Ideas of things in God, and that we see

them when he pleases to discover them; but what does this shew us more of the Nature of those Ideas, or of the Discovery of them, wherein that consists, than he that says, without pretending to know what they are, or how they are made, that Ideas are in our Minds when God pleases to produce them there, by such Motions as he has appointed to do it? The next Argument for our *seeing all things in God*, is in these Words; *But the strongest of all the Reasons is the manner in which the Mind perceives all things: It is evident, and all the World knows it by Experience, that when we would think of any thing in particular, we at first cast our View upon all Beings, and afterwards we apply our selves to the Consideration of the Object which we desire to think on.* This Argument has no other Effect on me, but to make me doubt the more of the Truth of this Doctrine. First, Because this, which he calls the *strongest Reason of all*, is built upon Matter of Fact, which I cannot find to be so in my self. I do not observe, that when I would think of a Triangle, I first think of *all Beings*; whether these Words *all Beings* are to be taken here in their proper Sense, or very improperly for *Being* in general. Nor do I think my Country Neighbours do so, when they first wake in the Morning, who, I imagine, do not find it impossible to think of a lame Horse they have, or their blighted Corn, till they have run over in their Minds *all Beings* that are, and then pitch on Dapple; or else begin to think of *Being* in general, which is *Being* abstracted from all its inferiour Species, before they come to think of the Fly in their Sheep, or the Tares in their Corn. For I am apt to think that the greatest part of Mankind very seldom, if ever at all, think of *Being* in general, i. e. abstracted from all its inferiour Species and Individuals. But taking it to be so, that a Carrier when he would think of a Remedy for his gall'd Horse, or a Foot-boy for an Excuse for some Fault he has committed, begins with casting his Eye upon all things; how does this make out the Conclusion? Therefore *we can desire to see all Objects, whence it follows, that all Beings are present to our Minds.* Which Presence signifies that we see them, or else it signifies nothing at all. They are all actually always seen by us; which, how true, let every one judge.

29. The Words, wherein he pursues this Argument stand thus, *Now it is indubitable that we cannot desire to see any particular Object without seeing it already, although confusedly, and in general. So that being able to desire to see all Beings, sometimes one, sometimes another, it is certain that all Beings are present to our Spirits; and it seems all Beings could not be present to our Spirits, but because God is present to 'em, i. e. he that contains all things in the Simplicity of his Being.* I must leave it to others to judge how far it is blameable in me; but so it is, that I cannot make to my self the Links of this Chain to hang together; and methinks if a Man would have studied Obscurity, he could not have writ more unintelligible than this. *We can desire to see all Beings, sometimes one, sometimes another; therefore we do already see all things, because we cannot desire to see any particular Object, but what we see already confusedly and in general.* The Discourse here is about Ideas, which he says are real Things, and we see in God. In taking this along with me, to make it prove any thing, to his Purpose, the Argument must, as it seems to me, stand thus: We can desire to have all Ideas, sometimes one, sometimes another; therefore we have already all Ideas, because we cannot desire to have any particular Idea, but what we have already *confusedly and in general.* What can be meant here by having any *particular Idea confusedly and in general*, I confess I cannot conceive, unless it be a Capacity in us to have them, and in that Sense the whole Argument amounts to no more but this: We have all Ideas, because we are capable of having all Ideas, and so proves not at all that we actually have them by being united to God, who *contains them all in the Simplicity of his Being.* That any thing else is, or can be meant by it, I do not see; for that which we desire to see, being nothing but what we see already (for if it can be any else, the Argument falls and proves nothing) and that which we desire to see, being, as we are told here, something particular, *sometimes one thing, sometimes another*; that which we do see must be particular too; but how to see a particular thing in general, is past my Comprehension. I cannot conceive how a blind Man has the particular Idea of Scarlet con-

fusedly

confusedly or in general, when he has it not at all ; and yet that he might desire to have it, I cannot doubt, no more than I doubt that I can desire to perceive, or to have the Ideas of those things that God has prepar'd for those that love him, tho' they be such as Eye hath not seen, nor Ear hath not heard, nor hath it enter'd into the Heart of Man to conceive, such as I have yet no Idea of. He who desires to know what Creatures are in *Jupiter*, or what God hath prepar'd for them that love him, hath, 'tis true, a Supposition that there is something in *Jupiter*, or in the Place of the Blessed ; but if that be to have the particular Ideas of things there, enough to say that we see them already, no Body can be ignorant of any thing. He that has seen one thing hath seen all things ; for he has got the general Idea of Something. But this is not, I confess, sufficient to convince me, that hereby we see all things in the *Simplicity of God's Being*, which comprehends all things. For if the Ideas I see are all, as our Author tells us, real Beings in him, 'tis plain they must be so many real distinct Beings in him ; and if we see them in him, we must see them as they are, distinct particular Things, and so shall not see them confusedly and in general. And what it is to see any Idea (to which I do not give a Name) confusedly, is what I do not well understand. What I see I see, and the Idea I see is distinct from all others that are not the same with it : Besides, I see them as they are in God, and as he shews them me. Are they in God confusedly ? Or does he shew them me confusedly ?

30. *Secondly*, This seeing of all things, because we can desire to see all things, he makes a Proof that they are present to our Minds ; and if they be present, they can no ways be present but by the Presence of God, who contains them all in the *Simplicity of his Being*. This Reasoning seems to be founded on this, that the Reason of seeing all things, is their being present to our Minds ; because God, in whom they are, is present. This, though the Foundation he seems to build on, is liable to a very natural Objection, which is, that then we should actually always see all things, because in God, who is present, they are all actually present to the Mind. This he has endeavour'd to obviate, by saying we see all the Ideas in God, which he is pleas'd to discover to us ; which indeed is an Answer to this Objection ; but such an one as over-turns his whole Hypothesis, and renders it useless and as unintelligible as any of those he has for that Reason laid aside. He pretends to explain to us how we come to perceive any thing, and that is by having the Ideas of them present in our Minds ; for the Soul cannot perceive things at a distance, or remote from it. And those Ideas are present to the Mind, only because God, in whom they are, is present to the Mind. This so far hangs together, and is of a piece. But when after this I am told, that their Presence is not enough to make them be seen, but God must do something farther to discover them to me, I am as much in the Dark as I was at first ; and all this Talk of their Presence in my Mind explains nothing of the Way wherein I perceive them, nor ever will, till he also makes me understand, what God does more than make them present to my Mind, when he discovers them to me. For I think no Body denies, I am sure I affirm, that the Ideas we have, are in our Minds by the Will and Power of God, though in a way that we conceive not, nor are able to comprehend. God, says our Author, is strictly united to the Soul, and so the Ideas of things too. But yet that Presence or Union of their's is not enough to make them see, but God must shew or exhibit them ; and what does God do more than make them present to the Mind when he shews them ? Of that there is nothing said to help me over this Difficulty, but that when God shews them, we see them ; which in short seems to me to say only thus much, that when we have these Ideas we have them, and we owe the having of them to our Maker, which is to say no more than I do with my Ignorance. We have the Ideas of Figures and Colours by the Operation of exterior Objects on our Senses, when the Sun shews them us ; but how the Sun shews them us, or how the Light of the Sun produces them in us ; what, and how the Alteration is made in our Souls, I know not ; nor does it appear, by any thing our Author says, that he knows any more what God does when he shews them us, or what it is that is done upon our Minds, since the Presence of them to our Minds, he confesses, does it not.

31. *Thirdly*,

31. *Thirdly*, One thing more is incomprehensible to me in this Matter, and that is, how the *Simplicity of God's Being* should contain in it a Variety of real Beings, so that the Soul can discern them in him distinctly one from another; it being said C. 5. That the Ideas in God are not different from God himself. This seems to me to express a Simplicity made up of Variety, a thing I cannot understand. God I believe to be a simple Being, that by his Wisdom knows all things, and by his Power can do all things; but how He does it, I think my self less able to comprehend, than to contain the Ocean in my Hand, or grasp the Universe with my Span. *Ideas are real Beings*, you say; if so, 'tis evident they must be distinct *real Beings*; for there is nothing more certain than that there are distinct Ideas; and they are in God, in whom we see them. There they are then actually distinct, or else we could not see them distinct in him. Now these distinct real Beings that are in God, are they either Parts, or Modifications of the Deity, or comprehended in him as Things in a place? For besides these three, I think we can scarce think of another way wherein we can conceive them to be in him, so that we can see them. For to say they are in him *eminenter*, is to say they are not in him actually and really to be seen; but only if they are in him *eminenter*, and we see them only in him, we can be said to see them only *eminenter* too. So that though it cannot be denied that God sees and knows all things; yet when we say we see all things in him, it is but a metaphorical Expression to cover our Ignorance, in a Way that pretends to explain our Knowledge; seeing things in God signifying no more than that we perceive them we know not how.

32. He farther adds, That he does not believe that one can well give an Account of the Manner wherein the Mind knows many abstract and general Truths, but by the Presence of him who can enlighten the Mind after a thousand different Fashions. It is not to be denied that God can enlighten our Minds after a thousand different Fashions; and it cannot also be denied, that those thousand different Fashions may be such, as we comprehend not one of them. The Question is, whether this Talk of seeing all things in God does make us clearly, or at all, comprehend one of them; if it did so to me, I should gratefully acknowledge that then I was ignorant of nine hundred ninety nine of the thousand, whereas I must yet confess my self ignorant of them all.

33. The next Paragraph, if it proves any thing, seems to me to prove that the Idea we have of God is God himself, it being Something as he says *uncreated*. The Ideas that Men have of God are so very different, that it would be very hard to say it was God himself. Nor does it avail to say they would all have the same, if they would apply their Minds to the Contemplation of Him; for this being brought here to prove that God is present in all Men's Minds, and that therefore they see Him, it must also, in my Apprehension, prove that He being immutably the same, and they seeing Him must needs see Him all alike.

34. In the next Section we are told that we have *not only the Idea of Infinite, but before that of Finite*. This being a thing of Experience, every one must examine himself; and it being my Misfortune to find it otherwise in my self, this Argument, of course, is like to have the less Effect on me, who therefore cannot so easily admit the Inference, *viz. Thus the Mind perceives not one thing, but in the Idea it has of Infinite*. And I cannot but believe many a Child can tell Twenty, have the Idea of a square Trencher, or a round Plate, and have the distinct clear Ideas of Two and Three, long before he has any Idea of Infinite at all.

40. The last Argument which he tells us is a Demonstration that we see all things in God, is this; *God has made all things for himself; but if God made a Spirit or Mind, and gave it the Sun for its Idea, or the immediate Object of its Knowledge, God would have made that Spirit or Mind for the Sun, and not for himself*. The natural Inference from this Argument seems to me to be this, therefore God has given himself for the Idea, or immediate Object of the Knowledge of all humane Minds. But Experience too manifestly contradicting this, our Author hath made another Conclusion, and says thus, *It is necessary then that the Light which he gives the Mind, should make us know something that is in him,*

v. g. Because *all things that came from God cannot be but for God*. Therefore a covetous Man sees in God the Money, and a Persian the Sun that he worships; and thus God is the *immediate Object* of the Minds, both of the one and the other. I confess this Demonstration is lost on me, and I cannot see the Force of it. All things, it is true, are made for God, *i. e.* for his Glory; and He will be glorified even by those rational Beings, who would not apply their Faculties to the Knowledge of him.

41. But the next Paragraph explains this. *God could not then make a Soul for to know his Works, were it not that the Soul sees God after a Fashion in seeing his Works, just after such a Fashion*, that if he never saw more of him, he would never know any thing of a God, nor believe there was any such Being. A Child, as soon as he is born, sees a Candle, or before he can speak, the Ball he plays with; these he *sees in God* whom he has yet no Notion of. Whether this be enough to make us say that the Mind is made for God, and this be the Proof of it, other People must judge for themselves. I must own that if this were the Knowledge of God, which intelligent Beings were made for, I do not see but they might be made for the Knowledge of God without knowing any thing of him; and those that deny him, were made for the Knowledge of him. Therefore I am not convinced of the Truth of what follows, *That we do not see any one thing, but by the natural Knowledge which we have of God*. Which seems to me a quite contrary Way of arguing to what the Apostle uses, where he says, *that the invisible things of God are seen by the visible things that he has made*. For it seems to me a quite contrary way of arguing, to say we see the Creator in, or by the Creatures, and we see the Creatures in the Creator. The Apostle begins our Knowledge in the Creatures, which lead us to the Knowledge of God, if we will make use of our Reason: Our Author begins our Knowledge in God, and by that leads us to the Creatures.

42. But to confirm his Argument, he says, *All the particular Ideas we have of the Creatures are but Limitations of the Idea of the Creator*. As for Example, I have the Idea of the Solidity of Matter, and of the Motion of Body, what is the Idea of God that either of these limits? And when I think of the Number Ten, I do not see how that any way concerns or limits the Idea of God.

38. The Distinction he makes a little lower between *Sentiment* and *Idea*, does not at all clear to me, but cloud his Doctrine. His Words are, *It must be observed, that I do not say that we have the Sentiment of material things in God, but that it is from God that acts in us; for God knows sensible things, but feels them not. When we perceive any sensible thing, there is in our Perception Sentiment and pure Idea*. If by *Sentiment*, which is the Word he uses in French, he means the Act of Sensation, or the Operation of the Soul in perceiving; and by *pure Idea*, the immediate Object of that Perception, which is the Definition of Ideas he gives us here in the first Chapter, there is some Foundation for it, taking Ideas for real Beings or Substances. But taken thus, I cannot see how it can be avoided, but that we must be said to smell a Rose in God, as well as to see a Rose in God; and the Scent of the Rose that we smell, as well as the Colour and Figure of the Rose that we see, must be in God; which seems not to be his Sense here, and does not well agree with what he says concerning the Ideas we see in God, which I shall consider in its due place. If by *Sentiment* here he means something that is neither the Act of Perception nor the Idea perceiv'd, I confess I know not what it is, nor have any Conception at all of it. When we see and smell a Violet, we perceive the Figure, Colour and Scent of that Flower. Here I cannot but ask whether all these three are *pure Ideas*, or all *Sentiments*? If they are all *Ideas*, then according to his Doctrine they are all in God; and then it will follow, that as I see the Figure of the Violet in God; so also I see the Colour of it, and smell the Scent of it in God, which way of Speaking he does not allow, nor can I blame him. For it shews a little too plainly the Absurdity of that Doctrine, if he should say we smell a Violet, taste Wormwood, or feel Cold in God; and yet I can find no Reason why the Action of one of our Senses is applied only to God, when we use them all as well as our Eyes in receiving Ideas. If the Figure, Colour and Smell are all of them *Sentiments*, then they are none of them in God, and so this whole Business of seeing in God

God is out of doors. If (as by what he says in his *Eclaircissements*, it appears to me to be his Meaning) the Figure of the Violet be to be taken for an *Idea*, but its *Colour* and *Smell* for *Sentiments*: I confess it puzzles me to know by what Rule it is, that in a Violet the purple Colour, whereof whilst I write this I seem to have as clear an *Idea* in my Mind as of its Figure, is not as much an *Idea* as the Figure of it; especially, since he tells me in the first Chapter here, which is concerning the Nature of Ideas, that *by this Word Idea he understands here nothing else, but what is the immediate or nearest Object of the Mind when it perceives any thing.*

39. The *Sentiment*, says he in the next Words, *is a Modification of our Soul.* This Word *Modification* here, that comes in for Explication, seems to me to signify nothing more than the Word to be explained by it; *v. g.* I see the purple Colour of a Violet, this, says he, is *Sentiment*: I desire to know what *Sentiment* is? That, says he, is a *Modification of the Soul.* I take the Word, and desire to see what I can conceive by it concerning my Soul; and here, I confess, I can conceive nothing more, but that I have the *Idea of Purple* in my Mind, which I had not before, without being able to apprehend any thing the Mind does or suffers in this, besides barely having the *Idea of Purple*; and so the good Word *Modification* signifies nothing to me more than I knew before; *v. g.* That I have now the *Idea of Purple* in it, which I had not some Minutes since. So that though they say Sensations are Modifications of the Mind; yet having no manner of *Idea* what that Modification of the Mind is, distinct from that very Sensation, *v. g.* the Sensation of a red Colour or a bitter Taste; 'Tis plain this Explication amounts to no more than that a Sensation is a Sensation, and the Sensation of Red or Bitter is the Sensation of *Red* or *Bitter*; for if I have no other *Idea*, when I say it is a Modification of the Mind, than when I say it is the Sensation of *Red* or *Bitter*, 'tis plain Sensation and Modification stand both for the same *Idea*, and so are but two Names of one and the same Thing. But to examine their Doctrine of Modification a little farther. Different Sentiments are different Modifications of the Mind. The Mind or Soul that perceives, is one immaterial indivisible Substance. Now I see the White and Black on this Paper, I hear one singing in the next Room, I feel the Warmth of the Fire I sit by, and I taste an Apple I am eating, and all this at the same time. Now I ask, take *Modification* for what you please, can the same unextended indivisible Substance have different, nay inconsistent and opposite (as these of White and Black must be) Modifications at the same time? Or must we suppose distinct Parts in an indivisible Substance, one for black, another for white, and another for red Ideas, and so of the rest of those infinite Sensations which we have in Sorts and Degrees; all which we can distinctly perceive, and so are distinct Ideas, some whereof are opposite, as Heat and Cold, which yet a Man may feel at the same time? I was ignorant before how Sensation was performed in us: This they call an Explanation of it! Must I say now I understand it better? If this be to cure one's Ignorance, 'tis a very slight Disease, and the Charm of two or three insignificant words will at any time remove it, *probatum est.* But let it signify what it will when I recollect the Figure of one of the Leaves of a Violet, is not that a new Modification of my Soul, as well as when I think of its purple Colour? Does my Mind do or suffer nothing a-new when I see that Figure in God?

40. The *Idea* of that Figure, you say is in God; let it be so, but it may be there, and I not see it, that's allow'd; when I come to see it, which I did not before, is there no new Modification, as you call it, of my Mind? If there be, then seeing of Figure in God, as well as having the *Idea of Purple*, is a *Modification of the Mind*; and this Distinction signifies nothing. If seeing that Figure in God now, which a Minute or two since I did not see at all, be no new Modification or Alteration in my Mind, no different Action or Passion from what was before, there is no Difference made in my Apprehension between seeing and not seeing. The Ideas of Figures, our Author says, are in God, and are real Beings in God; and God being united to the Mind, these are also united to it. This all seems to me to have something very obscure and unconceivable in it, when I come to examine Particulars; but

but let it be granted to be as clear as any one would suppose it; yet it reaches not the main Difficulty, which is in *seeing*. How after all do I see? The Ideas are in God, they are real Things, they are intimately united to my Mind, because God is so, but yet I do not see them. How at last after all this Preparation, which hitherto is ineffectual, do I come to see them? And to that I am told, *when God is pleased to discover them to me*. This in good earnest seems to me to be nothing but going a great Way about to come to the same place, and this learned Circuit thus set out, brings me at last no farther than this, That I see or perceive, or have Ideas when it pleases God I should, but in a Way I cannot comprehend; and this I thought without all this ado.

41. This *Sentiment* he tells us in the next Words, *'tis God causes in us, and he can cause it in us, although he has it not, because he sees in the Idea that he has of our Soul, that it is capable of them*. This I take to be said to shew the Difference between *Sentiments* and *Ideas* in us. *V.g.* Figures and Numbers are Ideas, and they are in God. Colours and Smells, &c. are *Sentiments* in us, and not Ideas in God. First, As to our selves I ask, Why, when I recollect in my Memory a Violet, the Purple Colour as well as Figure is not an Idea in me? The making then the Picture of any visible thing in my Mind, as of a Landscape I have seen, composed of Figure and Colour, the Colour is not an Idea, but the Figure is an Idea, and the Colour a *Sentiment*. Every one I allow may use his Words as he pleases, but if it be to instruct others, he must, when he uses two Words where others use but one, shew some Ground of the Distinction. And I do not find but the Colour of the Marigold I now think of, is as much the *immediate Object of my Mind*, as its Figure; and so according to his Definition is an *Idea*. Next as to God, I ask whether before the Creation of the World, the Idea of the whole Marigold Colour as well as Figure was not in God? God, says he, *can cause those Sentiments in us, because he sees in the Idea that he has of our Soul, that it is capable of them*. God before he created any Soul, knew all that he would make it capable of. He resolved to make it capable of having the Perception of the Colour as well as Figure of a Marigold; he had then the Idea of that Colour that he resolv'd to make it capable of, or else he made it capable (with Reverence let it be spoken) of he knew not what: And if he knew what it should be capable of, he had the Idea of what he knew: for before the Creation there was nothing but God, and the Ideas he had. 'Tis true the Colour of that Flower is not actually in God, no more is its Figure actually in God; but we that can consider no other Understanding, but in Analogy to our own, cannot conceive otherwise but as the Ideas of the Figure, Colour and Situation of the Leaves of a Marigold is in our Minds, when we think of that Flower in the Night when we see it not; so it was in the Thoughts of God before he made that Flower. And thus we conceive him to have the Idea of the Smell of a Violet, of the Taste of Sugar, the Sound of a Lute or Trumpet, and of the Pain and Pleasure that accompanies any of these or other Sensations which he design'd we should feel, though he never felt any of them; as we have the Ideas of the Taste of a Cherry in Winter, or the Pain of a Burn when it is over. This is what I think we conceive of the Ideas in God, which we must allow to have distinctly represented to him all that was to be in time, and consequently the Colours, Odours, and other Ideas they were to produce in us. I cannot be so bold as to pretend to say what those Ideas are in God, or to determine that they are real Beings; but this I think I may say, that the Idea of the Colour of a Marigold, or the Motion of a Stone, are as much real Beings in God, as the Idea of the Figure or Number of its Leaves.

42. The Reader must not blame me for making use here all along of the Word *Sentiment*, which is our Author's own, and I understood it so little, that I knew not how to translate it into any other. He concludes, *That he believes there is no Appearance of Truth in any other Ways of explaining these things, and that this of seeing all things in God, is more than probable*. I have considered with as much Indifferency and Attention as is possible; and I must own it appears to me as little or less intelligible than any of the rest; and the Sum-

mary of his Doctrine, which he here subjoyns, is to me wholly incomprehensible. His Words are, *Thus our Souls depend on God all manner of ways: For as it is he which makes them feel Pleasure and Pain, and all other Sensations, by the natural Union which he has made between them and our Bodies, which is nothing else but his Decree and general Will: So it is he, who by the natural Union which he has made betwixt the Will of Man, and the Representation of Ideas, which the Immensity of the Divine Being contains, makes them know all that they know; and this natural Union is also nothing but his general Will.* This Phrase of the Union of our Wills to the Ideas contain'd in God's Immensity, seems to me a very strange one, and what Light it gives to his Doctrine I truly cannot find. It seem'd so unintelligible to me, that I guess'd it an Error in the Print of the Edition I us'd, which was the 4th. Printed at Paris, 78, and therefore consulted the 8^{vo}. Printed also at Paris, and found it *Will* in both of them. Here again the *Immensity of the Divine Being* being mention'd as that which contains in it the *Ideas* to which our *Wills* are united; which Ideas being only those of Quantity, as I shall shew hereafter, seems to me to carry with it a very gross Notion of this Matter, as we have above remark'd. But that which I take notice of principally here, is, that this Union of our *Wills* to the Ideas contain'd in God's Immensity, does not at all explain our seeing of them. This Union of our *Wills* to the Ideas, or, as in other places, of our Souls to God, is, says he, nothing but the Will of God. And after this Union, our seeing them is only when God discovers them, *i. e.* our having them in our Minds, is nothing but the Will of God; all which is brought about in a Way we comprehend not. And what then does this explain more than when one says, our Souls are united to our Bodies by the Will of God, and by the Motion of some Parts of our Bodies? *V. g.* the Nerves or Animal Spirits have Ideas or Perceptions produc'd in them, and this is the Will of God. Why is not this as intelligible and as clear as the other? Here is the by Will of God given Union and Perception in both Cases; but how that Perception is made in both Ways, seems to me equally incomprehensible. In one, God discovers Ideas in himself to the Soul united to him when he pleases; and in the other, he discovers Ideas to the Soul, or produces Perception in the Soul united to the Body by Motion, according to Laws establish'd by the good Pleasure of his Will; but how it is done in the one or the other, I confess my Incapacity to comprehend. So that I agree perfectly with him in his Conclusion, that *there is nothing but God that can enlighten us*; but a clear Comprehension of the Manner how He does it, I doubt I shall not have, 'till I know a great deal more of him and my self, than in this State of Darkness and Ignorance our Souls are capable of.

43. In the next, Chap. 7. he tells us, *there are four Ways of knowing; the first is to know things by themselves*: and thus, he says, *We know God alone*; and the Reason he gives of it is this, because *at present he alone penetrates the Mind, and discovers himself to it.*

First, I would know what it is to penetrate a thing that is unextended? These are Ways of speaking, which taken from Body, when they are applied to Spirit, signifie nothing, nor shew us any thing but our Ignorance. To God's penetrating our Spirits, he joyns his *discovering himself*; as if one were the Cause of the other, and explain'd it: But I not conceiving any thing of the Penetration of an unextended thing, it is lost upon me. But next God penetrates our Souls, and therefore we *see him by a direct and immediate View*, as he says in the following words. The Ideas of all things which are in God, he elsewhere tells us, are not at all different from God himself; and if God's penetrating our Minds be the Cause of our direct and immediate seeing God, we have a direct and immediate View of all that we see; for we see nothing but God and Ideas; and 'tis impossible for us to know that there is any thing else in the Universe; for since we see, and can see nothing but God and Ideas, how can we know there is any thing else which we neither do nor can see? But if there be any thing to be understood by this Penetration of our Souls, and we have a direct View of God by this Penetration, why have we not also a *direct and immediate View* of other separate Spirits besides God? To this he says, that there is none but God alone who at present penetrates

our Spirits. This he says, but I do not see for what Reason, but because it suits with his Hypothesis: But he proves it not, nor goes about to do it, unless the *direct and immediate View*, he says, we have of God, be to be taken as a Proof of it. But what is *that direct and immediate View* we have of God that we have not of a Cherubim? The Ideas of Being, Power, Knowledge, Goodness, Duration, make up the complex Idea we have of one and of the other; but only that in the one we join the Idea of Infinite to each simple Idea, that makes our complex one, but to the other, that of Finite. But how have we a more *direct or immediate View* of the Idea of Power, Knowledge or Duration, when we consider them in God, than when we consider them in an Angel? The View of these Ideas seem to be the same. Indeed we have a clearer Proof of the Existence of God than of a Cherubim, but the Idea of either, when we have it in our Minds, seems to me to be there by an equally *direct and immediate View*. And 'tis about the Ideas which are in our Minds that I think our Author's Enquiry here is, and not about the real Existence of those things whereof we have Ideas, which are two very remote things.

45. Perhaps 'tis God alone, says our Author, who can enlighten our Minds by his Substance. When I know what the Substance of God is, and what it is to be enlightened by that Substance, I shall know what I also shall think of it; but at present I confess my self in the Dark as to this Matter; nor do these good Words of Substance and Enlightening, in the Way they are here used, help me one Jot out of it.

46. He goes on, one cannot conceive, says he, that any thing created can represent what is infinite. And I cannot conceive that there is any positive comprehensive Idea in any finite Mind that does represent it fully and clearly as it is. I do not find that the Mind of Man has Infinity, positively and fully represented to it, or comprehended by it; which must be, if his Argument were true, that therefore God enlightens our Minds by his proper Substance; because no created Thing is big enough to represent what is infinite; and therefore what makes us conceive his Infinity, is the Presence of his own infinite Substance in our Minds: Which to me manifestly supposes, that we comprehend in our Minds God's infinite Substance, which is present to our Minds; for if this be not the Force of his Argument, where he says, *Nothing created can represent what is infinite; the Being that is without Bounds, the Being immense, the Being universal, cannot be perceived by an Idea, i. e. by a particular Being, by a Being different from the universal infinite Being it self*. It seems to me that this Argument is founded on a Supposition of our comprehending the infinite Substance of God in our Minds, or else I see not any Force in it, as I have already said. I shall take notice of one or two things in it that confound me, and that is, that he calls God here *the universal Being*; which must either signifie that Being which contains, and is made up as one comprehensive Aggregate of all the rest, in which Sense the Universe may be called *the universal Being*; or else it must mean Being in general, which is nothing but the Idea of Being abstracted from all inferior Divisions of that general Notion, and from all particular Existence. But in neither of these Senses can I conceive God to be *the universal Being*, since I cannot think the Creatures either to be a Part or a Species of him. Next he calls the Ideas that are in God, *particular Beings*. I grant whatever exists is particular, it cannot be otherwise; but that which is particular in Existence, may be universal in Representation, which I take to be all the universal Beings we know, or can conceive to be. But let *universal or particular Beings* be what they will, I do not see how our Authour can say, that God is an *universal Being*, and the Ideas we see in him *particular Beings*; since he in another place tells us, that the Ideas we see in God are not at all different from God. But, says he, as to *particular Beings* it is not hard to conceive that they can be represented by the infinite Being which contains them, and contains them after a very spiritual Manner, and consequently very intelligible. It seems as impossible to me, that an infinite simple Being, in whom there is no Variety, nor Shadow of Variety, should represent a finite Thing, as that a finite Thing should represent an infinite; nor do I see how its containing all things in it after a very spiritual Manner, makes

it so very intelligible; since I understand not what it is to contain a material thing *Spiritually*, nor the Manner how God contains any thing in himself, but either as an Aggregate contains all things which it is made up of; and so indeed that Part of him may be seen, which comes within the Reach of our View. But this way of *containing all things* can by no means belong to God, and to make things thus visible in him, is to make the material World a Part of him, or else as having a Power to produce all things; and in this way, 'tis true, God *contains all things* in himself, but in a way not proper to make the Being of God a Representative of those things to us; for then his Being being the Representative of the Effects of that Power, it must represent to us all that he is capable of producing, which I do not find in my self that it does.

Secondly, *The second way of knowing things*, he tells us, is by *Ideas*, that is, by something that is different from them; and thus we know things when they are not intelligible by themselves, either because they are corporeal, or because they cannot penetrate the Mind, or discover themselves to it; and this is the way we know corporeal Things. This Reasoning I do not understand: First, Because I do not understand why a Line or a Triangle is not as intelligible as any thing that can be nam'd; for we must still carry along with us, that the Discourse here is about our Perception, or what we have any Idea or Conception of in our own Minds. Secondly, Because I do not understand what is meant by the *penetrating* a Spirit; and till I can comprehend these upon which this Reasoning is built, this Reasoning cannot work on me. But from these Reasons he concludes, *thus it is in God, and by their Ideas that we see Bodies and their Properties; and 'tis for this Reason that the Knowledge we have of them is most perfect.* Whether others will think that what we see of Bodies, is seen in God, by seeing the Ideas of them that are in God, must be left to them. Why I cannot think so I have shewn; but the Inference he makes here from it, I think, few will assent to, that we know Bodies and their Properties most perfectly. For who is there that can say, he knows the Properties either of Body in general, or of any one particular Body perfectly? One Property of Body in general, is to have Parts cohering and united together, for where-ever there is Body, there is Cohesion of Parts; but who is there that perfectly understands that Cohesion? And as for particular Bodies, who can say that he perfectly understands Gold or a Loadstone, and all its Properties? But to explain himself, he says, *That the Idea we have of Extension, suffices to make us know all the Properties whereof Extension is capable, and that we cannot desire to have an Idea more distinct, and more fruitful of Extension, of Figures, and of Motions, than that which God has given us of them.* This seems to me a strange Proof that we see Bodies and their Properties in God, and know them perfectly, because God has given us distinct and fruitful Ideas of Extension, Figure and Motion; for this had been the same whether God had given these Ideas by shewing them in himself, or by any other way; and his saying, that God has given us as distinct and fruitful Ideas of them as we can desire, seems as if our Author himself had some other Thoughts of them. If he thought we see them in God, he must think we see them as they are in themselves, and there would be no room for saying, God had given them us as distinct as we could desire: The calling them fruitful, shews this yet more; for one that thinks he sees the Ideas of Figures in God, and can see no Idea of a Figure but in God, with what Thought can he call any one of them *Fecunde*, which is said only of such things as produce others? Which Expression of his seems to proceed only from this Thought in him, That when I have once got the Idea of Extension, I can frame the Ideas of what Figures, and of what Bigness I please. And in this I agree with him, as appears in what I have said L. 2. C. 13. But then this can by no means proceed from a Supposition, that I see these Figures only in God; for there they do not produce one another, but are there, as it were, in their first Pattern to be seen, just such, and so many as God is pleas'd to shew them to us. But 'twill be said, our Desire to see them is the occasional Cause of God's shewing them us, and so we see whatever Figure we desire. Let it be so, this does not make any Idea *Fecunde*, for here is no Production of one out of another: But as to the occasional Cause, can any

any one say that is so? I, or our Author, desire to see an Angle next in Greatness to a right Angle; did upon this God ever shew him or me such an Angle? That God knows, or has in himself the Idea of such an Angle, I think will not be deny'd; but that he ever shew'd it to any Man, how much soever he desir'd it, I think may be doubted. But after all, how comes it by this Means that we have a *perfect Knowledge of Bodies and their Properties*, when several Men in the World have not the same Idea of Body, and this very Author and I differ in it? He thinks bare Extension to be Body; and I think Extension alone makes not Body, but Extension and Solidity; thus either he, or I, one of us, has a wrong and imperfect Knowledge of Bodies and their Properties. For if Bodies be Extension alone and nothing else, I cannot conceive how they can move and hit one against another, or what can make distinct Surfaces in an uniform simple Extension. A solid extended Thing I can conceive moveable; but then, if I have a clear View of Bodies and their Properties in God, I must see the Idea of Solidity in God, which yet I think by what our Author has said in his *Eclaircissements*, he does not allow that we do. He says farther, *That whereas the Ideas of things that are in God contain all their Properties, he that sees their Ideas may see successively all their Properties.* This seems to me not to concern our Ideas more, whether we see them in God, or have them otherwise. Any Idea that we have, whencesoever we have it, contains in it all the Properties it has, which are nothing but the Relations it has to other Ideas, which are always the same. What he says concerning the *Properties*, that we may *successively know them*, is equally true, whether we see them in God, or have them by any other Means. They that apply them as they ought to the Consideration of their Ideas, may successively come to the Knowledge of some of their Properties; but that they may *know all their Properties*, is more than I think the Reason proves, which he subjoins in these Words, *For when one sees the things as they are in God, one sees them always in a most perfect manner.* We see, for Example in God, the Idea of a Triangle, or a Circle; does it hence follow, that we *can know all the Properties* of either of them? He adds, that the Manner of seeing them *would be infinitely perfect, if the Mind which sees them in God was infinite.* I confess my self here not well to comprehend his Distinction between seeing after a manner [*tres-parfait*] most perfect and infinitely perfect; he adds, *That which is wanting to the Knowledge that we have of Extension, Figures and Motion, is not a Defect of the Idea which represents it, but of our Mind which considers it.* If by *Ideas* be meant here the real Objects of our Knowledge, I easily agree, that the Want of Knowledge in us is a Defect in our Minds, and not in the things to be known. But if by *Ideas* be here meant the Perception or Representation of Things in the Mind, that I cannot but observe in my self to be very imperfect and defective, as when I desire to perceive what is the Substance of Body or Spirit, the Idea thereof fails me. To conclude, I see not what there is in this Paragraph that makes any thing for the Doctrine of *Seeing all things in God.*

47. *The third way of knowing is by Consciousness or interiour Sentiments; and thus, he says, we know our Souls, and 'tis for this Reason that the Knowledge we have of them is imperfect, we know nothing of our Souls but what we feel within our selves.* This Confession of our Author brings me back, do what I can, to that Original of all our Ideas which my Thoughts led me to when I writ my Book, viz. Sensation and Reflection; and therefore I am forc'd to ask any one who is of our Author's Principles, whether God had not the Idea of mine, or of an human Soul before he created it? Next whether that Idea of an human Soul be not as much a *real Being* in God as the Idea of a Triangle? If so, why does not my Soul, being intimately united to God, as well see the Idea of my Soul which is in him, as the Idea of a Triangle which is in him? And what Reason can there be given, why God shews the Idea of a Triangle to us, and not the Idea of our Souls, but this, That God has given us external Sensation to perceive the one, and none to perceive the other, but only internal Sensation to perceive the Operation of the latter? He that pleases may read what our Author says in the Remainder of this, and the two or three next Paragraphs, and see whether it carries him beyond where my Ignorance stop'd, I must own that me it does not.

48. *This*

48. This, [i. e. the Ignorance we are in of our own Souls,] says he, *may serve to prove that the Ideas that represent any thing to us that is without us are not Modifications of our Souls; for if the Soul saw all things by considering its own proper Modifications, it should know more clearly its own Essence, or its own Nature than that of Bodies, and all the Sensations or Modifications whereof it is capable, than the Figures or Modifications of which Bodies are capable. In the mean time it knows not that it is capable of any such Sensation by Sight as it has of it self, but only by Experience; instead that it knows that Extension is capable of an infinite Number of Figures by the Idea that it has of Extension. There are, moreover, certain Sensations, as Colours and Sounds, which the greatest part of Men cannot discover whether they are Modifications of the Soul; and there are Figures which all Men do not discover by the Idea of Extension to be Modifications of Bodies.* This Paragraph is, as he tells us, to prove, *That the Ideas that represent to us something without us, are not Modifications of the Soul; but instead of that, it seems to prove that Figure is the Modification of Space, and not of our Souls.* For if this Argument had tended to prove, *That the Ideas that represent any thing without us were not Modifications of the Soul,* he should not have put the Mind's not knowing what Modifications it self was capable of, and knowing what Figures Space was capable of, in Opposition one to another; but the Antithesis must have lain in this, that the Mind knew it was capable of the Perception of Figure or Motion without any Modification of it self, but was not capable of the Perception of Sound or Colour without a Modification of it self. For the Question here is not whether Space be capable of Figure, and the Soul not; but whether the Soul be capable of perceiving, or having the Idea of Figure, without a Modification of it self, and not capable of having the Idea of Colour without a Modification of it self. I think now of the Figure, Colour and Hardness of a Diamond that I saw some time since: In this Case I desire to be inform'd how my Mind knows that the Thinking on, or the Idea of the Figure, is not a Modification of the Mind; but the Thinking on, or having an Idea of the Colour or Hardness is a Modification of the Mind? 'Tis certain there is some Alteration in my Mind when I think of a Figure which I did not think of before, as well as when I think of a Colour that I did not think of before. But one I am told is seeing it in God, and the other a Modification of my Mind. But supposing one is seeing in God, is there no Alteration in my Mind between seeing and not seeing? And is that to be called a Modification or no? For when he says seeing a Colour, and hearing a Sound, is a Modification of the Mind, what does it signifie but an Alteration of the Mind from not perceiving to perceiving that Sound or Colour? And so when the Mind sees a Triangle, which it did not see before, what is this but an Alteration of the Mind from not seeing to seeing, whether that Figure be seen in God or no? And why is not this Alteration of the Mind to be call'd a Modification, as well as the other? Or indeed what Service does that Word do us in the one Case or the other, when it is only a new Sound brought in without any new Conception at all? For my Mind when it sees a Colour or Figure is alter'd, I know, from the not having such or such a Perception to the having it; but when, to explain this, I am told that either of these Perceptions is a Modification of the Mind, what do I conceive more, than that from not having such a Perception my Mind is come to have such a Perception? Which is what I as well knew before the Word *Modification* was made use of, which by its Use has made me conceive nothing more than what I conceived before.

49. One thing I cannot but take notice of here by the bye, that he says, *That the Soul knows that Extension is capable of an infinite Number of Figures by the Idea it has of Extension, which is true.* And afterwards he says, *that there are no Figures, which all Men do not discover by the Idea they have of Extension to be Modifications of Body.* One would wonder why he did not say *Modifications of Extension*, rather than as he does the *Modifications of Body*, they being discover'd by the Idea of Extension; but the Truth would not bear such an Expression. For 'tis certain that in pure Space or Extension, which is not terminated, there is truly no Distinction of Figures, but in distinct Bodies that are terminated there are distinct Figures, because simple Space or Extension, being in it self uniform, insparable, immoveable, has in it no such Modifications or Distinction

inction of Figures. But it is *capable*, as he says, but of what? Of Bodies of all sorts of Figures and Magnitudes, without which there is no Distinction of Figures in Space. Bodies that are solid, separable, terminated and moveable, have all sorts of Figures, and they are Bodies alone that have them: And so Figures are properly Modifications of Bodies, for pure Space is not any where terminated nor can be, whether there be or be not Body in it, it is uniformly continued on. This that he plainly said here, to me plainly shews that Body and Extension are two Things, though much of our Author's Doctrine be built upon their being one and the same.

50. The next Paragraph is to shew us the Difference between Ideas and Sentiments in this, that *Sentiments are not tied to Words*; so that he that never had seen a Colour, or felt Heat, could never be made to have those Sensations by all the Definitions one could give him of them. This is true of what he calls *Sentiments*; and as true also of what he calls *Ideas*. Shew me one who has not got by Experience, *i. e.* by seeing or feeling the Idea of Space or Motion, and I will as soon by Words make one, who never felt what Heat is, have a Conception of Heat, as he, that has not by his Senses perceiv'd what Space or Motion is, can by Words be made to conceive either of them. The Reason why we are apt to think these Ideas belonging to Extension, got another way than other Ideas; is because our Bodies being extended, we cannot avoid the Distinction of Parts in our selves; and all that is for the Support of our Lives, being by Motion apply'd to us, it is impossible to find any one who has not by Experience got those Ideas; and so by the Use of Language learnt what Words stand for them; which by Custom came to excite them in his Mind, as the Names of Heat and Pleasure do excite in the Mind of those who have by Experience got them, the Ideas they are by Use annexed to. Not that Words or Definitions can teach or bring into the Mind one more than another of those I call simple Ideas; but can by Use excite them in those, who having got them by Experience, know certain Sounds to be by Use annexed to them as the Signs of them.

51. Fourthly, The fourth way of knowing, he tells us, is by Conjecture, and thus only we know the Souls of other Men, and pure Intelligences, *i. e.* We know them not at all; but we probably think there are such Beings really existing in *rerum natura*. But this looks to me besides our Author's business here, which seems to be to examine what Ideas we have, and how we came by them. So that the Thing here consider'd, should in my Opinion be, not whether there were any Souls of Men or pure Intelligences any where existing, but what Ideas we have of them, and how we came by them. For when he says, we know not Angels, either *in themselves*, or *by their Ideas*, or *by Consciousness*, what in that place does *Angel* signifie? What Idea in him does it stand for? Or is it the Sign of no Idea at all, and so a bare Sound without Signification? He that reads this seventh Chapter of his with Attention, will find that we have simple Ideas as far as our Experience reaches, and no farther. And beyond that we know nothing at all, no not even what those Ideas are that are in us, but only that they are Perceptions in the Mind, but how made we cannot comprehend.

52. In his *Eclaircissements* on the Nature of Ideas, p. 535. of the Quarto Edition, he says, that *he is certain that the Ideas of Things are unchangeable*. This I cannot comprehend, for how can I know that the Picture of any Thing is like that Thing, when I never see that which it represents? For if these Words do not mean that Ideas are true unchangeable Representations of Things, I know not to what purpose they are. And if that be not their Meaning, then they can only signifie, that the Idea I have once had will be unchangeably the same as long as it recurs the same in my Memory; but when another different from that comes into my Mind, it will not be that. Thus the Idea of an Horse, and the Idea of a Centaur, will, as often as they recur in my Mind, be unchangeably the same; which is no more than this, the same Idea will be always the same Idea; but whether the one or the other be the true Representation of any Thing that exists, that, upon his Principles, neither our Author nor any body else can know.

53. What he says here of *Universal Reason*, which enlightens every one, *whereof all Men* partake, seems to me nothing else but the Power Men have to consider the Ideas they have one with another, and by thus comparing them, find out the Relations that are between them; and therefore if an intelligent Being at one End of the World, and another at the other End of the World, will consider twice two and four together, he cannot but find them to be equal, *i. e.* to be the same Number. These Relations 'tis true, are *infinite*, and God, who knows all Things, and their Relations as they are, knows them all, and so his Knowledge is infinite. But Men are able to discover more or less of these Relations, only as they apply their Minds to consider any sort of Ideas, and to find out intermediate ones, which can shew the Relation of those Ideas, which cannot immediately be compared by *Juxta-position*. But then what he means by that *infinite Reason* which Men consult, I confess my self not well to understand. For if he means that they consider a Part of those Relations of Things which are infinite, that is true; but then, this is a very improper way of speaking, and I cannot think that a Man of his Parts would use it to mean nothing else by it. If he means, as he says, p. 536. That this infinite and universal Reason, whereof Men partake, and which they consult, is the Reason of God himself; I can by no Means assent to it. *First*, Because I think we cannot say God reasons at all; for he has at once a View of all Things. But Reason is very far from such an Intuition, it is a laborious and gradual Progress in the Knowledge of Things, by comparing one Idea with a second, and a second with a third, and that with a fourth, &c. to find the Relation between the first and the last of these in this Train, and in Search for such intermediate Ideas, as may shew us the Relation we desire to know, which sometimes we find, and sometimes not. This way therefore of finding Truth, so painful, uncertain, and limited, is proper only to Men or finite Understandings, but can by no Means be suppos'd in God; it is therefore in God Understanding or Knowledge. But then to say that we partake in the Knowledge of God, or consult his Understanding, is what I cannot receive for true. God has given me an Understanding of my own; and I should think it Presumption in me to suppose I apprehend any thing by God's Understanding, saw with his Eyes, or shared of his Knowledge. I think it more possible for me to see with other Men's Eyes, and understand with another Man's Understanding, than with God's; there being some Proportion between mine and another Man's Understanding, but none between mine and God's. But if this *infinite Reason* which we consult, be at last nothing but those infinite unchangeable Relations which are in Things, some of which we make a Shift to discover, this indeed is true, but seems to me to make little to our Author's Purpose, of seeing all Things in God; and that if we see not all Things by the natural Union of our Minds with the universal and infinite Reason, we should not have the Liberty to think on all Things, as he expresseth it, p. 538. To explain himself farther concerning this universal Reason, or as he there calls it by another Name, Order, p. 539. he says, That God contains in himself the Perfections of all the Creatures that he has created, or can create, after an intelligible Manner. Intelligible to himself, that's true, but intelligible to Men, at least to me, that I do not find; unless by containing in himself the Perfections of all the Creatures, be meant, that there is no Perfection in any Creature, but there is a greater in God, or that there is in God greater Perfection than all the Perfection in the Creatures taken together. And therefore though it be true what follows in the next Words, that it is by these intelligible Perfections that God knows the Essence of every Thing; yet it will not follow from hence, or from any thing else that he has said, that those Perfections in God, which contain in them the Perfections of all the Creatures, are the immediate Objects of the Mind of Man, or that they are so the Objects of the Mind of Man, that he can in them see the Essences of the Creatures. For I ask in which of the Perfections of God does a Man see the Essence of an Horse or an Ass, of a Serpent or a Dove, of Hemlock or Parsley? I for my part, I confess, see not the Essence of any of these Things in any of the Perfections of God, which I have any Notion of. For indeed I see not the distinct Essence either of these Things at all, or know wherein it consists. And therefore I cannot comprehend the Force of the Inference,

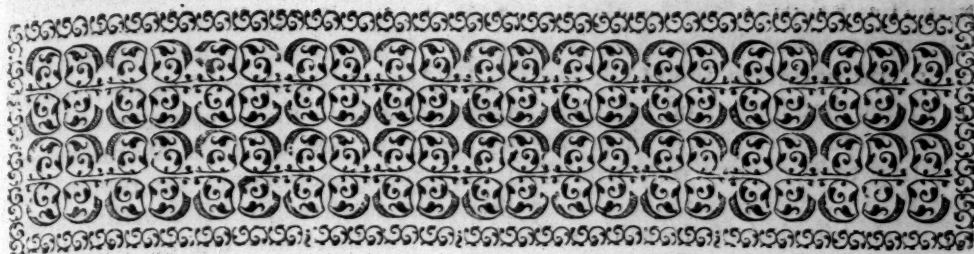
ference, which follows in these Words, *Then the intelligible Ideas or Perfections that are in God, which represent to us what is out of God, are absolutely necessary and unchangeable.* That the Perfections that are in God are necessary and unchangeable, I readily grant: But that the *Ideas* that are intelligible to God, or are in the Understanding of God (for so we must speak of him whilst we conceive of him after the manner of Men) can be seen by us; or, that the Perfections that are in God represent to us the Essences of Things that are out of God, that I cannot conceive. The Essence of Matter, as much as I can see of it, is Extension, Solidity, Divisibility and Mobility; but in which of the Perfections of God do I see this Essence? To another Man, as to our Author perhaps, the Essence of Body is quite another thing; and when he has told us what to him is the Essence of Body, it will be then to be consider'd in which of the Perfections of God he sees it. For example, let it be pure Extension alone; the Idea then that God had in himself of the Essence of Body before Body was created, was the Idea of pure Extension; when God then created Body he created Extension, and then Space, which existed not before, began to exist. This, I confess, I cannot conceive; but we see in the Perfections of God the necessary and unchangeable Essences of Things. He sees one Essence of Body in God, and I another; Which is that necessary and unchangeable Essence of Body which is contain'd in the Perfections of God, his or mine? Or indeed how do or can we know there is any such Thing existing as Body at all? For we see nothing but the Ideas that are in God; but Body it self we neither do nor can possibly see at all; and how then can we know that there is any such Thing existing as Body, since we can by no means see or perceive it by our Senses, which is all the Way we can have of knowing any corporeal Thing to exist? But 'tis said, God shews us the Ideas in himself, on occasion of the Presence of those Bodies to our Senses. This is *gratis dictum*, and begs the Thing in Question; and therefore I desire to have it prov'd to me that they are present. I see the Sun, or an Horse; no, says our Author, that is impossible, they cannot be seen, because being Bodies they cannot be united to my Mind, and be present to it. But the Sun being risen, and the Horse brought within convenient distance, and so being present to my Eyes, God shews me their Ideas in himself: And I say God shews me these Ideas when he pleases, without the Presence of any such Bodies to my Eyes. For when I think I see a Star at such a distance from me, which truly I do not see, but the Idea of it which God shews me, I would have it prov'd to me that there is such a Star existing a Million of Millions of Miles from me when I think I see it, more than when I dream of such a Star. For 'till it be prov'd that there is a Candle in the Room by which I write this, the Supposition of my seeing in God the Pyramidical Idea of its Flame upon occasion of the Candle's being there, is begging what is in Question. And to prove to me that God exhibits to me that Idea upon occasion of the Presence of the Candle, it must first be proved to me that there is a Candle there, which upon these Principles can never be done.

Farther, We see the necessary and unchangeable Essences of things in the Perfections of God. Water, a Rose, and a Lion, have their distinct Essences one from another, and all other things; what I desire to know are these distinct Essences, I confess I neither see them in nor out of God, and in which of the Perfections of God do we see each of them?

Pag. 504. I find these Words, *It is evident that the Perfections that are in God which represent created or possible Beings, are not at all equal: That those for example that represent Bodies, are not so noble as those for example that represent Spirits; and amongst those themselves, which represent nothing but Body, or nothing but Spirits, there are more perfect one than another to Infinity.* This is conceivable clearly, and without Pain, though one finds some Difficulty to reconcile the Simplicity of the Divine Being, with this Variety of intelligible Ideas which he contains in his Wisdom. This Difficulty is to me insurmountable, and I conclude it always shall be so, till I can find a way to make Simplicity and Variety the same. And this Difficulty must always cumber this Doctrine, which supposes that the Perfections of God are the Representatives to us of whatever we perceive of the Creatures;

for then those Perfections must be many, and diverse, and distinct one from another, as those Ideas are that represent the different Creatures to us. And this seems to me to make God formally to contain in him all the distinct Ideas of all the Creatures, and that so, that they might be seen one after another. Which seems to me after all the Talk of Abstraction to be but a little less gross Conception than of the Sketches of all the Pictures that ever a Painter draws, kept by him in his Closet, which are there all to be seen one after another, as he pleases to shew them. But whilst these abstract Thoughts produce nothing better than this, I the easier content my self with my Ignorance which roundly thinks thus. God is a simple Being, Omniscient, that knows all things possible; and Omnipotent, that can do or make all things possible. But how he knows, or how he makes, I do not conceive: His ways of knowing as well as his ways of creating, are to me incomprehensible; and if they were not so, I should not think him to be God, or to be perfecter in Knowledge than I am. To which our Author's Thoughts seem in the close of what is above-cited somewhat to encline, when he says, *The Variety of intelligible Ideas which God contains in his Wisdom*; whereby he seems to place this Variety of Ideas in the Mind or Thoughts of God, as we may so say, whereby 'tis hard to conceive how we can see them, and not in the Being of God, where they are to be seen as so many distinct Things in it.





A
DISCOURSE
O F
MIRACLES.



O discourse of Miracles without defining what one means by the Word Miracle, is to make a Shew, but in Effect to talk of nothing.

A Miracle then I take to be a sensible Operation, which, being above the Comprehension of the Spectator, and in his Opinion contrary to the establish'd Course of Nature, is taken by him to be Divine.

He that is present at the Fact, is a Spectator: He that believes the History of the Fact, puts himself in the place of a Spectator.

This Definition, 'tis probable, will not escape these two Exceptions.

1. That hereby what is a Miracle is made very uncertain; for it depending on the Opinion of the Spectator, that will be a Miracle to one which will not be so to another.

In answer to which, it is enough to say, that this Objection is of no Force, but in the Mouth of one who can produce a Definition of a Miracle not liable to the same Exception, which I think not easie to do; for it being agreed, that a Miracle must be that which surpasses the Force of Nature in the establish'd, steady Laws of Causes and Effects, nothing can be taken to be a Miracle but what is judg'd to exceed those Laws. Now every one being able to judge of those Laws only by his own Acquaintance with Nature, and Notions of its Force (which are different in different Men) it is unavoidable that That should be a Miracle to one, which is not so to another.

2. Another Objection to this Definition, will be, that the Notion of a Miracle thus enlarged, may come sometimes to take in Operations that have nothing Extraordinary or Supernatural in them, and thereby invalidate the Use of Miracles for the attesting of Divine Revelation.

To which I answer, not at all, if the Testimony which Divine Revelation receives from Miracles be rightly consider'd.

To know that any Revelation is from God, it is necessary to know that the Messenger that delivers it is sent from God, and that cannot be known but by some Credential given him by God himself. Let us see then whether Miracles, in my Sense, be not such Credentials, and will not infallibly direct us right in the Search of Divine Revelation.

It is to be consider'd, that Divine Revelation receives Testimony from no other Miracles, but such as are wrought to witness his Mission from God who delivers the Revelation. All other Miracles that are done in the World,

how many or great soever, Revelation is not concern'd in. Cases wherein there has been, or can be Need of Miracles for the Confirmation of Revelation, are fewer than perhaps is imagin'd. The heathen World, amidst an infinite and uncertain Jumble of Deities, Fables and Worships, had no room for a divine Attestation of any one against the rest. Those Owners of many Gods were at liberty in their Worship; and no one of their Divinities pretending to be the one only true God, no one of them could be suppos'd in the Pagan Scheme to make Use of Miracles to establish his Worship alone, or to abolish that of the other; much less was there any Use of Miracles to confirm any Articles of Faith, since no one of them had any such to propose as necessary to be believ'd by their Votaries. And therefore I do not remember any Miracles recorded in the *Greek* or *Roman* Writers, as done to confirm any one's Mission and Doctrine. Conformable hereunto we find *St. Paul*, *1 Cor. i. 22.* takes notice that the *Jews* ('tis true) requir'd Miracles, but as for the *Greeks* they look'd after something else; they knew no Need or Use there was of Miracles to recommend any Religion to them. And indeed it is an astonishing Mark how far the God of this World had blinded Men's Minds, if we consider that the Gentile World receiv'd and stuck to a Religion, which, not being deriv'd from Reason, had no sure Foundation in Revelation. They knew not its Original, nor the Authors of it, nor seem'd concern'd to know from whence it came, or by whose Authority deliver'd; and so had no Mention or Use of Miracles for its Confirmation. For though there were here and there some Pretences to Revelation, yet there were not so much as Pretences to Miracles that attested it.

If we will direct our Thoughts by what has been, we must conclude that Miracles, as the Credentials of a Messenger delivering a Divine Religion, have no Place but upon a Supposition of One only true God; and that it is so in the Nature of the thing, and cannot be otherwise, I think will be made appear in the Sequel of this Discourse. Of such who have come in the Name of the One only true God, professing to bring a Law from him, we have in History a clear Account but of three, *viz. Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet.* For what the *Persees* say of their *Zoroaster*, or the *Indians* of their *Brama* (not to mention all the wild Stories of the Religions farther East) is so obscure, or so manifestly fabulous, that no Account can be made of it. Now of the three before-mention'd, *Mahomet* having none to produce, pretends to no Miracles for the vouching his Mission; so that the only Revelations that come attested by Miracles, being only those of *Moses* and *Christ*, and they confirming each other, the Business of Miracles, as it stands really in Matter of Fact, has no manner of Difficulty in it; and I think the most scrupulous or sceptical cannot from Miracles raise the least Doubt against the Divine Revelation of the Gospel.

But since the Speculative and Learned will be putting of Cases which never were, and it may be presum'd never will be; since Scholars and Disputants will be raising of Questions where there are none, and enter upon Debates, whereof there is no Need; I crave leave to say, that he who comes with a Message from God to be deliver'd to the World, cannot be refus'd Belief if he vouches his Mission by a Miracle, because his Credentials have a Right to it. For every rational thinking Man must conclude as *Nicodemus* did, *We know that thou art a Teacher come from God, for no Man can do these Signs which thou dost, except God be with him.*

For Example, *Jesus* of *Nazareth* professes himself sent from God: He with a Word calms a Tempest at Sea: This one looks on as a Miracle, and consequently cannot but receive his Doctrine: Another thinks this might be the Effect of Chance, or Skill in the Weather and no Miracle, and so stands out; but afterwards seeing him walk on the Sea, owns that for a Miracle and believes: Which yet upon another has not that Force, who suspects it may possibly be done by the Assistance of a Spirit: But yet the same Person, seeing afterwards our Saviour cure an inveterate Palsie by a Word, admits that for a Miracle, and becomes a Convert: Another over-looking it in this Instance, afterwards finds a Miracle in his giving Sight to one born Blind, or in raising the Dead, or his raising himself from the Dead, and so receives his

his Doctrine as a Revelation coming from God. By all which it is plain, that where the Miracle is admitted, the Doctrine cannot be rejected; it comes with the Assurance of a Divine Attestation to him that allows the Miracle, and he cannot question its Truth.

The next thing then is, what shall be a sufficient Inducement to take any extraordinary Operation to be a Miracle, *i. e.* wrought by God himself for the Attestation of a Revelation from him?

And to this I answer, the carrying with it the Marks of a greater Power than appears in Opposition to it. For,

1. First, This removes the main Difficulty where it presses hardest, and clears the Matter from Doubt, when extraordinary and supernatural Operations are brought to support opposite Missions, about which methinks more Dust has been rais'd by Men of Leisure than so plain a Matter needed. For since God's Power is paramount to all, and no Opposition can be made against him with an equal Force to his; and since his Honour and Goodness can never be suppos'd to suffer his Messenger and his Truth to be born down by the Appearance of a greater Power on the side of an Impostor, and in favour of a Lye; wherever there is an Opposition, and two pretending to be sent from Heaven clash, the Signs, which carry with them the evident Marks of a greater Power, will always be a certain and unquestionable Evidence, that the Truth and Divine Mission are on that side on which they appear. For though the Discovery, how the lying Wonders are or can be produc'd, be beyond the Capacity of the ignorant, and often beyond the Conception of the most knowing Spectator, who is therefore forc'd to allow them in his Apprehension to be above the Force of Natural Causes and Effects; yet he cannot but know they are not Seals set by God to his Truth for the attesting of it, since they are oppos'd by Miracles that carry the evident Marks of a greater and superior Power, and therefore they cannot at all shake the Authority of one so supported. God can never be thought to suffer that a Lie, set up in Opposition to a Truth coming from him, should be back'd with a greater Power than he will shew for the Confirmation and Propagation of a Doctrine which he has reveal'd, to the End it might be believ'd. The producing of Serpents, Blood and Frogs, by the *Egyptian* Sorcerers and by *Moses*, could not to the Spectators but appear equally miraculous, which of the Pretenders then had their Mission from God: And the Truth on their side could not have been determin'd if the Matter had rested there. But when *Moses's* Serpent eat up their's, when he produced Lice which they could not, the Decision was easie. 'Twas plain *Jannes* and *Jambres* acted by an inferiour Power, and their Operations, how marvellous and extraordinary soever, could not in the least bring in Question *Moses's* Mission; that stood the firmer for this Opposition, and remain'd the more unquestionable after this, than if no such Signs had been brought against it.

So likewise the Number, Variety and Greatness of the Miracles, wrought for the Confirmation of the Doctrine deliver'd by *Jesus Christ*, carry with them such strong Marks of an extraordinary Divine Power, that the Truth of his Mission will stand firm and unquestionable, till any one rising up in Opposition to him shall do greater Miracles than he and his Apostles did. For any thing less will not be of Weight to turn the Scales in the Opinion of any one, whether of an inferiour or more exalted Understanding. This is one of those palpable Truths and Trials, of which all Mankind are Judges; and there needs no Assistance of Learning, no deep Thought to come to a Certainty in it. Such Care has God taken that no pretended Revelation should stand in Competition with what is truly Divine, that we need but open our Eyes to see and be sure which came from him. The Marks of his over-ruling Power accompany it; and therefore to this Day we find, that where-ever the Gospel comes, it prevails to the beating down the strong Holds of *Satan*, and the dislodging the Prince of the Power of Darkness, driving him away with all his living Wonders; which is a standing Miracle, carrying with it the Testimony of Superiority.

What

What is the uttermost Power of natural Agents or created Beings, Men of the greatest Reach cannot discover; but that it is not equal to God's Omnipotency is obvious to every one's Understanding; so that the superior Power is an easie, as well as sure Guide to Divine Revelation, attested by Miracles, where they are brought as Credentials to an Embassy from God.

And thus upon the same Grounds of Superiority of Power, uncontested Revelation will stand too.

For the explaining of which, it may be necessary to premise,

1. That no Mission can be look'd on to be Divine, that delivers any thing derogating from the Honour of the one, only, true, invisible God, or inconsistent with natural Religion and the Rules of Morality: Because God having discovered to Men the Unity and Majesty of his Eternal Godhead, and the Truths of natural Religion and Morality by the Light of Reason, he cannot be supposed to back the contrary by Revelation; for that would be to destroy the Evidence and the Use of Reason, without which Men cannot be able to distinguish Divine Revelation from Diabolical Imposture.

2. That it cannot be expected that God should send any one into the World on purpose to inform Men of things indifferent, and of small Moment, or that are knowable by the Use of their natural Faculties. This would be to lessen the Dignity of his Majesty in Favour of our Sloth, and in Prejudice to our Reason.

3. The only Case then wherein a Mission of any one from Heaven can be reconciled to the high and awful Thoughts Men ought to have of the Deity, must be the Revelation of some supernatural Truths relating to the Glory of God, and some great Concern of Men. Supernatural Operations attesting such a Revelation may, with reason, be taken to be Miracles, as carrying the Marks of a superior and over-ruling Power, as long as no Revelation accompanied with Marks of a greater Power appears against it. Such supernatural Signs may justly stand good, and be received for Divine, *i. e.* wrought by a Power superior to all, 'till a Mission attested by Operations of a greater Force shall disprove them: Because it cannot be supposed, God should suffer his Prerogative to be so far usurp'd by any inferior Being, as to permit any Creature, depending on him, to set his Seals, the Marks of his Divine Authority, to a Mission coming from him. For these supernatural Signs being the only Means God is conceived to have to satisfy Men as rational Creatures of the Certainty of any thing he would reveal, as coming from himself, can never consent that it should be wrested out of his Hands, to serve the Ends and establish the Authority of an inferior Agent that rivals him. His Power being known to have no equal, always will, and always may be safely depended on, to shew its Superiority in vindicating his Authority, and maintaining every Truth that he hath revealed. So that the Marks of a superior Power accompanying it, always have been, and always will be a visible and sure Guide to divine Revelation; by which Men may conduct themselves in their examining of revealed Religions, and be satisfied which they ought to receive as coming from God; though they have by no means Ability precisely to determine what is, or is not above the Force of any created Being; or what Operations can be performed by none but a divine Power, and require the immediate Hand of the Almighty. And therefore we see 'tis by that our Saviour measures the great Unbelief of the Jews, John xv. 24. saying, *If I had not done among them the Works which no other Man did, they had not had Sin, but now have they both seen and hated both me and my Father*; declaring, that they could not but see the Power and Presence of God in those many Miracles he did, which were greater than ever any other Man had done. When God sent Moses to the Children of Israel with a Message, that now according to his Promise he would redeem them by his Hand out of Egypt, and furnish'd him with Signs and Credentials of his Mission; it is very remarkable what God himself says of those Signs, *Exod. iv. 8. And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe thee, nor hearken to the Voice of the first Sign (which was turning his Rod into a Serpent) that they will believe, and the Voice of the latter Sign (which was the making his Hand leprous by putting it in his Bosom;)*

God

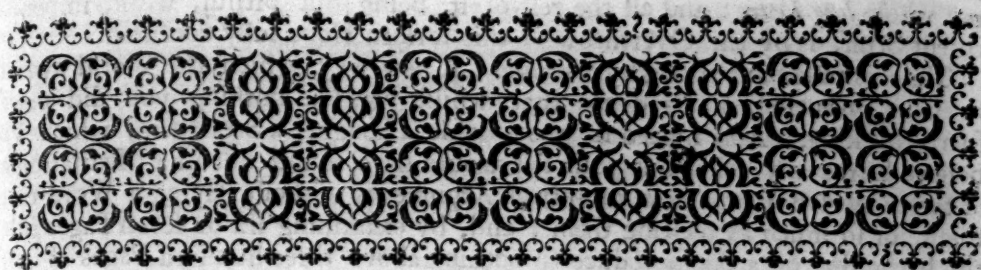
God farther adds, v. 9. *And it shall come to pass, if they will not believe also these two Signs, neither hearken unto thy Voice, that thou shalt take of the Water of the River and pour upon the dry Land: And the Water which thou takest out of the River shall become Blood upon the dry Land.* Which of those Operations was or was not above the Force of all created Beings, will, I suppose, be hard for any Man, too hard for a poor Brick-maker to determine; and therefore the Credit and certain Reception of the Mission, was annex'd to neither of them, but the prevailing of their Attestation was heighten'd by the Increase of their Number; two supernatural Operations shewing more Power than one, and three more than two. God allow'd that it was natural, that the Marks of greater Power should have a greater Impression on the Minds and Belief of the Spectators. Accordingly the *Jews*, by this Estimate judg'd of the Miracles of our Saviour, *John vii. 31.* where we have this Account, *And many of the People believ'd on him, and said when Christ cometh will he do more Miracles than these which this Man hath done?* This perhaps, as it is the plainest, so it is also the surest way to preserve the Testimony of Miracles in its due Force to all Sorts and Degrees of People. For Miracles being the Basis on which Divine Mission is always established, and consequently that Foundation on which the Believers of any Divine Revelation must ultimately bottom their Faith, this Use of them would be lost, if not to all Mankind, yet at least to the simple and illiterate (which is the far greatest Part) if Miracles be defined to be none but such Divine Operations as are in themselves beyond the Power of all created Beings, or at least Operations contrary to the fix'd and establish'd Laws of Nature. For as to the latter of those, what are the fix'd and establish'd Laws of Nature, Philosophers alone, if at least they, can pretend to determine. And if they are to be Operations performable only by Divine Power, I doubt whether any Man learned or unlearned, can in most Cases be able to say of any particular Operation, that can fall under his Senses, that it is certainly a Miracle. Before he can come to that Certainty, he must know that no created Being has a Power to perform it. We know good and bad Angels have Abilities and Excellencies exceedingly beyond all our poor Performances or narrow Comprehensions. But to define what is the utmost Extent of Power that any of them has, is a bold Undertaking of a Man in the Dark, that pronounces without seeing, and sets Bounds in his narrow Cell to things at an infinite Distance from his Model and Comprehension.

Such Definitions therefore of Miracles, however specious in Discourse and Theory, fail us when we come to Use, and an Application of them in particular Cases. 170 $\frac{1}{2}$.

These Thoughts concerning Miracles, were occasioned by my reading Mr. Fleetwood's Essay on Miracles, and the Letter writ to him on that Subject. The one of them defining a Miracle to be an extraordinary Operation performable by God alone: And the other writing of Miracles without any Definition of a Miracle at all.

J. LOCKE.





Part of a Fourth

LETTER

FOR

TOLERATION, &c.

S I R,



Fresh revival of the Controversie formerly between you and me, is what I suppose no Body did expect from you after twelve Years Silence. But Reputation (a sufficient Cause for a new War) as you give the World to understand, hath put Resolution into your Heart, and Arms into your Hands to make an Example of me, to the Shame and Confusion of all those who could be so injurious to you, as to think you could quit the Opinion you had appeared for in Print, and agree with me in the Matter of Toleration. 'Tis visible how tender even Men of the most settled Calmness are in Point of Reputation, and 'tis allow'd the most excusable Part of human Frailty; and therefore no Body can wonder to see a Report thought injurious, labour'd against with Might and Main, and the Assistance and Cause of Religion it self taken in and made use of to put a Stop to it. But yet for all this there are sober Men who are of Opinion, that it better becomes a Christian Temper, that Disputes, especially of Religion, should be waged purely for the Sake of Truth, and not for our own: Self should have nothing to do in them. But since as we see it will crowd it self in, and be often the principal Agent, your Ingenuity in owning what has brought you upon the Stage again, and set you on work, after the Ease and Quiet you resolutely maintain'd your self in so many Years, ought to be commended, in giving us a View of the discreet Choice you have made of a Method suited to your Purpose, which you publish to the World in these Words, P. 2. *Being desirous to put a stop to a Report so injurious (as well as groundless) as I look upon this to be, I think it will be no improper way of doing it, if I thus signify to you and the Reader, that I find nothing more convincing in this your long Letter, than I did in your two former; giving withal a brief Specimen of the Answerableness of it. Which I choose to do upon a few Pages at the beginning, where you have placed your greatest Strength, or at least so much of it, as you think sufficient to put an End to this Controversie.*

Here we have your Declaration of War, of the Grounds that mov'd you to it, and of your compendious way to assured Victory, which I must own is very new and very remarkable. You choose a few Pages out of the beginning of my third Letter; in these, you say, *I have placed my greatest Strength.* So that, what I have there said being baffled, it gives you a just Triumph over

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my whole *long Letter*; and all the rest of it being but pitiful, weak, impertinent Stuff, is by the Overthrow of this forlorn Hope fully confuted.

This is called answering by *Specimen*. A new way, which the World owes to your Invention, an Evidence that whilst you said nothing you did not spare thinking. And indeed it was a noble Thought, a Stratagem, which I believe scarce any other but your self would have found out in a Meditation of twice twelve Years, how to answer Arguments without saying a Word to them, or so much as reciting them; and, by examining six or seven Pages in the beginning of a Book, reduce to nothing above three hundred Pages of it that follow. This is indeed a *decisive Stroke* that lays all flat before you. Who can stand against such a Conqueror, who, by barely attacking of one, kills an hundred? This would certainly be an admirable way, did it not degrade the Conqueror, whose Business is to do; and turn him into a meer talking Gazeteer, whose Boasts are of no Consequence. For after Slaughter of Foes, and routing of Armies by such a dead-doing Hand, no Body thinks it strange to find them all alive again safe and sound upon their Feet, and in a Posture of defending themselves. The Event, in all sorts of Controversies, hath often better instructed those who have, without bringing it to Trial, presumed on the Weakness of their Adversaries. However, this which you have set up, of confuting without arguing, cannot be deny'd to be a ready way, and well thought on to set you up high, and your Reputation secure in the Thoughts of your believing Readers, if that be (as it seems it is) your Business. But, as I take it, tends not at all to the informing their Understandings, and making them see the Truth and Grounds it stands on. That perhaps is too much for the profane Vulgar to know; it is enough for them that you know it for them, and have assured them, that you can, when you please to condescend so far, confound all that any one offers against your Opinion. An implicit Faith of your being in the right, and ascribing Victory to you, even in Points whereof you have said nothing, is that which some sort of Men think most useful, and so their Followers have but Tongues for their Champion to give him the Praise and Authority he aims at, 'tis no matter whether they have any Eyes for themselves to see on which side the Truth lies. Thus methinks you and I both find our Account in this Controversie under your Management; you in setting your Reputation safe from the Blemish it would have been to it that you were brought over to my Opinion; and I in seeing (if you will forgive me so presumptuous a Word) that you have left my Cause safe in all those Parts you have said nothing to, and not very much damaged in that Part you have attacked, as I hope to shew the indifferent Reader. You enter upon your *Specimen*, p. 2. by minding me that *I tell you*, "That I doubt not but to let you see that if you will be true to your own Principles, and stand to what you have said, you must carry some Degrees of Force to all those Degrees which in Words you declare against, even to the Discipline of Fire and Faggot." And you say, *if I make my Word good; you assure me you will carry a Faggot your self to the burning what you have written for so unmerciful and outrageous a Discipline: But till I have done that, you suppose the Discipline you have endeavour'd to defend, may remain safe and unhurt, as it is, in its own Nature, harmless and salutary to the World.*

To promise fairly, is then the Part of an honest Man, when the time of Performance is not yet come. But it falls out unluckily here; for you who have undertaken, by answering some Parts of my second Letter, to shew the *Answerableness* of the whole, that instead of answering, you promise to retract, if *I make good my Word*, in proving upon your own Principles you must carry your some degrees of Force to Fire and Faggot.

Sir, My Endeavours to make my Word good, have lain before you a pretty competent time, the World is witness of it, and will, as I imagine, think it time for you, since you your self have brought this Question upon the Stage, either to acknowledge that I have made my Word good, or, by invalidating my Arguments, shew that I have not. He, that after a Debt of so many Years, only promises what brave things he will do hereafter, is hardly thought upon the *Exchange* to do what he ought. The Account in his Hand

Hand requires to be made up and balanced; and that will shew not what he is to promise, but, if he be a fair Man, what he is to perform. If the Schools make longer Allowances of time, and admit Evasions for Satisfaction, 'tis fit you use your Privilege, and take more time to consider; only I crave leave in the mean while to refer my Reader to what I said on this Argument, Chap. 4. of my third Letter, that he may have a View of your Way of answering by *Specimen*, and judge whether all that I have there urged be answered by what you say here, or what you promise here be ever like to be performed.

The next Sample you give, to shew the Answerableness of my Letter, is not much more lucky than the former; it may be seen, p. 3. and 4. where you say, *That I tell you*, p. 1. "That you have alter'd the Question"; for it seems, p. 26. you tell me the Question between us is, "Whether the Magistrate has any Right to use Force, to bring Men to the True Religion? Whereas, p. 76. "you your self, I say, own the Question to be, Whether the Magistrate has a Right to use Force in Matters of Religion?" Which Affirmation of mine, you must take leave to tell me, is a meer Fiction, for neither p. 76. nor any where else, do you own the Question to be what I say you do.

And as to "using Force in Matters of Religion" (which you say are my Words, not your's) if I mean by it the using Force to bring Men to any other Religion besides the True; you are so far from owning the Question to be, Whether the Magistrate has a Right to use Force for such a purpose, that you have always thought it out of question, that no Man in the World, Magistrate or other, can have any Right to use either Force, or any other Means that I can name, to bring Men to any False Religion, how much soever he may persuade himself that it is True.

It is not therefore from any Alteration, but from the true State of the Question, that "You take occasion, as I complain without cause, to lay a load on me, for charging you with the Absurdities of a Power in the Magistrates to punish Men, to bring them to their Religion." But it seems, having little to say against what you do assert, you say, I find it necessary my self to alter the Question, and to make the World believe that you assert what you do not, that I may have something before me which I can confute.

In this Paragraph you positively deny, that it is any where owned by you as the Question between us, Whether the Magistrate has a Right of using Force in Matters of Religion? Indeed these Words are not as they are cited in p. 76. of your former Letter; but he that will turn over the Leaf, may, in p. 78. read these Words of your's, viz. that You refer it to me, whether I in saying, no Body has a Right, or you in saying, the Magistrate has a Right in using Force in Matters of Religion, have most Reason. Though you positively tell me, That neither p. 76. nor any where else, do you own the Question to be what I say you do. And now let the Reader judge between us. I should not perhaps have so much as taken notice of this, but that you who are so sparing of your Answer, that you think a brief *Specimen* upon some few Pages of the beginning of my Letter, sufficient to confute all I have said in it, do yet spend the better Part of two Pages on this; which if I had been mistaken in, it had been of no great Consequence; of which I see no other Use you have, but to cast on me some civil Reflections of your Fashion, and fix on me the Imputation of Fiction, meer Fiction; a Compliment which I shall not return you, though you say, "USING FORCE IN MATTERS OF RELIGION, are my Words, not your's. Whether they are your Words or not, let p. 78. of your former Letter decide, where you own your self to say, that The Magistrate has a Right to use Force in Matters of Religion. So that this, as I take it, is a *Specimen* of your being very positive in a Mistake, and about a plain Matter of Fact, about an Action of your own, and so will scarce prove a *Specimen* of the Answerableness of all I say in my Letter, unless we must allow that Truth and Falshood are equally answerable, when you declare against either of them.

The next part of your *Specimen* we have, p. 4. 5. where you tell me that I undertake to prove, that "If upon your Grounds the Magistrate be obliged to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion; it will necessarily follow, that every Magistrate, who believes his Religion to be true, is obliged to use Force to bring Men to his.

Now because this Undertaking is so necessary for me; and my whole Cause seems to depend upon the Success of it: You shall the more carefully consider how well I perform it. But before you do this, it will be fit to let me know, in what Sense you grant my Inference, and in what Sense you deny it. Now that every Magistrate, who upon just and sufficient Grounds believes his Religion to be true, is obliged to use some moderate Penalties (which is all the Force you ever contended for) to bring Men to his Religion, you freely grant; because that must needs be the True Religion; since no other can, upon such Grounds, be believed to be true. But that any Magistrate, who upon weak and deceitful Grounds, believes a false Religion to be true (and he can never do it upon better Grounds) is obliged to use the same (or any other) means, to bring Men to his Religion, this you flatly deny; nor can it by any Rules of Reasoning, be inferred from what you assert.

Here you tell me you grant my Inference in this Sense, viz. That every Magistrate, who upon just and sufficient Grounds believes his Religion to be true, is bound to use Force to bring Men to it.

Here you grant that every Magistrate, without knowing that his Religion is true, is oblig'd, upon his believing it to be true, to use Force to bring Men to it; indeed you add, who believes it to be true upon just and sufficient Grounds. So you have got a Distinction, and that always sets off a Disputant, though many times it is of no Use to his Argument. For here let me ask you who must be Judge, whether the Grounds, upon which he believes his Religion to be true, be just and sufficient? Must the Magistrate himself judge for himself, or must you judge for him? A third Competitor in this Judgment I know not where you will find for your Turn. If every Magistrate must judge for himself, whether the Grounds upon which he believes his Religion to be true, are just and sufficient Grounds, your Limitation of the Use of Force to such only as believe upon just and sufficient Grounds, bating that it is an Ornament to your Stile and Learning, might have been spared, since it leaves my Inference untouch'd in the full Latitude I have express'd it concerning every Magistrate, there not being any one Magistrate excluded thereby from an Obligation to use Force to bring Men to his own Religion by this your Distinction. For if every Magistrate, who upon just and sufficient Grounds believes his Religion to be true, be obliged to use Force to bring Men to his Religion, and every Magistrate be himself Judge, whether the Grounds he believes upon, be just and sufficient; it is visible every Magistrate is obliged to use Force to bring Men to his Religion; since any one, who believes any Religion to be true, cannot but judge the Grounds, upon which he believes it to be true, are just and sufficient; for if he judged otherwise, he could not then believe it to be true. If you say, you must judge for the Magistrate, then what you grant is this, That every Magistrate who upon Grounds that you judge to be just and sufficient, believes his Religion to be true, is obliged to use Force to bring Men to his Religion. If this be your Meaning, as it seems not much remote from it, you will do well to speak it out, that the Magistrates of the World may know who to have recourse to in the Difficulty you put upon them, in declaring them under an Obligation to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion; which they can neither certainly know, nor must venture to use Force to bring Men to, upon their own Persuasion of the Truth of it, when they have nothing but one of these two (viz.) Knowledge, or Belief that the Religion they promote is true, to determine them. Necessity has at last (unless you would have the Magistrate act in the Dark, and use his Force wholly at random) prevailed on you to grant that the Magistrate may use Force to bring Men to that Religion which he believes to be true; but say you, his Belief must be upon just and sufficient Grounds. The same Necessity remaining still, must prevail with you to go one Step farther, and tell me whether the Magistrate himself must be Judge, Whether the Grounds upon which he believes his Religion to be true, be just and sufficient, or whether you are to be Judge for him? If you say the first, my Inference stands good, and this Question, I think, is yielded, and at an end. If you say you are to be Judge for the Magistrates, I shall congratulate to the Magistrates of the World the Way you have found out for them to acquit themselves of their Duty, if you will

will but please to publish it, that they may know where to find you; for in truth, Sir, I prefer you, in this Case, to the Pope; though you know that old Gentleman at Rome has long since laid Claim to all Decisions of this Kind, and alledges Infallibility for the Support of his Title; which indeed will scarce be able to stand at Rome, or any where else, without the Help of Infallibility. But of this perhaps more in the next Paragraph.

You go on with your *Specimen* in your next Paragraph, p. 5. which I shall crave Leave of my Reader to set down at large, it being a most exact and studied Piece of artificial Fencing, wherein, under the Cover of good Words, and the Appearance of nice Thinking, nothing is said; and therefore may deserve to be kept not as a *Specimen* of your Answering, for, as we shall see, you answer nothing, but as a *Specimen* of your Skill in seeming to say something where you have nothing to answer. You tell me that I say, p. 2. that "I suppose that you will grant me (*what he must be a hard Man indeed that will not grant*) that any thing laid upon the Magistrate as a Duty, is some Way or other practicable. Now the Magistrate being obliged to use Force in Matters of Religion, but yet so as to bring Men only to the true Religion, he will not be in any Capacity to perform this Part of his Duty, unless the Religion he is to promote, be what he can certainly know, or else what it is sufficient for him to believe to be the true: Either his Knowledge or his Opinion must point out that Religion to him, which he is by Force to promote." *Where, if by Knowing, or Knowledge, I mean the Effect of strict Demonstration; and by Believing or Opinion, any sort of Assent or Persuasion how slightly soever grounded: Then you must deny the Sufficiency of my Division; because there is a third Sort or Degree of Persuasion which though not grounded upon strict Demonstration; yet in Firmness and Stability, does far exceed that which is built upon slight Appearances of Probability; being grounded upon such clear and solid Proof, as leaves no reasonable Doubt in an attentive and unbiassed Mind: So that it approaches very near to that which is produced by Demonstration, and is therefore as it respects Religion, very frequently and familiarly called in Scripture not Faith or Belief only, but Knowledge, and in divers places full Assurance; as might easily be shewn, if that were needful. Now this kind of Persuasion, this Knowledge, this full Assurance Men may, and ought to have of the true Religion: But they can never have it of a false one. And this it is that must point out that Religion to the Magistrate, which he is to promote by the Method you contend for.*

Here the first thing you do, is to pretend an Uncertainty of what I mean by *Knowing or Knowledge, and by Believing or Opinion*. First, As to Knowledge, I have said *certainly know*. I have called it *Vision, Knowledge and Certainty, Knowledge properly so called*. And for Believing or Opinion, I speak of *Believing with Assurance*, and say, that Believing in the highest Degree of Assurance is not Knowledge. That whatever is not capable of Demonstration, is not, unless it be self-evident, capable to produce Knowledge, how well grounded and great soever the Assurance of Faith may be wherewith it is received. That I grant, that a strong Assurance of any Truth, settled upon prevalent and well-grounded Arguments of Probability, is often called Knowledge in popular Ways of Talking; but being here to distinguish between Knowledge and Belief, to what Degrees of Confidence soever raised, their Boundaries must be kept, and their Names not confounded, with more to the same Purpose. P. 2, 3 and 4. whereby it is so plain, that by Knowledge I mean the Effect of strict Demonstration; and by Believing or Opinion, I mean any Degree of Persuasion even to the highest Degree of Assurance; that I challenge you your self to set it down in plainer and more express Terms. But no Body can blame you for not finding your Adversary's Meaning, let it be ever so plain, when you can find nothing to answer to it. The Reason therefore which you alledge for the denying the Sufficiency of my Division, is no Reason at all. Your pretended Reason is because there is a third sort or Degree of Persuasion; which, though not grounded upon strict Demonstration; yet in Firmness and Stability does far exceed that which is built upon slight Appearances of Probability, &c. Let it be so, that there is a Degree of Persuasion not grounded upon strict Demonstration, far exceeding that which is built upon slight Appearances of Probability. But let me ask you what

what Reason can this be to deny the Sufficiency of my Division, because there is, as you say, a third Sort or Degree of Persuasion, when even that which you call this third Sort or Degree of Persuasion is contained in my Division? This is a *Specimen* indeed, not of answering what I have said, but of not answering; and for such I leave it to the Reader. *A Degree of Persuasion, though not grounded on strict Demonstration, yet in Firmness and Stability far exceeding that which is built upon slight Appearances of Probability, you call here a third Sort or Degree of Persuasion.* Pray tell me which are the two other Sorts; for Knowledge upon strict Demonstration, is not Belief or Persuasion, but wholly above it. Besides, if the Degrees of *Firmness in Persuasion* make different *Sorts of Persuasion*, there are not only three, but three hundred *Sorts of Persuasion*; and therefore the naming of your third Sort was with little Ground, and to no purpose or Tendency to an Answer; though the drawing in something like a Distinction be always to the Purpose of a Man who hath nothing to answer, it giving Occasion for the Use of many good Words; which, tho' nothing to the Point, serve to cover the Disputant's saying nothing under the Appearance of Learning, to those who will not be at the Pains to examine what he says.

You say, *Every Magistrate is by the Law of Nature under an Obligation to use Force to bring Men to the True Religion.* To this I urge, that the Magistrate hath nothing else to determine him in the Use of Force, for Promotion of any Religion one before another, but only his own Belief or Persuasion of the Truth of it. Here you had nothing to do, but fairly to grant or deny; but instead thereof you first raise a groundless Doubt, as I have shewn, about my Meaning, whereof there could be no Doubt at all to any one who would but read what I had said; and thereupon having got a Pretence for a Distinction, you solemnly tell the World *there is a third Sort of Persuasion, which, though not grounded on strict Demonstration; yet in Firmness and Stability, does far exceed that which is built upon slight Appearances of Probability, leaving no Doubt, approaching near to Knowledge, being full Assurance.* Well, the Magistrate hath a *Persuasion of Firmness and Stability, has full Assurance*; must he be determin'd by this his *full Assurance* in the promoting of that Religion by Force, of whose Truth he is in so high a Degree of Persuasion so fully assured? No, say you, *it must be grounded upon such clear and solid Proof as leaves no reasonable Doubt in an attentive and unbiass'd Mind.* To which the Magistrate is ready to reply, that he, upon his Grounds, can see no reasonable Doubt, and that his is an attentive and unbiass'd Mind, of all which he himself is to be Judge, 'till you can produce your Authority to judge for him; though, in the Conclusion, you actually make your self Judge for him. 'Tis *such a Kind of Persuasion, such a full Assurance must point out to the Magistrate that Religion he is to promote by Force, which can never be had but of the true Religion*: Which is in effect, as every one may see, the Religion that you judge to be true, and not the Religion the Magistrate judges to be true. For pray tell me, must the Magistrate's full Assurance point out to him the Religion which he is by Force to promote, or must he by Force promote a Religion, of whose Truth he hath no Belief, no Assurance at all? If you say the first of these, you grant that every Magistrate must use Force to promote his own Religion, for that is the Religion whereof he has so full Assurance, that he ventures his eternal State upon it. Ay, say you, that is for Want of *Attention*, and because he is not *unbiass'd*. 'Tis like he will say the same of you, and then you are quits. And that he should by Force promote that Religion which he believes not to be true, is so absurd, that I think you can neither expect it, nor bring your self to say it. Neither of these therefore being Answers that you can make use of, that which lies at the Bottom, though you give it but covertly, is this, That the Magistrate ought by Force to promote the Religion that you believe with full Assurance to be true. This would do admirably well for your Purpose, were not the Magistrate intitled to ask, who made you a Judge for him in the Case? And ready to retort your own Words upon you, that 'tis Want of *Attention* and *Unbiassedness* in you, that puts your Religion past Doubt with you upon your Proofs of it. Try when you please with a *Bramin, a Mahometan, a Papist, Lutheran, Quaker, Anabaptist, Presbyterian,*

Presbyterians, &c. you will find if you argue with them, as you do here with me, that the Matter will rest here between you, and that you are no more a Judge for any of them than they are for you. Men in all Religions have equally strong Persuasions, and every one must judge for himself; nor can any one judge for another, and you last of all for the Magistrate, that the Ground you build upon, that *Firmness and Stability of Persuasion in the highest Degree of Assurance leaves no Doubt, can never be had of a false Religion* being false, all your Talk of full Assurance, pointing out to the Magistrate the true Religion that he is obliged by Force to promote, amounts to no more but his own Religion, and can point out no other to him.

However, in the next Paragraph you go on with your *Specimen*, and tell me, *Hence appears the Impertinency of all I discourse, p. 2, 3, 4. concerning the Difference between Faith and Knowledge: Where the thing I was concern'd to make out, if I would speak to the Purpose, was no other but this, That "there are as clear and solid Grounds for the Belief of False Religions, as there are for the Belief of the True: Or, that Men may both as firmly and as rationally believe and embrace False Religions as they can the True."* This, you confess, is a Point, which, you say, when I have well cleared and established it, will do my business, but nothing else will. And therefore my Talk of Faith and Knowledge, however it may amuse such as are prone to admire all that I say, will never enable me, before better Judges, from the Duty of every Magistrate to use moderate Penalties for promoting the true Religion, to infer the same Obligation to lie upon every Magistrate in respect to his Religion, whatever it be.

Where the Impertinency lies will be seen, when 'tis remember'd, that the Question between us is not what Religion has the most clear and solid Grounds for the Belief of it, much less whether *there are as clear and solid Grounds for the Belief of False Religions, as there are for the Belief of the True*, i. e. whether Falshood has as much Truth in it as Truth it self? A Question, which, I guess, no Man, but one of your great Pertinency could ever have propos'd. But the Question here between you and me, is what must point out to the Magistrate that Religion which he is by Force to promote, that so he may be able to perform the Duty that you pretend is incumbent on him by the Law of Nature; and here I prov'd, that having no certain demonstrative Knowledge of the true Religion, all that was left him to determine him in the Application of Force (which you make the proper Instrument of promoting the true Religion) for the promoting the true Religion, which was only his Persuasion, Belief, or Assurance of the true Religion, which was always his own; and so in this State, the Religion, which by Force the Magistrates of the World must of necessity promote, must be either their own, or none at all. Thus the Argument standing between us, I am apt to think the World may be of Opinion, that it had been pertinent to your Cause to have answer'd my Argument, if you had any thing to answer; which since you have not done, this *Specimen* also of the Facility, wherewith you can answer all I have said in the third Letter, may be joyn'd to the former, and be a *Specimen* of something else than what you intended it. For in truth, Sir, the endeavouring to set up a new Question absurd in it self, and nothing at all to the Purpose, without offering any thing to clear the Difficulty you were press'd with, will to understanding Readers appear pertinent in one that sets himself up for an arrant Drawcansir, and is giving *Specimens* of himself, that nothing can stand in his way.

'Tis with the same Pertinency that to this Proposition, *That there are as clear and solid Grounds for the Belief of a False Religion as there are for the Belief of the True*, you join this following as an equivalent, *Or that Men may both as firmly and as rationally believe and embrace False Religions as they can the True*; and you would fain have it thought that your Cause is gain'd, unless I will maintain these two absurd Propositions, which my Argument has nothing to do with. And you seem to me to build upon these two false Propositions.

I. That in the want of Knowledge and Certainty, of which is the true Religion, nothing is fit to set the Magistrate upon doing his Duty in employing of Force to make Men consider and embrace the true Religion, but the highest Persuasion and full Assurance of its Truth. Whereas his own Persuasion

suasion of the Truth of his own Religion, in what degree soever it be, so he believes it to be true, will, if he thinks it his Duty by Force to promote the true, be sufficient to set him on Work. Nor can it be otherwise, since his own Persuasion of his own Religion, which he judges so well grounded as to venture his future State upon it, cannot but be sufficient to set him upon doing what he takes to be his Duty in bringing others to the same Religion.

II. Another false Supposition you build upon is this, that the true Religion is always embrac'd with the firmest Assent. There is scarce any one so little acquainted with the World, that hath not met with Instances of Men most unmoveably confident, and fully assur'd in a Religion which was not the true. Nor is there among the many absurd Religions of the World, almost any one that does not find Votaries to lay down their Lives for it; and if that be not *firm Persuasion* and *full Assurance* that is stronger than the Love of Life, and has Force enough to make a Man throw himself into the Arms of Death, it is hard to know what is *firm Persuasion* and *full Assurance*. *Jews* and *Mahometans* have frequently given Instances of this highest Degree of Persuasion. And the *Bramins* Religion in the East is entertain'd by its Followers with no less Assurance of its Truth, since it is not unusual for some of them to throw themselves under the Wheels of a mighty Chariot, wherein they on solemn Days draw the Image of their God about in Procession, there to be crush'd to Death, and sacrifice their Lives in Honour of the God they believe in. If it be objected, that those are Examples of mean and common Men; but the great Men of the World, and the Heads of Societies, do not so easily give themselves up to a confirm'd Bigotry: I answer, The Persuasion they have of the Truth of their own Religion, is visibly strong enough to make them venture themselves, and use Force to others upon the Belief of it. Princes are made like other Men, believe upon the like Grounds that other Men do, and act as warmly upon that Belief, though the Grounds of their Persuasion be in themselves not very clear, or may appear to others to be not of the utmost Solidity. Men act by the Strength of their Persuasion, though they do not always place their Persuasion and Assent on that side, on which in reality the Strength of Truth lies. Reasons that are not thought of, not heard of, not rightly apprehended, nor duly weighed, make no Impression on the Mind: And Truth, how richly soever stor'd with them, may not be assented to, but lie neglected. The only Difference between Princes and other Men herein, is this, that Princes are usually more positive in Matters of Religion, but less instructed. The Softness and Pleasures of a Court, to which they are usually abandon'd when young, and Affairs of State which wholly possess them when grown up, seldom allow any of them time to consider and examine that they may embrace the true Religion. And here your Scheme, upon your own Supposition, has a fundamental Error that over-turns it. For you affirming that Force, your way apply'd, is the *necessary* and *competent Means* to bring Men to the true Religion, you leave Magistrates destitute of these necessary and competent Means of being brought to the true Religion, tho' that be the readiest way, in your Scheme the only way, to bring other Men to it, and is contended for by you as the only Method.

But farther, you will perhaps be ready to reply, that you do not say barely, that Men may not as firmly, but that they cannot as firmly and as rationally believe and embrace false Religions as they can the true. This, be it as true as it will, is of no manner of Advantage to your Cause. For here the Question, necessary to be consider'd in your way of arguing returns upon you, who must be the Judge whether the Magistrate believes and embraces his Religion rationally or no? If he himself be Judge, then he does act rationally, and it must have the same Operation on him, as if it were the most rational in the World: If you must be Judge for him, whether his Belief be rational or no, why may not others judge for him as well as you: Or at least he judge for you, as well as you for him; at least till you have produc'd your Patent of Infallibility and Commission of Superintendency over the Belief of the Magistrates of the Earth, and shewn the Commission whereby you are appointed the Director of the Magistrates of the World in their Belief, which is or is not the true Religion; do not think

think this said without Cause, your whole Discourse here has no other Tendency, but the making your self Judge of what Religion should be promoted by the Magistrate's Force; which, let me tell you by the way, every warm Zealot in any Religion, has as much a Right to be as you. I beseech you tell me, are you not *persuaded*, nay, *fully assured*, that the Church of *England* is in the right, and all that dissent from Her are in the Wrong? Why else would you have Force us'd to make them consider and conform? If then the Religion of the Church of *England* be, as you are *fully assured*, the only true Religion, and the Magistrate must ground his Persuasion of the Truth of his Religion, on such clear and solid Proofs as the true Religion alone has, and no false one can have, and by that Persuasion the Magistrate must be directed in the Use of Force (for all this in Effect, you say, in the sixth and beginning of the seventh Pages) what is this but covertly to say, that it is the Duty of all Magistrates to use Force to bring Men to embrace the Religion of the Church of *England*? Which since it plainly follows from your Doctrine, and I think you cannot deny to be your Opinion, and what in effect you contend for, you will do well to speak it out in plain Words, and then there will need no more to be said in the Question.

And now I desire it may be consider'd, what Advantage this Supposition of Force, which is suppos'd put into the Magistrate's Hands by the Law of Nature to be us'd in Religion, brings to the true Religion, which must unavoidably in the State of things in the World act against it, for one that uses Force for it. I say, that this Use of Force in the Magistrate's Hand is barely suppos'd by you from the Benefit it is like to produce; but it being Demonstration, that the Prejudice that will accrue to the true Religion from such a Use of Force, is five hundred times more than the Advantages can be expected from it, the natural and unavoidable Inference from your own ground of Benefit, is, that God never gave any such Power to the Magistrate; and there it will rest till you can, by some better Argument prove the Magistrate to have such a Power; To which give me leave to add one Word more.

You say the Magistrate is obliged by the Law of Nature to use Force to promote the true Religion; must he stand still and do nothing till he certainly know which is the true Religion? If so, the Commission is lost, and he can never do his Duty; for to certain Knowledge of the true Religion he can in this World never arrive. May he then act upon *firm Perswasion and full Assurance, grounded upon such clear and solid Proofs as the true Religion alone has, and no false one can have*? And then indeed you have distinguish'd your self into a safe Retreat. For who can doubt but your *third sort or degree of Perswasion*, if that be your Meaning, will determine the Magistrate to the true Religion, when it is grounded on those which are the Proofs only of the true Religion, which if it be all that you intend by your *full Assurance* (which is the Title you give to this your *third sort or degree of Perswasion*) I must desire you to apply this in Answer to my Argument. I say, Magistrates in general have nothing to determine them in their Application of Force but their own Perswasion; and your Answer is, the Magistrates of the true Religion have their own Perswasion to determine them; but of all the other Magistrates, which are above an hundred, I might say a thousand to one, you say nothing at all; and thus, by the Help of a Distinction, the Question is resolved. I say the Magistrates are not in a Capacity to perform their Duty, if they be oblig'd to use Force to promote the true Religion, since they have nothing to determine them but their own Perswasion of the Truth of any Religion; which, in the Variety of Religions which the Magistrates of the World have embrac'd, cannot direct them to the true. Yes, say you, their Perswasion, who have embrac'd the true Religion, will direct them to the true Religion. Which amounts at last to no more but this, That the Magistrate that is in the right is in the right. A very true Proposition without doubt; but whether it removes the Difficulty I propos'd any better than begging the Question, you were best consider. There are five hundred Magistrates of false Religions for one that is of the true; I speak much within Compass; 'tis a Duty incumbent on them all, say you, to use Force to bring Men to the true Religion. My Question is, how can this be compass'd by Men who are unavoidably determin'd by the Perswasion of the Truth of their own Religion? 'Tis answer'd,

they who are of the true Religion will perform their Duty. A great Advantage surely to true Religion, and worth the contending for, that it should be the Magistrate's Duty to use Force for promoting the true Religion, when in the State of things that is at present in the World, and always hitherto has been, one Magistrate in five hundred will use Force to promote the true Religion, and the other four hundred ninety nine to promote false ones.

But perhaps you will tell me, That you do not allow that Magistrates, who are of false Religions, should be determin'd by their own Persuasions, which are *built upon slight Appearances of Probability*; but such as are *grounded upon clear and solid Proofs*, which the true Religion alone has. In Answer to this, I ask, Who must be Judge whether his Persuasion be grounded on clear and solid Proofs, the Magistrate himself, or you for him? If the Magistrate himself, then we are but where we were; and all that you say here, with the Distinction that you have made about several sorts of Persuasion, serves only to lead us round about to the same place: For the Magistrate, of what Religion soever, must, notwithstanding all you have said, be determin'd by his own Persuasion. If you say you must be Judge of the Clearness and Solidity of the Proofs upon which the Magistrate grounds the Belief of his own Religion, it is time you should produce your Patent, and shew the Commission whereby you act.

There are other Qualifications you assign of the Proof, on which you tell us *your third sort or degree of Persuasion is grounded*; and that is *such as leaves no reasonable Doubt in an attentive and unbiass'd Mind*: Which unless you must be Judge what is a *reasonable Doubt*, and which is an *attentive and unbiass'd Mind*, will do you no manner of Service. If the Magistrate must be Judge for himself in this Case, you can have nothing to say to him; but if you must be Judge, then any Doubt about your Religion will be unreasonable, and his not embracing and promoting your Religion will be Want of Attention and an unbiass'd Mind. But let me tell you, give but the same Liberty of judging for the Magistrate of your Religion to the Men of another Religion, which they have as much Right to as you have to judge for the Magistrate of any other Religion in the Points mentioned, all this will return upon you. Go into *France* and try whether it be not so. So that your Plea for the Magistrate's using Force for promoting the true Religion, as you have stated it, gives as much Power and Authority to the King of *France* to use it against his dissenting Subjects, as to any other Prince in *Christendom* to use it against their's; name which you please.

The Fallacy in making it the Magistrate's Duty to promote by Force the only true Religion, lies in this, That you allow your self to suppose the Magistrate, who is of your Religion, to be well-grounded, attentive and unbiass'd, and fully and firmly assured that his Religion is true: but that other Magistrates of other Religions different from your's are not so; Which what is it but to erect your self into a State of Infallibility above all other Men of different Persuasions from your's, which yet they have as good a Title to as your self?

Having thus advanced your self into the Chair, and given your self the Power of deciding for all Men, which is, and which is not the true Religion, it is not to be wonder'd you so roundly pronounce *all my Discourse*, p. 2, 3, 4. *concerning the Difference between Faith and Knowledge to be Impertinency*; and so Magisterially to tell me, *That the thing I was there concern'd to make out, if I would speak to the Purpose, was no other but this, That there are as clear and as solid Grounds for the Belief of false Religions, as there are for Belief of the true: Or, that Men may both as firmly and as rationally believe and embrace false Religions as they can the true.*

The *Impertinency* in these two or three Pages I shall leave to shift for it self in the Judgment of any indifferent Reader; and will only, at present, examine what you tell *I was concern'd to make out if I would speak to the Purpose.*

My Business there was to prove, That the Magistrate being taught that it was his Duty to use Force to promote the true Religion, it would thence unavoidably follow, that not having Knowledge of the Truth of any Religion, but only Belief that it was true to determine him in his Application of

of Force, he would take himself in Duty bound to promote his own Religion by Force; and thereupon Force would inevitably be used to promote false Religions, upon those very Grounds upon which you pretend to make it serviceable only to the true: And this, I suppose, I have in those Pages evidently proved, though you think not fit to give any other Answer to what I there say, but that it is impertinent; and I should have proved something else, which you would have done well, by a plain and clear Deduction, to have shewn from my Words.

[The two following Leaves of the Copy are either lost or mislaid.]

After this new Invention of your's, of *answering by Specimen*, so happily found out for the Ease of your self and other Disputants of Renown, that shall please to follow it, I cannot presume you should take notice of any thing I have to say: You have assumed the Privilege, by shewing your Strength against one Argument, to pronounce all the rest baffled; and therefore to what Purpose is it to offer Difficulties to you, who can blow them all off with a Breath? But yet to apologize for my self to the World, for being of Opinion that it is not always from want of *Consideration, Attention, or being unbiass'd*, that Men with *Firmness of Persuasion* embrace, and with *full Assurance* adhere to the wrong Side in Matters of Religion; I shall take the Liberty to offer the famous Instance of the two *Raynolds*, Brothers, both Men of Learning and Parts; whereof the one being of the Church of *England*, and the other of the Church of *Rome*, they both desiring each other's Conversion to the Religion which he himself was of, that they writ to one another about it; and with such Appearance of solid and clear Grounds on both Sides, that they were wrought upon by them: Each chang'd his Religion, and that with so *firm a Persuasion*, and *full an Assurance* of the Truth of that which he turn'd to; that no Endeavours or Arguments of either of them could ever after move the other, or bring him back from what he had persuaded him to. If now I should ask to which of these two, *full Assurance* pointed out the true Religion? You no doubt, if you would answer at all, would say, To him that embrac'd that of the Church of *England*, and a Papist would say the other: But if an indifferent Man were ask'd whether this *full Assurance* was sufficient to point out the true Religion to either of them, he must answer, No; for if it were, they must necessarily have been both of the same Religion.

To sum up then what you answer to my saying, "It cannot be the Magistrate's Duty to use Force to promote the true Religion, because he is not in a Capacity to perform that Duty; for not having a certain Knowledge, but only his own Persuasion to point out to him which is the true Religion, if he be satisfied 'tis his Duty to use Force to promote the true Religion, it will inevitably follow, that he must always use it to promote his own." To which you answer, That a Persuasion of a low Degree is not sufficient to point out that Religion to the Magistrate which he is to promote by Force; but that a *Firmness and Stability of Persuasion, a full Assurance is that which is to point out to the Magistrate that Religion which he is by Force to promote*. Where, if by *Firmness and Stability of Persuasion and full Assurance*, you mean what the Words import, 'tis plain you confess the Magistrate's Duty is to promote his own Religion by Force; for that is the Religion which his *firm Persuasion* and *full Assurance* points out to him. If by *full Assurance* you mean any thing but the Strength of Persuasion, you contradict all that you have said about *Firmness and Stability, and Degrees of Persuasion*; and having in that Sense allow'd the Sufficiency of my Division, where I say, "Knowledge or Opinion must point out that Religion to him, which he is by Force to promote;" retract it again, and instead thereof under the Name of *full Assurance*, you substitute and put in *true Religion*, and so *Firmness of Persuasion* is in effect laid by, and nothing but the Name made use of: For pray tell me, Is *Firmness of Persuasion*, or being of the true Religion, either of them by it self, sufficient to point out to the Magistrate that Religion which it is his Duty to promote by Force? For they do not always go together. If being of the true Religion by it self may do

it, your mentioning Firmness of Persuasion, grounded on solid Proof that leaves no Doubt, is to no Purpose, but to mislead your Reason; for every one that is of the true Religion, does not arrive at that high Degree of Persuasion, that *full Assurance*, which approaches that which is very near to that which is produced by Demonstration. And in this Sense of *full Assurance*, which you say Men may have of the true Religion, and can never have of a false one, your Answer amounts to this, That *full Assurance*, in him that embraces the true Religion, will point out the Religion he is by Force to promote: Where 'tis plain, that by *Fulness of Assurance* you do mean not the Firmness of his Persuasion that points out to him the Religion which he is by Force to promote (for any lower Degree of Persuasion to him that embraces the true Religion would do it as certainly; and to one that embraces not the true Religion, the highest Degree of Persuasion would even in your Opinion do nothing at all) but his being of the true Religion, is that which alone guides him to his Duty of promoting the true Religion by Force. So that to my Question, how shall a Magistrate, who is persuaded that it is his, and every Magistrate's Duty to promote the true Religion by Force, be determin'd in his Use of Force? You seem to say his *firm Persuasion* or *full Assurance* of the Truth of the Religion he so promotes must determine him; and presently, in other Words, you seem to lay the Stress upon his actually being of the true Religion. The first of these Answers is not true; for I have shewn, that Firmness of Persuasion may and does point out to Magistrates false Religions as well as the true: And the second is much what the same, as if to one, who should ask what should enable a Man to find the right Way who knows it not, it should be answered, the being in it. One of these must be your Meaning, (choose which you please of them) if you have any Meaning at all in your sixth, and Beginning of the seventh Page, to which I refer the Reader; where, if he find nothing else, he cannot fail to find a *Specimen* of School-play, of talking uncertainly in the utmost Perfection, nicely and artificially worded, that it may serve for a *Specimen* of a Master-piece in that Kind, but a *Specimen* of the Answerableness of my Letter will require, as I imagine, a little more plain Dealing. And to satisfy Readers, that have not attain'd to the Admiration of skilfully saying nothing; you must directly inform them, whether Firmness of Persuasion be or be not sufficient in a Magistrate to enable him to do his Duty in promoting the true Religion by Force, or else this you have pitch'd on will scarce be a Sample of the Answerableness of all I have said.

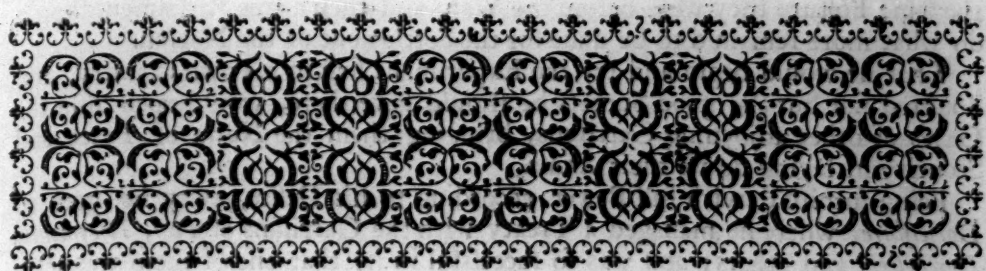
But you stand positive in it, and that is like a Master, that it cannot be inferr'd from the Magistrate's being obliged to promote by Force the true Religion, that every Magistrate is obliged to promote by Force his own Religion. And that for the same Reason you had given before, more perplex'd and obscurely, *viz.* *Because there is this perpetual Advantage on the Side of the true Religion, that it may and ought to be believed on clear and solid Grounds, such as will appear the more so, the more they are examined: Whereas no other Religion can be believed so, but upon such Appearances only as will not bear a just Examination.*

This would be an Answer to what I have said, if it were so that all Magistrates saw the Preponderancy of the Grounds of Belief, which are on the Side of the true Religion; but since it is not the Grounds and Reasons of a Truth that are not seen, that do or can set the Magistrate upon doing his Duty in the Case; but 'tis the Persuasion of the Mind, produc'd by such Reasons and Grounds as do affect it, that alone does, or is capable, to determine the Magistrate in the Use of Force, for performing of his Duty; it necessarily follows, that if two Magistrates have equally strong Persuasions concerning the Truth of their Religions respectively, they must both be set on work thereby, or neither; for though one be of a false, and the other of the true Religion; yet the Principle of Operation, that alone which they have to determine them, being equal in both, they must both be determined by it; unless it can be said, that one of them must act according to that Principle, which alone can determine, and the other must act against it; that is, do what he cannot do; be determined to one thing, by what at the same time determines him to another. From which Incapacity in Magistrates

gistrates to perform their Duty by Force to promote the true Religion, I think it may justly be concluded, that to use Force for the promoting any Religion, cannot be their Duty.

You tell us, 'tis by the Law of Nature Magistrates are obliged to promote the true Religion by Force. It must be own'd, that if this be an Obligation of the Law of Nature, very few Magistrates over-look it, so forward are they to promote that Religion by Force which they take to be true. This being the Case, I beseech you tell me what was *Huaina Capac*, Emperor of Peru oblig'd to do? Who, being persuaded of his Duty to promote the true Religion, was not yet within distance of knowing or so much as hearing of the Christian Religion, which really is the true, (so far was he from a Possibility to have his Belief grounded upon the solid and clear Proofs of the true Religion.) Was he to promote the true Religion by Force? That he neither did nor could know any thing of, so that That was morally impossible for him to do. Was he to sit still in the Neglect of his Duty incumbent on him? That is in effect to suppose it a Duty and no Duty at the same time. If upon his not knowing which is the true Religion, you allow it his Duty to promote it by Force, the Question is at an End: You and I are agreed, that it is not the Magistrate's Duty by Force to promote the true Religion. If you hold it in that Case to be his Duty: What remains for him to do, but to use Force to promote that Religion which he himself is strongly, nay perhaps to the highest Degree of Firmness, persuaded is the true? Which is the granting what I contend for, that, if the Magistrate be obliged to promote by Force the true Religion, it will thence follow, That he is obliged to promote by Force that Religion which he is persuaded is the true; since, as you will have it, Force was given him to that End, and it is his Duty to use it, and he hath nothing else to determine it to that End but his own Persuasion. So that one of these two Things must follow, either That in that Case it ceases to be his Duty, or else he must promote his own Religion; choose you which you please * * *





MEMOIRS

Relating to the

L I F E

O F

Anthony First E A R L of Shaftsbury.

To which are added,

Three L E T T E R S writ by the E. of *Shaftsbury* while Prisoner in the *Tower*; one to King *Charles II*; another to the Duke of *York*; and a third to a Noble Lord: Found with Mr. *Locke's* M E M O I R S, &c.



BEING at *Oxford* in the beginning of the Civil War, (for he was on that Side as long as he had any Hopes to serve his Country there) he was brought one Day to King *Charles I.* by the Lord *Falkland* his Friend, then Secretary of State, and presented to him as having something to offer to his Majesty worth his Consideration. At this Audience he told the King that he thought he could put an End to the War if his Majesty pleased, and would assist him in it. The King answer'd, that he was a very young Man for so great an Undertaking. Sir, reply'd he, that will not be the worse for your Affairs, provided I do the Business; whereupon the King shewing a Willingness to hear him, he discoursed to him to this Purpose.

The Gentlemen and Men of Estates, who first engag'd in this War, seeing now after a Year or two that it seems to be no nearer the End than it was at first, and beginning to be weary of it, I am very well satisfied, would be glad to be at Quiet at Home again, if they could be assur'd of a Redress of their Grievances, and have their Rights and Liberties secur'd to them. This I am satisfied is the present Temper generally through all *England*, and particularly in those Parts where my Estate and Concerns lie; if therefore your Majesty will impower me to treat with the Parliament-Garrisons to grant them a full and general Pardon, with an Assurance that a general
Amnesty

Amnesty (Arms being laid down on both Sides) should reinstate all things in the same Posture they were before the War, and then a free Parliament should do what more remain'd to be done for the Settlement of the Nation.

That he would begin and try the Experiment first in his own Country, and doubted not but the good Success he should have there, would open him the Gates of other adjoining Garrisons, bringing them the News of Peace and Security in laying down their Arms.

Being furnish'd with full Power according to his Desire, away he goes to *Dorsetshire*, where he managed a Treaty with the Garrisons of *Pool*, *Weymouth*, *Dorchester*, and others; and was so successful in it, that one of them was actually put into his Hands, as the other were to have been some few Days after. But Prince *Maurice*, who commanded some of the King's Forces, being with his Army then in those Parts, no sooner heard that the Town was surrender'd, but he presently march'd into it, and gave the Pillage of it to his Soldiers. This Sir *A.* saw with the utmost Displeasure, and could not forbear to express his Resentments to the Prince; so that there pass'd some pretty hot Words between them; but the Violence was committed, and thereby his Design broken. All that he could do was, that he sent to the other Garrisons, he was in Treaty with, to stand upon their Guard, for that he could not secure his Articles to them, and so this Design prov'd abortive and died in Silence.

This Project of his for putting an End to a Civil War, which had sufficiently harass'd the Kingdom, and no Body could tell what fatal Consequences it might have, being thus frustrated, it was not long before his active Thoughts, always intent upon saving his Country (the Good of that being that by which he steer'd his Counsels and Actions through the whole Course of his Life) it was not long before he set his Head upon framing another Design to the same Purpose. The first Project of it took its Rise in a Debate between him and Serjeant *Fountain* in an Inn at *Hungerford*, where they accidentally met, and both disliking the Continuance of the War, and deploring the Ruin it threaten'd, it was started between them, that the Countries all through *England*, should arm and endeavour to suppress the Armies on both Sides. This Proposal, which, in one Night's Debate, look'd more like a well-meant Wish than a form'd Design, he afterwards consider'd more at leisure, framed and fashioned into a well-order'd and practical Contrivance, and never left working in it 'till he had brought most of the sober and well-intention'd Gentlemen of both Sides all through *England* into it. This was that which gave Rise to that third Sort of Army, which of a sudden started up in several Parts of *England*, with so much Terror to the Armies both of King and Parliament, and had not some of those who had engag'd in it, and had undertaken to rise at the Time appointed, fail'd, the *Clubmen*, for so they were called, had been strong enough to carry their Point, which was to make both Sides lay down their Arms, and if they would not do it, to force them to it; to declare for a general Amnesty, to have the then Parliament dissolv'd, and to have a new one call'd for redressing the Grievances, and settling the Nation. This Undertaking was not a Romantick Fancy, but had very promising Grounds of Success; for the Yeomanry and Body of the People had suffer'd already very much by the War, and the Gentry and Men of Estates had abated much of their Fierceness, and wish'd to return to their former Ease, Security and Plenty, especially perceiving that the Game, particularly on the King's Side, began to be play'd out of their Hands, and that it was the Soldiers of Fortune who were best look'd upon at Court, and had the Commands and Power put into their Hands.

He had been for some time before in *Dorsetshire*, forming and combining the Parts of this great Machine, till at length he got it to begin to move. But those, who had been forward to enter into the Design, not being so vigorous and resolute, when the time was to appear and act; and the Court, who had learnt or suspected that it had its Rise and Life from him, having so strict an Eye upon him that he could not maintain Correspondence with distant Countries, and animate the several Parts as it was necessary, before it was his time to stir, He receiv'd a very civil and more than ordinary Letter from

from the King to come to him at *Oxford*; but he wanted not Friends there to inform him of the Danger it would be to him to appear there, and to confirm him in the Suspicion that the King's Letter put him in, that there was something else meant him, and not so much Kindness as that expressed. Besides, the Lord *Goring*, who lay with an Army in those parts, had Orders from Court to seize him, and had civilly sent him Word, that he would come such a Day and dine with him. All this together made him see that he could be no longer safe at home, nor in the King's Quarters; he therefore went, whither he was driven, into the Parliament Quarters, and took Shelter in *Portsmouth*. Thus, for endeavouring to save his King and Country, he was banish'd from the Side he had chosen. And the Court, that was then in high Hopes of nothing less than perfect Conquest, and being Masters of all, had a great Aversion to moderate Counsels, and to those of the Nobility and Gentry of their Party, who were Authors or Favourers of any such Proposals as might bring Things to a Composition. Such Well-wishers to their Country, though they had spent much, and ventur'd all on the King's Side, when they appear'd for any other End of the War but Dint of Arms, and a total Reduction of the Parliament by Force, were counted Enemies; and any Contrivance carried on to that End was interpreted Treason.

A Person of his Consideration thus rejected and cast off by the King, and taking Sanctuary with them, was receiv'd by the Parliament with open Arms; and though he came in from the other Side, and put himself into their Hands without any Terms; yet there were those among them that so well knew his Worth, and what Value they ought to put upon it, that he was soon after offer'd considerable Employments under them, and was actually trusted with Command, without so much as ever being question'd concerning what he knew of Persons or Counsels on the other Side, where they knew that his great Penetration and forward Mind, would not let him live in Ignorance among the great Men who were most of them his Friends, and all his Acquaintance.

But though he was not suffer'd to stay among those with whom he had embark'd, and had liv'd in Confidence with, and was forc'd to go over to the Parliament, he carried thither himself only, and nothing of any Body's else; he left them and all their Concerns, Actions, Purposes, Counsels perfectly behind him, and no Body of the King's Side could complain of him after the Day he went from his House, where he could be no longer safe, that he had any Memory of what he had known when one of them.

This Forgetfulness so becoming a Gentleman, and a Man of Honour, he had establish'd so firmly in his own Mind, that his Resolution to persist in it was like afterwards to cost him no little Trouble. Mr. *Denzil Hollis* (afterwards the Lord *Hollis*) had been one of the Commissioners employ'd by the Parliament in the Treaty at *Uxbridge*, he had there had some secret and separate Transactions with the King; this could not be kept so secret, but that it got some Vent, and some of the Parliament had some Notice of it. Mr. *Hollis* being afterwards attacked in Parliament by a contrary Party, there wanted nothing perfectly to ruin him, but some Witness to give Credit to such an Accusation against him. Sir *A. Ashley Cooper* they thought fit for their Purpose, they doubted not but he knew enough of it, and they made sure that he would not fail to embrace such a fair and unsought-for Opportunity of ruining Mr. *Hollis*, who had been long his Enemy upon a Family-Quarrel, which he had carried so far, as, by his Power in the House, to hinder him from sitting in the Parliament upon a fair Election for that Parliament. Upon this Presumption he was summon'd to the House, and being called in, was there asked, whether when he was at *Oxford* he knew not, or had not heard something concerning Mr. *Hollis's* secret Transaction with the King at the Treaty at *Uxbridge*. To this Question he told them he could answer nothing at all; for though possibly what he had to say would be to the clearing of Mr. *Hollis*; yet he could not allow himself to say any thing in the Case, since whatever answer he made, it would be a Confession that if he had known any thing to the Disadvantage of Mr. *Hollis*, he would have

taken that dishonourable Way of doing him a Prejudice, and wreak his Revenge on a Man that was his Enemy.

Those who had brought him there pressed him mightily to declare, but in vain, tho' Threats were added of sending him to the Tower. He persisting obstinately silent was bid to withdraw, and those who had depended upon his Discovery being defeated, and consequently very much displeas'd, mov'd warmly for his Commitment; of which he, waiting in the Lobby, having notice, unmov'd expected his Doom, tho' several of his Friends coming out, were earnest with him to satisfy the House; but he kept firm to his Resolution, and found Friends enough among the great Men of the Party that oppos'd Mr. *Hollis* to bring him off; who very much applauded the Generosity of his Carriage, and shew'd that Action so much to deserve the Commendation, rather than the Censure of that Assembly, that the angry Men were asham'd to insist farther on it, and so drop'd the Debate.

Some Days after Mr. *Hollis* came to his Lodging, and having in Terms of great Acknowledgment and Esteem express'd his Thanks for his late Behaviour in the House, with respect to him: He reply'd, That he pretended not thereby to merit any thing of him, or to lay an Obligation on him; that what he had done, was not out of any Consideration of him, but what was due to himself, and he should equally have done, had any other Man been concern'd in it, and therefore he was perfectly as much at liberty as before, to live with him as he pleas'd. But with all, that he was not so ignorant of Mr. *Hollis's* Worth, nor knew so little how to put a just Value on his Friendship, as not to receive it as a very great and sensible Favour, if he thought him a Person worthy on whom to bestow it. Mr. *Hollis*, not less taken with his Discourse than what had occasion'd it, gave him fresh and repeated Assurances of his sincere and hearty Friendship, which were receiv'd with suitable Expressions. And thus an old Quarrel between two Men of high Spirits and great Estates, Neighbours in the same County, ended in a sound and firm Friendship, which lasted as long as they liv'd.

This Passage brings to my Mind what I remember to have often heard him say concerning a Man's Obligation to Silence, in regard of Discourse made to him or in his Presence: That it was not enough to keep close and uncommunicated what had been committed to him with that Caution, but there was a general and tacit Trust in Conversation, whereby a Man was oblig'd not to report again any thing that might be any way to the Speaker's Prejudice, tho' no Intimation had been given of a Desire not to have it spoke again.

He was wont to say, that Wisdom lay in the Heart and not in the Head, and that it was not the want of Knowledge, but the Perverseness of the Will that fill'd Mens Actions with Folly, and their Lives with Disorder.

That there was in every one, two Men, the Wise and the Foolish, and that each of them must be allowed his Turn. If you would have the Wise, the Grave, and the Serious always to rule and have the Sway, the Fool would grow so peevish and troublesome, that he would put the wise Man out of Order, and make him fit for nothing: He must have his Times of being let loose to follow his Fancies, and play his Gambols, if you would have your Business go on smoothly.

I have heard him also say, that he desired no more of any Man but that he would talk: If he would but talk, said he, let him talk as he pleases. And indeed I never knew any one penetrate so quick into Men's Breasts, and from a small Opening, survey that dark Cabinet, as he would. He would understand Men's true Errand as soon as they had open'd their Mouths, and begun their Story in appearance to another Purpose.

Sir *Rich. Onslow* and He were invited by Sir *J. D.* to dine with him at *Chelsea*, and desir'd to come early, because he had an Affair of Concernment to communicate to them. They came at the time, and being sat, he told them he had made Choice of them both for their known Abilities, and particular Friendship to him, for their Advice in a Matter of the greatest Moment to him that could be. He had, he said, been a Widower for many Years, and began to want some Body that might ease him of the Trouble of House-keeping,

keeping, and take some Care of him under the growing Infirmities of old Age; and to that Purpose had pitch'd upon a Woman very well known to him by the Experience of many Years, in fine, his House-keeper. These Gentlemen, who were not Strangers to his Family, and knew the Woman very well, and were besides very great Friends to his Son and Daughter, grown up, and both fit for Marriage, to whom they thought this would be a very prejudicial Match, were both in their Minds opposite to it; and to that Purpose Sir *Rich. Onslow* began the Discourse; wherein, when he came to that Part, he was entring upon the Description of the Woman, and going to set her out in her own Colours, which were such as could not have pleas'd any Man in his Wife. Sir *Anthony* seeing whither he was going, to prevent any Mischief, beg'd leave to interrupt him, by asking Sir *J.* a Question, which in short was this, *whether he were not already married?* Sir *J.* after a little Demur, answer'd, Yes truly he was married the Day before. Well then, reply'd Sir *Anthony*, there is no more need of our Advice; pray let us have the Honour to see my Lady and wish her Joy, and so to Dinner. As they were returning to *London* in their Coach, I am oblig'd to you, said Sir *Rich.* for preventing my running into a Discourse which could never have been forgiven me, if I had spoke out what I was going to say. But as for Sir *J.* he methinks ought to cut your Throat for your civil Question. How could it possibly enter into your Head to ask a Man, who had solemnly invited us on purpose to have our Advice about a Marriage he intended, had gravely propos'd the Woman to us, and suffered us seriously to enter into the Debate, *whether he were already married or no?* The Man, and the Manner, reply'd Sir *Anthony*, gave me a Suspicion that having done a foolish thing, he was desirous to cover himself with the Authority of our Advice. I thought it good to be sure before you went any farther, and you see what came of it. This afforded them Entertainment till they came to Town, and so they parted.

Soon after the Restauration of King *Charles II.* the Earl of *Southampton* and he having dined together at the Chancellor's, as they were returning home, he said to my Lord *Southampton*, Yonder Mrs. *Ann Hide* (for so as I remember he stiled her) is certainly married to one of the Brothers. The Earl who was a Friend to the Chancellor, treated this as a Chimæra, and ask'd him how so wild a Fancie could get into his Head? Assure your self, Sir, reply'd he, it is so. A conceal'd Respect, however suppress'd, shewed it self so plainly in the Looks, Voice and Manner, wherewith her Mother car'd to her, or offer'd her of every Dish, that 'tis impossible but it must be so. My Lord *S.* who thought it a groundless Conceit then, was not long after convinc'd by the Duke of *York's* owning of her, that Lord *Ashley* was no bad Gueffer.

I shall give one Instance more of his great Sagacity, wherein it prov'd of great Use to him in a Case of mighty Consequence. Having reason to apprehend what Tyranny the Usurpation of the Government by the Officers of the Army under the Title of the Committee of Safety might end in; he thought the first Step to Settlement was the breaking of them, which could not be done with any pretence of Authority, but that of the Long Parliament. Meeting therefore secretly with Sir *Arthur Haselrig*, and some others of the Members, they gave Commissions in the Name of the Parliament to be Major-General, one of the Forces about *London*, another of the West, &c. and this when they had not one Soldier. Nay, he often would tell it laughing, that when he had his Commission his great Care was where to hide it. Before this he had secur'd *Portsmouth*; for the Governour of it, Coll. *Metham*, being his old Acquaintance and Friend, he ask'd him one Day, meeting him by Chance in *Westminster-Hall*, whether he would put *Portsmouth* into his Hands if he should happen to have an Occasion for it? *Metham* promis'd it should be at his Devotion. These Transactions, tho' no Part of them were known in particular, yet causing some remote Preparations, alarm'd *Wallingford-House*, where the Committee of Safety sat, and made them so attentive to all Actions and Discoveries that might give them any Light, that at last they were fully perswaded there was something a

brewing against them, and that Matter for Commotions in several Parts was gathering. They knew the Vigour and Activity of Sir *A. Asbley* and how well he stood affectionated to them, and therefore suspected that he was at the Bottom of this Matter. To find what they could, and secure the Man they most apprehended, he was sent for to *Wallingford-House*, where *Fleetwood* examin'd him according to the Suspicions he had of him; that he was laying Designs in the West against them, and was working the People to an Insurrection that he intended to Head there. He told them, he knew no Obligation he was under to give them an Account of his Actions, nor to make them any Promises; but to shew them how ill-grounded their Suspicions were, he promised that he would not go out of Town without coming first and giving him an Account of it. *Fleetwood* knowing his Word might be rely'd on, satisfied with the Promise he had made, let him go upon his Parole. That which deceived them in the Case, was, that knowing his Estate and Interest lay in the West, they presumed, that That was his Post, and there certainly if any Stir was he would appear, since there lay his great Strength, and they had no Body else in View who could supply his Room, and manage that Part. But they were mistaken, *Hafelrig*, upon the Knowledge that they should have *Portsmouth*, forwardly took that Province; and he, who had Instruments at work in the Army quartered in and about *London*, and knew that must be the Place of most Business and Management, and where the Turn of Affairs would be, had chosen that.

Lambert, who was one of the Rulers at *Wallingford-House*, happened to be away when he was there, and came not in till he was gone: When they told him that Sir *A. Asbley* had been there, and what had passed, he blamed *Fleetwood* for letting him go, and told him they should have secured him, for that certainly there was something in it that they were deceiv'd in, and they should not have parted so easily with so busie and dangerous a Man as he was. *Lambert* was of a quicker Sight, and a deeper Reach than *Fleetwood*, and the rest of that Gang, and knowing of what Moment it was to their Security to frustrate the Contrivances of that working and able Head, was resolved, if possibly he could, to get him into his Clutches.

Sir *A. A.* coming home to his House in Street in *Covent-Garden* one Evening, found a Man knocking at his Door. He ask'd his Business; the Man answered, It was with him, and fell a discoursing with him. Sir *A. A.* heard him out, and gave him such an Answer as he thought proper, and so they parted, the Stranger out of the Entry where they stood, into the Street, and Sir *A. A.* along the Entry into the House, but guessing by the Story the other told him, that the Business was but a Pretence, and that his real Errand he came about was something else; when he parted from the Fellow went inwards, as if he intended to go into the House, but as soon as the Fellow was gone, turned short, and went out, and went to his Barber's which was but just by; where he was no sooner got in, and got up Stairs into a Chamber, but his Door was beset with Musketeers, and the Officer went in too with others to seize him; but not finding him, they searched every Corner and Cranny of the House diligently, the Officer declaring he was sure he was in the House, for he had left him there just now; as was true, for he had gone no farther than the Corner of the *Half-Moon-Tavern*, which was just by to fetch a File of Soldiers that he had left there in the *Strand* out of sight, whilst he went to discover whether the Gentleman he sought were within or no; where doubting not to find him safely lodged, he return'd with his *Mir-midons* to his House, sure as he thought, of his Prey; but Sir *A. A.* saw thro' his made Story, and gave him the Slip. After this he was fain to get out of the way and conceal himself under a Disguise; but he hid himself not lazily in a Hole, he made War upon them at *Wallingford-House* incognito, as he was, and made them feel him, though he kept out of sight. *****
***** Several Companies of their Soldiers drew up in *Lincolns-Inn-fields* without their Officers, and there put themselves under the Command of such Officers as he appointed them. The City began to rouse it self, and to shew manifest Signs of little Regard to *Wallingford-House*, and he never left working, till he had rais'd a Spirit and Strength enough to declare openly for

for the old Parliament, as the only legal Authority then in *England*, which had any Pretence to claim and take on them the Government. For *Portsmouth* being put into the Hands of Sir *Arthur Haselrig*, and the City shewing their Inclination, the Countries readily took into it, and by their concurrent Weight reinstated the excluded Members in their former Administration. This was the first open Step he made towards the wresting the Civil Power out of the Hands of the Army; who having thought *Richard, Oliver's* Son, unworthy of it, had taken it to themselves, executed by a Committee of their own Officers, where *Lambert* who had the chief Command and Influence in the Army had plac'd it, till he had modell'd things among them, so as might make way for his taking the sole Administration into his own Hands; but Sir *A. A.* found a Way to strip him of that as soon as the Parliament was restor'd.

The first thing he did was to get from them a Commission to himself, and two or three more of the most weighty and popular Members of the House, to have the Power of General of all the Forces in *England*, which they were to execute jointly. This was no sooner done but he got them together, where he had provided abundance of Clerks who were immediately set to work to transcribe a great many Copies of the Form of a Letter, wherein they reciting, that it had pleas'd God to restore the Parliament to the Exercise of their Power, and that the Parliament had given to them a Commission to Command the Army, they therefore commanded him (*viz.* the Officer to whom the Letter was directed) immediately with his Troop, Company, or Regiment, as it happen'd, to march to *N.* These Letters were directed to the chief Officer of any part of the Army who had their Quarters together in any part of *England*. These Letters were dispatch'd away by particular Messengers that very Night, and coming to the several Officers so peremptorily to march immediately, they had not time to assemble and debate among themselves what to do; and having no other Intelligence but that the Parliament was restor'd, and that the City and *Portsmouth*, and other Parts of *England* had declar'd for them; the Officers durst not disobey, but all, according to their several Orders, march'd some one way, and some another; so that this Army, which was the great Strength of the Gentlemen of *Wallingford-House*, was by this Means quite scatter'd and render'd perfectly useless to the Committee of Safety, who were hereby perfectly reduc'd under the Power of the Parliament, as so many disarm'd Men to be dispos'd of as they thought fit.

'Tis known, that whilst the Long Parliament remain'd entire, Mr. *Denzil Hollis* was the Man of the greatest Sway in it, and might have continued it on, if he would have follow'd Sir *A. A.*'s Advice. But he was a haughty stiff Man, and so by straining it a little too much, lost all.

From the time of their Reconcilement already mention'd, they had been very hearty Friends; it happen'd one Morning that Sir *A. A.* calling upon Mr. *Hollis* in his way to the House, as he often did, he found him in a great Heat against *Cromwell*, who had then the Command of the Army, and a great Interest in it. The Provocation may be read at large in the Pamphlets of that time, for which Mr. *Hollis* was resolv'd, he said, to bring him to Punishment. Sir *A. A.* dissuaded him all he could from any such Attempt, shewing him the Danger of it, and told him 'twould be sufficient to remove him out of the way, by sending him with a Command into *Ireland*. This *Cromwell*, as things stood, would be glad to accept; but this would not satisfy Mr. *Hollis*. When he came to the House, the Matter was brought into Debate, and it was mov'd, that *Cromwell*, and those guilty with him, should be punished. *Cromwell*, who was in the House, no sooner heard this, but he stole out, took Horse, and rode immediately to the Army, which, as I remember, was at *Triploe-Heath*; there he acquainted them what the *Presbyterian* Party was a doing in the House, and made such Use of it to them, that they, who were before in the Power of the Parliament, now united together under *Cromwell*, who immediately led them away to *London*, giving out Menaces against *Hollis* and his Party as they march, who with *Stapleton* and some others were fain to fly, and thereby the Independent Party becoming

coming the stronger, they, as they call'd it, purg'd the House, and turn'd out all the Presbyterian Party. *Cromwell*, some time after, meeting *Sir A. A.* told him, I am beholden to you for your Kindness to me, for you, I hear, were for letting me go without Punishment, but your Friend, God be thank'd, was not wise enough to take your Advice.

Monk, after the Death of *Oliver Cromwell*, and the Removal of *Richard*, marching with the Army he had with him into *England*, gave fair Promises all along in his Way to *London* to the Rump that were then sitting, who had sent Commissioners to him that accompanied him. When he was come to Town, though he had promised fair to the Rump and Commonwealth Party on one hand, and gave Hopes to the Royalists on the other; yet at last agreed with the *French* Ambassador to take the Government on himself, by whom he had Promise from *Mazarine* of Assistance from *France* to support him in this Undertaking. This Bargain was struck up between them late at Night, but not so secretly, but that his Wife, who had posted herself conveniently behind the Hangings, where she could hear all that pass'd, finding what was resolv'd, sent her Brother *Clarges* away immediately with Notice of it to *Sir A. A.* She was zealous for the Restauration of the King, and had therefore promised *Sir A.* to watch her Husband, and inform him from time to time how Matters went. Upon this Notice *Sir A.* caused the Council of State, whereof he was one, to be summon'd, and when they were met, he desired the Clerks might withdraw, he having Matter of great Importance to communicate to them. The Doors of the Council-Chamber being lock'd, and the Keys laid upon the Table, he began to charge *Monk* not in a direct and open Accusation, but in obscure Intimations, and doubtful Expressions, giving Ground of Suspicion, that he was playing false with them, and not doing as he promised. This he did so skilfully and intelligibly to *Monk*, that he perceived he was discover'd, and therefore in his Answer to him fumbled and seem'd out of Order; so that the rest of the Council perceiv'd there was something in it, though they knew not what the Matter was; and the General at last averring that what had been suggested was upon groundless Suspicions, and that he was true to his Principles, and stood firm to what he had profess'd to them, and had no secret Designs that ought to disturb them, and that he was ready to give them all manner of Satisfaction; whereupon *Sir A. A.* closing with him, and making a farther Use of what he had said than he intended: For he meant no more than so far as to get away from them upon this Assurance which he gave them. But *Sir A. A.* told him, that if he was sincere in what he had said, he might presently remove all Scruples, if He would take away their Commissions from such and such Officers in his Army, and give them to those whom he named, and that presently before he went out of the Room. *Monk* was in himself no quick Man, he was guilty alone among a Company of Men who he knew not what they would do with him; for they all struck in with *Sir A. A.* and plainly perceiv'd that *Monk* had design'd some foul Play. In these Straits being thus close press'd, and knowing not how else to extricate himself, he consented to what was propos'd, and so immediately before he stir'd, a great Part of the Commissions of his Officers were chang'd, and *Sir Edward Harley*, among the rest, who was a Member of the Council, and there present, was made Governour of *Dunkirk* in the Room of *Sir William Lockhart*, and was sent away immediately to take Possession of it. By which Means the Army ceas'd to be at *Monk's* Devotion, and was put into Hands that would not serve him in the Design he had undertaken. The *French* Ambassador, who had the Night before sent away an Express to *Mazarine*, positively to assure him that things went here as he desired, and that *Monk* was fix'd by him in his Resolution to take on himself the Government, was not a little astonish'd the next Day to find Things taking another Turn, and indeed this so much disgraced him in the *French* Court, that he was presently call'd Home, and soon after broke his Heart.

This was that which gave the great Turn to the Restauration of King *Charles II.* whereof *Sir A.* had laid the Plan in his Head a long time before, and had carried it on,

Quamvis

Quantus hic finis ex titulis, quod raro, discas.
Baro ASHLEY de Wimborne St. Giles;
Deinde Comes Shaftsburiensis,
Cancellarius Scaccarij. Aerarij Triumvir,
Magnus Angliæ Cancellarius,
CAROLO Secundo à Sanctioribus & Secretioribus Conciliis, &c.
Hac non Sepulchri ornamenta, sed Viri.
Quippe quæ nec Majoribus debuit nec favori.
Comitate, acumine, suadela, consilio, animo, constantia, fide,
Vix Parem alibi invenias, Superiorem certe nullibi.
Libertatis Civilis, Ecclesiasticæ
Propugnator strenuus, indefessus.
Vita publicis commodis impensæ memoriam & laudes,
Stante libertate, nunquam oblitterabit
Tempus edax, nec edacior Invidia.
Servo pecori inutilia, inuisa magna exempla.

Three Letters writ by the E. of Shaftsbury whilst Prisoner in the Tower; one to King Charles II. another to the D. of York; a third to a Noble Lord; found with Mr. Locke's Memoirs, relating to the Life of Anthony First Earl of Shaftsbury.

To King CHARLES II.

SIR,

THE Almighty God, the King of Kings permitted *Job* to dispute with him, and to order his Cause before him; give me Leave therefore, Great Sir, to lay my Case before your Majesty, and to plead not only my Innocence but my Merits towards your Majesty; for my Integrity will I hold fast, and will not let it go; my Heart shall not reproach me so long as I live.

I had the Honour to have a principal Hand in Your Restauration, neither did I act in it, but on a Principle of Piety and Honour: I never betray'd (as your Majesty knows) the Party or Councils I was of. I kept no Correspondence with, nor I made no secret Addresses to your Majesty; neither did I endeavour or obtain any private Terms or Articles for my self, or Reward for what I had or should do. In whatever I did toward the Service of your Majesty, I was solely acted by the Sense of that Duty I owed to God, the English Nation, and your Majesty's just Right and Title. I saw the Hand of Providence that had led us through various Forms of Government, and had given Power into the Hands of several Sorts of Men, but He had given none of them a Heart to use it as they should; they all fell to the Prey, sought not the Good or Settlement of the Nation, endeavour'd only the Enlargement and Continuance of their own Authority, and grasp'd at those very Powers they had complain'd of so much, and for which so bloody and so fatal a War had been raised and continued in the Bowels of the Nation. I observ'd the Leaders of the great Parties of Religion both Laity and Clergy ready and forward to deliver up the Rights and Liberties of the People, and to introduce an absolute Dominion, so that Tyranny might be establish'd in the Hands of those that favour'd their Way, and with whom they might have Hopes to divide the present Spoil, having no Eye to Posterity, or Thought of future things. One of the last Scenes of this Confusion was General Lambert's seizing of the Government in a Morning by Force of Arms, turning out the Parliament and their Council of State, and in their Room erecting a Committee of Safety. The News of this gives a great Surprise to General Monk, who commanded the Army in Scotland.*****

To

To the D. of YORK.

S I R,

I Humbly confels I never thought my Person or my Principles acceptable to your Royal Highness; but at that Juncture of Time and Occasion when I was committed, I had no Reason to expect you should be my severe Enemy. Reputation is the greatest Concern of great Dealers in the World; Great Princes are the greatest Dealers; no Reputation more their Interest than to be thought merciful, Relievers of the Distressed, and Maintainers of the ancient Laws and Rights of their Country. This I ever wish may attend your Royal Highness, and that I may be one Instance of it.

To the Lord ———

My Lord,

I Had prepared this for your Meeting in *December*, but that being adjourn'd to the 3d of *April*, an Age to an old infirm Man, especially shut up in a Winter's Prison; forgive me if I say you owe your Self and your Posterity as well as me, the endeavouring to remove so severe a President on one of your Members; such as I may truly say is the first of the Kind, and I pray heartily may be the last. Your Intercession to his Majesty if it be general, is not like to be refused; if you are single, yet you have done honourably and what I should have done for you.



A NEW
M E T H O D
O F A
Common-Place-Book.

Translated out of FRENCH from the Second
Volume of the *Bibliothèque Universelle.*

Vol. III.

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EPISTOLA.] *A Letter from*
 2. Mr. Locke to Mr. Toignard,
containing a New and Easie Me-
thod of a Common-Place-Book,
to which an Index of two Pages
is sufficient.



AT length, Sir, in Obedience to you, I publish my *Method of a Common-Place-Book*. I am ashamed that I defer'd so long complying with your Request, but I esteem'd it so mean a thing as not to deserve publishing in an Age so full of useful Inventions as our's is. You may remember that I freely communicated it to you, and several others, to whom I imagined it would not be unacceptable. So that it was not to reserve the sole Use of it to my self, that I declined publishing it. But the regard I had to the Publick, discouraged me from presenting it with such a Trifle. Yet my Obligations to you, and the Friendship between us, compel me now to follow your Advice. Your last Letter has perfectly determin'd me to it, and I am convinc'd that I ought not to delay publishing it, when you tell me that an Experience of several Years

3. has shew'd its Usefulness, and several of your Friends to whom you have communicated it. There is no need I should tell you how useful it has been to me after five and twenty Years Experience, as I told you eight years since, when I had the Honour to wait on you at *Paris*, and when I might have been instructed by your learned and agreeable Discourse. What I aim at now by this Letter, is to testify publicly the Esteem and Respect I have for you, and to convince you how much I am, Sir, your,
Ec.

Before I enter on my Subject, it is fit to acquaint the Reader, that this Tract is disposed in the same manner that the Common-Place-Book ought to be disposed. It will be understood by reading what follows, what is the Meaning of the Latin Titles on the Top of the Backside of each Leaf, and at the Bottom of this Page.

EBIONITÆ.] *In eorum Evangelio, quod secundum Hebræos dicebatur, historia quæ habetur Matth. xix. 16. & seqq. ut alia quædam, erat interpolata in hunc Modum: Dixit ad eum alter divitum, Magister, quid bonum faciens vivam? Dixit, ei, Homo, Legem & Prophetas fac. Re- 14. spondit ad eum, feci. Dixit ei: vade,*

ADVERSARIORUM METHODUS.]

4. I take a Paper Book of what Size I please. I divide the two first Pages that face one another by parallel Lines into five and twenty equal Parts, every fifth Line black, the other red. I then cut them perpendicularly by other Lines that I draw from the Top to the Bottom of the Page, as you may see in the Table prefix'd. I put about the Middle of each five Spaces one of the twenty Letters I design to make use of, and a little forward in each Space the five Vowels one below another in their natural Order. This is the *Index* to the whole Volume how big soever it may be.

The *Index* being made after this Manner, I leave a Margin in all the other Pages of the Book, of about the Largeness of an Inch in a Volume in Folio, or a little larger, and in a less Volume, smaller in Proportion.

If I would put any thing in my COMMON-PLACE-BOOK, I find out a Head to which I may refer it.

Each

Vol. III.

5. Each Head ought to be some important and essential Word to the Matter in Hand, and in that Word regard is to be had to the first Letter, and the Vowel that follows it; for upon these two Letters depend all the Use of the *Index*.

I omit three Letters of the Alphabet as of no Use to me, viz. K. Y. W. which are supplied by C. I. U. that are equivalent to them. I put the Letter Q. that is always follow'd with an U. in the fifth Space of Z. By throwing Q. last in my *Index*, I preserve the Regularity of my *Index*, and diminish not in the least its Extent; for it seldom happens that there is any Head begins with Z. U. I have found none in the five and twenty Years I have used this Method. If nevertheless it be necessary, nothing hinders but that one may make a Reference after Q. U. provided it be done with any kind of Distinction; but for more Exactness a Place may be assign'd for Q. U. below the *Index*, as I have formerly done. When I meet with any thing that I think fit to put into my *Common-Place-Book*, I first find a proper Head. Suppose, for Example, that the Head be EPISTOLA, I look unto the *Index* for the

Bbbb

first

ADVERSARIORUM METHODUS.]

V first Letter and the following Vowel which in this Instance are E I. if in the Space mark'd E I. there is any Number that directs me to the Page design'd for Words that begin with an E, and whose first Vowel, after the initial Letter, is I; I must then write under the Word *Epistola* in that Page what I have to remark. I write the Head in large Letters, and begin a little way out into the Margin, and I continue on the Line in Writing what I have to say. I observe constantly this Rule, that only the Head appears in the Margin, and that it be continued on without ever doubling the Line in the Margin, by which Means the Heads will be obvious at first Sight.

If I find no Number in the *Index* in the Space E I. I look into my Book for the first Backside of a Leaf that is not written in, which, in a Book where there is yet nothing but the *Index*, must be p. 2. I write then in my *Index* after E. I. the Number 2. and the Head *Epistola* at the Top of the Margin of the second Page, and all that I put under that Head in the same Page, as you see I have done in the second Page of this *Method*. From that time the Class E. I. is wholly in Possession of the second and third Pages.

They

7. They are to be employed only on Words that begin with an E. and whose nearest Vowel is an I, as *Ebionitæ* (see the Bottom of the third Page) *Episcopus*, *Echinus*, *Edictum*, *Efficacia*, &c. The Reason why I begin always at the Top of the Back-side of a Leaf, and assign to one Class two Pages that face one another, rather than an entire Leaf, is, because the Heads of the Class appear all at once, without the trouble of turning over a Leaf.

Every time that I would write a new Head, I look first in my *Index* for the Characteristick Letters of the Word, and I see by the Number that follows, what the Page is that is assign'd to the Class of that Head. If there is no Number, I must look for the first Backside of a Page that is Blank. I then set down the Number in the *Index*, and design that Page with that of the right Side of the following Leaf to this new Class. Let it be, for Example, the Word *Adversaria*; if I see no Number in the Space A. E. I seek for the first Back-side of a Leaf, which being at p. 4. I set down in the Space A. E. the Number 4. and in the fourth Page the Head ADVERSARIA with all that I write under it, as I have already informed you. From V this Time the fourth Page with

ADVERSARIORUM METHODUS.]

V. with the fifth that follows is reserved for the Class A. E. that is to say for the Heads that begin with an A, and whose next Vowel is an E; as for Instance *Aer*, *Aera*, *Agesilaus*, *Acberon*, &c.

When the two Pages designed for one Class are full, I look forwards for the next Back-side of a Leaf that is blank. If it be that which immediately follows, I write at the Bottom of the Margin in the Page that I have filled the Letter V, that is to say, *Verte, turn over*; as likewise the same at the Top of the next Page. If the Pages that immediately follow are already fill'd by other Classes, I write at the Bottom of the Page last filled, V, and the Number of the next empty Back-side of a Page. At the Beginning of that Page I write down the Head, under which I go on with what I had to put in my *Common-Place-Book*, as if it had been in the same Page. At the Top of this new Back-side of a Leaf, I set down the Number of the Page I filled last. By these Numbers which refer to one another, the first whereof is at the Bottom of one Page, and the second is at the Beginning of another, one joyns Matter that is separated as if there was nothing between them. For by this reciprocal Reference of Numbers one may turn as one Leaf all those that are between the two, even as if they were

9. pasted together. You have an Example of this in the third and fourteenth Pages.

Every time I put a Number at the Bottom of a Page, I put it also into the *Index*; but when I put only an V, I make no Addition in the *Index*; the Reason whereof is plain.

If the Head is a Monosyllable and begins with a Vowel, that Vowel is at the same time both the first Letter of the Word, and the Characteristick Vowel. Therefore I write the Word *Ars* in A a and Os in O o.

You may see by what I have said, that one is to begin to write each Class of Words on the Back-side of a Page. It may happen, upon that Account, that the Back-side of all the Pages may be full, and yet there may remain several Pages on the Right Hand which are empty. Now if you have a Mind to fill your Book, you may assign these right Sides which are wholly blank, to new Classes.

If any one imagines that these hundred Classes are not sufficient to comprehend all sorts of Subjects without Confusion, he may follow the same Method, and yet augment the Number to five Hundred, in adding a Vowel. But having experienc'd both the one and the other Method, I prefer the first; and Usage will convince those who shall try it how well it will serve the Purpose aim'd at, especially if one

V. has a Book for each Science,
Bbbb 2 upon

ADVERSARIORUM METHODUS.]

V. upon which one makes Collections, or at least two for the two Heads, to which one may refer all our Knowledge, viz. Moral Philosophy and Natural.

You may add a third, which may be called the *Knowledge of Signs*, which relates to the Use of Words, and is of much more Extent than meer Criticism.

As to the Language in which one ought to express the *Heads*, I esteem the Latin Tongue most commodious, provided the Nominative Case be always kept to, for fear lest in Words of two Syllables, or in Monosyllables that begin with the Vowel, the Change which happens in oblique Cases should occasion Confusion. But it is not of much Consequence what Language is made use of, provided there be no mixture in the Heads of different Languages.

To take notice of a Place in an Author from whom I quote something, I make use of this Method: Before I write any thing, I put the Name of the Author in my *Common-Place-Book*, and under that Name the Title of the Treatise, the size of the Volume, the Time and Place of its Edition, and (what ought never to be omitted) the Number of Pages that the whole Book contains. For Example, I put in-

to

II. to the Class, M. A. *Marshani Canon Chronicus Aegyptiacus, Græcus, & Disquisitiones* fol. Lond. 1672. p. 626. This Number of Pages serves me for the Future to mark the particular Treatise of this Author, and the Edition I make use of. I have no need to mark the Place, otherwise than in setting down the Number of the Page from whence I have drawn what I have wrote, just above the Number of Pages contain'd in the whole Volume. You will see an Example in *Acherusia*, where the Number 259 is just above the Number 626, that is to say, the Number of the Page where I take my Matter, is just above the Number of Pages of the whole Volume. By this Means I not only save my self the Trouble of writing *Canon Chronicus Aegyptiacus, &c.* but am able by the Rule of Three to find out the same Passage in any other Edition, by looking for the Number of its Pages; since the Edition I have used, which contains 626, gives me 259. You will not indeed always light on the very Page you want, because of the Breaches that are made in different Editions of Books, and that are not always equal in Proportion; but you are never very far from the Place you want, and it is better to be able to find a Passage in turning over a few Pages, than to be obliged to turn over a whole Book to find it,

ADVERSARIORUM METHODUS.]

V. it, as it happens when the Book
12. has no *Index*, or when the *Index* is not exact.

ACHERON.] *Pratum, ficta mortuorum habitatio, est locus prope Memphin, juxta paludem quam vocant Acherusiam, &c.*
This is a Passage out of D. *Siculus*, the Sense whereof is this: The Fields, where they feign that the Dead inhabit, are only a Place near *Memphis* near a Marsh call'd *Acherusia*, about which is a most delightful Country, where one may behold Lakes and Forests of *Lotus* and *Calamus*. It is with Reason that *Orpheus* said, the Dead inhabit these Places, because there the *Egyptians* celebrate the greatest Part and the most August of their Funeral Solemnities. They carry the Dead over the *Nile*, and through the Marsh of *Acherusia*, and there put them into subterraneous Vaults. There are a great many other Fables among the *Greeks* touching the State of the Dead, which very well agree with what is at this Day practised in *Egypt*. For they call the Boat in which the Dead are transported, *Baris*; and a certain Piece of Money is given to the Ferry-man for a Passage, who, in their Language, is called *Charon*. Near this Place is a Temple of *Hecate* in the Shade, &c. and the Gates of
Cocy-

13. *Cocytus* and *Lethe* shut up with Bars of Brass. There are other Gates which are called the Gates of *Truth*, with the Statue of Justice before them, which has no Head.
Marsham. $\frac{2}{3}\frac{1}{2}$.

EBIONITÆ.] vade, vende omnia

14. quæ possides, & divide pauperibus, & veni, sequere me. Cœpit autem Dives scalpere caput suum, & non placuit ei. Et dixit ad eum Dominus: quomodo dicis Legem feci & Prophetas? cùm scriptum sit in lege, diliges proximum tuum sicut teipsum: & ecce multi fratres tui filij Abraham amicti sunt stercore, morientes præ fame, & domus tua plena est bonis multis, & non egreditur omnino aliquid ex ea ad eos. Et conversus dixit Simoni Discipulo suo sedenti apud se: Simon, fili Johannæ, facilius est camelum intrare per foramen acûs quam divitem in regnum cœlorum, *Nimirum hæc ideo immutavit Ebion, quia Christum nec Dei Filium, nec vocatũ, sed nudum interpretem Legis per Mosem datæ agnoscebat.*

In the Gospel of the Ebionites, which they called the Gospel according to the Hebrews, the Story, that is in the XIXth of St. Matth. and in the 16th and following Verses, was changed after this Manner: *One of the rich Men said to him: Master, what shall I do that I may have Life? Jesus said to him: Obey the Law and the Prophets. He answer'd, I have done so. Jesus said unto him, go, sell what thou hast, divide it among the Poor, and then come and follow me. Upon which the rich Man began to scratch his Head, and to dislike the Advice of Jesus. And the Lord said unto him, How can you say you have done*

as

15. *as the Law and Prophets direct you? since it is written in the Law, Thou shalt love thy Neighbour as thy self, and there are many of thy Brethren, Children of Abraham, who are almost naked, and who are ready to die with hunger, while thy House is full of good things, and yet thou givest them no Help nor Assistance. And turning himself towards Simon his Disciple who sat near him: Simon, Son of Johanna, said he, it is easier for a Camel to go through the Eye of a Needle, than for a rich Man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven. Ebion chang'd this Passage, because he did not believe Jesus Christ to be the Son of God, nor a Law-giver, but a meer Interpreter of the Law of Moses. Grotius 1.1.6.*

H E R E

HERETICI] *Nostrum igitur fuit eligere & optare meliora, 16. ut ad vestram correctionem additum haberemus, non in contentione & emulatione & persecutionibus, sed mansuetè consolando, benevolè hortando, leniter disputando, sicut scriptum est, servum autem Domini non oportet litigare, sed mitem esse ad omnes, docibilem, patientem, in modestia corripientem diversa sentientes. Nostrum ergo fuit velle has partes expetere: Dei est volentibus & petentibus donare quod bonum est. Illi in vos sevant, qui nesciunt cum quo labore verum inveniatur, & quam difficile caveantur errores. Illi in vos sevant, qui nesciunt quam rarum & arduum sit carnalia phantasmata piæ mentis serenitate superare. Illi in vos sevant, qui nesciunt cum quanta difficultate sanetur oculus interioris hominis ut possit intueri solem suum. — Illi in vos sevant qui nesciunt quibus suspiriis & gemitibus fiat ut ex quantulacunque parte possit intelligi Deus. Postremo illi in vos sevant qui nullo tali errore decepti sunt, quali vos deceptos vident. In Catholicâ enim Ecclesiâ, ut omittam sincerissimam sapientiam, ad cuius cognitionem pauci spirituales in hac vitâ perveniunt, ut eam ex minimâ quidem parte quia homines sunt, sed tamen sine dubitatione, cognoscant: ceteram quippe turbam non intelligendi vivacitas, sed credendi simplicitas tutissimam facit. Augustinus. Tom. vi.*

17. vi. Col. 116. Fol. Basilæ. 1542. contra Epist. Manichæi, quam vocant Fundamenti. " We were of Opinion, that " other Methods were to be " made choice of, and that, " to recover you from your " Errors, we ought not to " persecute you with Injuries and Invectives, or any " ill Treatment, but endeavour to procure your attention by soft Words and " Exhortations, which would " shew the tenderness we " have for you: According " to that Passage of Holy Writ, The Servant " of the Lord ought not to " love Strife and Quarrels, " but to be gentle, affable, " and patient towards all " Mankind, and to reprove " with Modesty those who " differ from him in Opinion. — Let them only " treat you with Rigour " who know not how difficult it is to find out the " Truth, and avoid Error. " Let those treat you with Rigour, who are ignorant how " rare and painful a Work it is " calmly to dissipate the Carnal Phantoms that disturb " even a Pious Mind. Let those " treat you with Rigour, who " are ignorant of the extrem " Difficulty that there is to " purifie the Eye of the Inward " Man, to render him capable " of seeing the Truth, which " is the Sun or Light of the " Soul. Let those treat you " with Rigour, who have never felt the Sighs and Groans " that a Soul must have before it

CONFESSIO FIDEI.] Pericu-

18. *losum nobis admodum atq; etiam miserabile est, tot nunc fides existere, quot voluntates: & tot nobis doctrinas esse quot mores: & tot causas blasphemiarum pullulare quot vitia sunt: dum aut ita fides scribuntur ut volumus, aut ita ut volumus intelliguntur. Et cum secundum unum Deum & unum Dominum, & unum baptismum, etiam fides una sit, excidimus ab eâ fide quæ sola est: & dum plures fiant, id esse cœperunt ne ulla sit; Conscii enim nobis invicem sumus post Nicæni conventus Synodum nihil aliud quam fidem scribi. Dum in verbis pugna est, dum de novitatibus quæstio est, dum de ambiguis occasio est, dum de Autoribus querela est, dum de studiis certamen est, dum in consensu difficultas est, dum alter alteri anathema esse cœpit, prope jam nemo est Christi, &c. Jam vero proximi anni fides, quid jam de imitatione in se habet? Primum quæ Homousion decernit taceri: sequens rursus quæ Homousion decernit & prædicat. Tertium deinceps quæ Usiam simpliciter à patribus præsumptam, per indulgentiam excusat. Postremum quartum, quæ non excusat, sed condemnat, &c. De similitudine autem filii Dei ad Deum Patrem, quod miserabilis nostri temporis est fides, ne non ex toto, sed tantum ex portione sit similis? Egregii scilicet arbitri cœlestium sacramentorum conquistores, invisibilium mysteriorum professionibus*

19. *bus de fide Dei calumniatur, annuas atq; menstruas de Deo fides decernimus, decretis pœnitentibus, pœnitentes defendimus, defensores anathematizamus, aut in nostri aliena, aut in alienis nostra damnamus, & mordentes invicem jam absumpti sumus invicem. Hilarius, p. 211. in lib. ad Constantium Augustum. Basil. 1550. fol. "It is a thing equally deplorable and dangerous, that there are at present as many Creeds as there are Opinions among Men, as many Doctrines as Inclinations, and as many Sources of Blasphemy, as there are Faults among us, because we make Creeds arbitrarily, and explain them as arbitrarily. And as there is but one Faith; so there is but one only God, one Lord, and one Baptism. We renounce this one Faith when we make so many different Creeds, and that Diversity is the Reason why we have no true Faith among us. We cannot be ignorant, that since the Council of Nice, we have done nothing but make Creeds. And while we fight against Words, litigate about new Questions, dispute about Equivocal Terms, complain of Authors, that every one may make his own Party triumphant, while we cannot agree,*

V "umph, while we cannot agree, while

HERETICI.] " it can obtain
20. " any Knowledge of the Di-
" vine Being. To conclude,
" let those treat you with
" Rigour, who never have
" been seduced into Errors,
" near a-kin to those you are
" engaged in. I pass over in
" Silence that pure Wisdom,
" which but a few Spiritual
" Men attain to in this Life ;
" so that though they know
" but in part, because they
" are Men; yet nevertheless
" they know what they do
" know with Certainty : For
" in the Catholick Church, it
" is not Penetration of Mind,
" nor profound Knowledge,
" but Simplicity of Faith,
" which puts Men in a State
" of Safety.

*Barbari quippe homines Ro-
mana imo potius Humana
eruditionis expertes, qui ni-
hil omnino sciunt nisi quod
à Doctoribus suis audiunt :
quod audiunt hoc sequun-
tur, ac sic necesse est eos
qui totius literaturæ ac scientia
ignari, sacramentum divinæ le-
gis doctrina magis quam lectione
cognoscunt, doctrinam potius re-
tinere quam legem. Itaq; eis
traditio magistrorum suorum &
doctrina inveterata, quasi lex
est, qui hoc sciunt quod docen-
tur. Hæretici ergo sunt, sed
non scientes. Denique apud
nos sunt Hæretici, apud se non
sunt. Nam in tantum se Ca-
tholicos esse judicant ut nos
ipsos titulo Hæreticæ appella-
tionis infament. Quod ergo
illi nobis sunt & hoc nos illis.*

Vol. III.

nerationi

21. *nerationi facere certi sumus,
quod minorem Patre Filium di-
cant. Illi nos injuriosos Patri
existimant, quia æquales esse
credamus. Veritas apud nos
est; sed illi apud se esse præ-
sumunt. Honor Dei apud nos
est: Sed illi hoc arbitrantur,
honorem divinitatis esse quod
credunt. Inofficiosi sunt, sed
illis hoc est summum Religionis
officium. Impii sunt, sed hoc
putant esse veram pietatem.
Errant ergo, sed bono animo
errant, non odio sed affectu
Dei, honorare se Dominum atq;
amare credentes. Quamvis non
habeant rectam fidem, illi ta-
men hoc perfectam Dei assi-
mant caritatem. Qualiter pro
hoc ipso falsæ opinionis errore
in die Judicii puniendi sunt,
nullus scire potest nisi Juxta.
Interim idcirco eis, ut reor,
patientiam Deus commodat,
quia videt eos, etsi non rectè
credere, affectu tamen piæ opi-
nionis errare. Salvinus. ¹⁴⁴/₃₃₉.*

This Bishop speaks here of
the Arian Goths and Vandals.
" They are, says he, Barba-
" rians, who have no Tincture
" of the Roman Politeness,
" and who are ignorant of
" what is very commonly
" known among other Men,
" and only know what their
" Doctors have taught them,
" and follow what they have
" heard them say. Men so ig-
" norant as these, find them-
" selves under a Necessity of
" learning the Mysteries of
" the Gospel, rather by the
" Instructions that are gi-
V. ven them, than by Books.
C c c c The

HERETICKS.] "The Tradition

22. "of their Doctors, and the
 "received Doctrines are the
 "only Rule they follow, be-
 "cause they know nothing
 "but what they have taught
 "them. They are then Here-
 "ticks, but they know it not.
 "They are so in our Account,
 "but they believe it not; and
 "think themselves so good Ca-
 "tholicks, that they treat us
 "as Hereticks, judging of us,
 "as we do of them. We are
 "persuaded that they believe
 "amiss concerning the Divine
 "Generation, when they main-
 "tain the Son is inferiour to
 "the Father; and they ima-
 "gine that we rob the Father
 "of his Glory who believe
 "them both to be equal.
 "We have the Truth on our
 "Side, and they pretend it is
 "on their's. We give to God
 "his due honour, and they
 "think they Honour him bet-
 "ter. They fail in their Du-
 "ty, but they imagine they
 "perform perfectly well; and
 "they make true Piety to
 "consist in what we call Im-
 "pious. They are in a Mi-
 "stake, but with a great deal
 "of Sincerity; and it is so
 "far from being an Effect of
 "their Hatred, that it is a
 "Mark of their Love of God,
 "since by what they do they
 "imagine they shew the grea-
 "test Respect for the Lord,
 "and Zeal for his Glory.
 "Therefore, tho' they have
 "not true Faith, they ne-
 "vertheless look upon that
 "which they have, as a per-
 "fect Love of God. It belongs
 "only

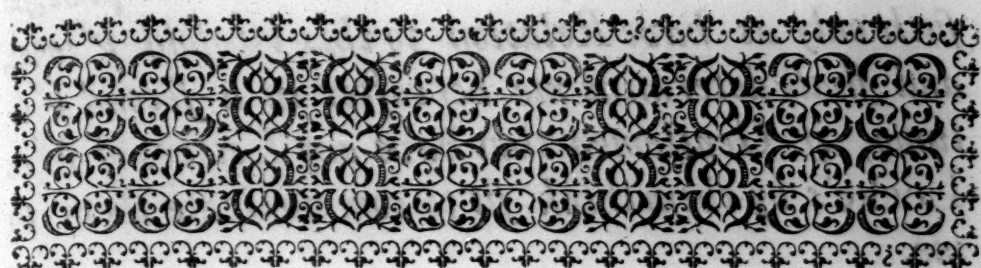
23. "only to the Judge of the U-
 "niverse to know how these
 "Men will be punished for
 "their Errors at the last Day.
 "Yet I believe God will shew
 "Compassion towards them,
 "because he sees their Heart
 "is more right than their Be-
 "lief, and that, if they are
 "mistaken, it is their Piety
 "made them err.

CONFESSIO FIDEI] " while we
 24. " anathematize one another,
 " there is hardly one that ad-
 " heres to *Jesus Christ*. What
 " Change was there not in
 " the Creed last Year ! The
 " first Council ordained a Si-
 " lence upon the *Homousion* ;
 " the second established it and
 " would have us speak ; the
 " third excuses the Fathers of
 " the Council, and pretends
 " they took the Word *Ousia*
 " simply ; the fourth condemns
 " them instead of excusing
 " them. With Respect to the
 " Likeness of the Son of God
 " to the Father, which is the
 " Faith of our deplorable
 " Times, they dispute whe-
 " ther He is like in Whole
 " or in Part. These are rare
 " Folks to unravel the Secrets
 " of Heaven. Nevertheless
 " it is for these Creeds about
 " invisible Mysteries that we
 " calumniate one another, and
 " for our Belief in God. We
 " make Creeds every Year, nay
 " every Moon, we repent of
 " what we have done, we de-
 " fend those that repent, we
 " anathematize those we de-
 " fended. So we condemn
 " either the Doctrine of o-
 " thers in our selves, or our
 " own in that of others, and,
 " reciprocally tearing one ano-
 " ther to Pieces, we have been
 " the Cause of each others
 " Ruin.

The END of the Common-Place-Book.

SOME
Familiar LETTERS
BETWEEN
Mr. LOCKE,
AND
Several of his FRIENDS.

SOME
FAMILIAR LETTERS
BETWEEN
MR. LOCKE
AND
SEVERAL OF HIS FRIENDS.



TO THE
R E A D E R.



THE following Letters, offer'd to your Perusal, are the genuine Productions of those Gentlemen to whom they are attributed.

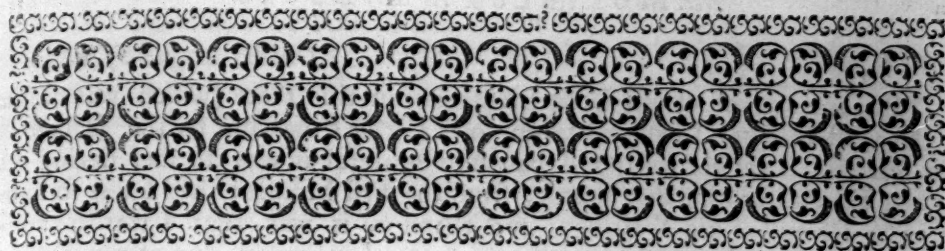
They contain not only such civil and polite Conversation as Friendship produces among Men of Parts, Learning, and Candour ; but several Matters relating to Literature, and more particularly to Mr. Locke's Notions, in his Essay concerning Human Understanding, and in some of his other Works : And therefore I cannot doubt of your Thanks for the Present I make you. For, though the Curiosity of some to see whatever drops from the Pens of Great Men, and to inform themselves in their private Characters, their Tempers, Dispositions and manner of conversing with their Friends, would perhaps have justified me in publishing any Letters of Mr. Locke's, and of his Friends to him (that were not Letters of mere Business) yet my Regard to what I take to be the more general Judgment

To the READER.

*ment of the Publick, has determin'd me to publish
such only as have Relation to this twofold View,
and shall determine me hereafter in a second Vo-
lume, if Gentlemen that have any Letters of Mr.
Locke's by them think fit to communicate them to
me.*



Mr,



Mr. Locke to Mr. Molyneux.

SIR,

London, 16 July, 1692.

THOUGH the extraordinary Complement you were pleased to make me in the Epistle Dedicatory † easily persuaded me from whom that Present was likely to come, when at my coming to Town I found your Book left for me by Mr. Tooke at my Bookseller's; yet my Consciousness how little I could deserve the one or the other from you, made me fear some Mistake, till enquiring of Mr. Tooke himself, he assured me of the Favour you had done me. I will not pretend to return you such Thanks as I ought, till I can write such a Book as your's is. Only give me leave to say, that if my Trifle could possibly be an Occasion of Vanity to me; you have done most to make it so, since I could scarce forbear to applaud my self upon such a Testimony from one, who so well understands Demonstration, did I not see that those, who can be extreme rigorous and exact in the Search of Truth, can be as civil and as complaisant, in their Dealing with those whom they take to be Lovers of it. But this cannot keep me from being out of Countenance at the Receipt of such Obligations, without the Hopes of making such Returns as I ought. Instead of that, give me leave to do what is next to it, and let you see that I am not sorry I am obliged to you. The Bearer hereof, Dr. Sibelius, is a Friend of mine, who comes to Dublin with a Design to settle there, and I beg your Assistance of him in what lies in your way. I shall take it as a Favour done to me. And methinks I have reason now to expect it of you, since you have done me, more than one, very great ones, when I had no Reason to expect any at all. Sir, you have made great Advances of Friendship towards me, and you see they are not lost upon me. I am very sensible of them, and would make such an Use of them as might assure you I should take it for a new Favour, if you would afford me an Occasion wherein I might, by any Service, tell you how much I am,

SIR,

Your most humble, and most obliged Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

I had the Honour to know one of your Name at Leyden, about seven or eight Years since. If he be any Relation of your's, and now in Dublin, I beg the favour of you to present my humble Service to him.

† Before *A Treatise of Dioptricks*, printed at London 1692. wherein it is said, That to none do we owe for a greater Advancement in this Part of Philosophy, (viz. Logick,) than to the incomparable Mr. Locke, who, in his Essay of Human Understanding, hath rectified more received Mistakes, and delivered more profound Truths, established on Experience and Observation, for the Direction of Man's Mind in the Prosecution of Knowledge, (which I think may be properly term'd Logick) than are to be met with in all the Volumes of the Ancients. He has clearly overthrown all those metaphysical Whimsies, which infected Men's Brains with a Spice of Madness, whereby they feign'd a Knowledge where they had none, by making a Noise with Sound, without clear and distinct Significations.

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Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, August 27. 1692.

UPON the arrival of our Lord Lieutenant in this Place (which was on the 25th Instant) I had the favour of a Letter from you by the Hands of Dr. Sibelius. I cannot easily tell you how grateful it was to me, having the highest Esteem for him that sent it, from the first Moment that I was so happy as to see any of his Writings; and therefore it was, that I was so ambitious of making a Friendship with you, by presenting you one of my Trifles, which I order'd my Bookseller to lay before you under this Character, *As a mean Testimony of the great Respect I had for the Author of the Essay of Human Understanding.* And since I find by your's to me, that my Ambition is not fallen short of its Design; but that you are pleas'd to encourage me, by assuring me that I have made great Advances of Friendship towards you; give me leave to embrace the Favour with all Joy imaginable. And that you may judge of Sincerity by my open Heart, I will plainly confess to you, that I have not in my Life read any Book with more Satisfaction than your *Essay*; insomuch that a repeated Perusal of it is still more pleasant to me.

And I have endeavour'd with great Success, to recommend it to the Consideration of the Ingenious in this Place. Dr. King, Bishop of Derry, when he read it, made some slight Remarks on the foremost Parts of the Book; but his Business would not permit him to go through it all. What he did, rough as it was, he gave to me, and they are at your Commands when you please.

One thing I must needs insist on to you, which is, that you would think of obliging the World with *A Treatise of Morals*, drawn up according to the Hints you frequently give in your *Essay*, of their being demonstrable according to the mathematical Method. This is most certainly true. But then the Task must be undertaken only by so clear and distinct a Thinker as you are. This were an Attempt worthy your Consideration. And there is nothing I should more ardently wish for, than to see it. And, therefore, good Sir, let me beg of you to turn your Thoughts this way; and if so young a Friendship as mine have any Force, let me prevail upon you.

Upon my reading your *Essay*, I was so taken with it, that when I was in London, in August 1690, I made enquiry amongst some of my learned Friends, for any other of your Writings, if perhaps they knew any: I was recommended by some to *Two Discourses concerning Government*, and a little *Treatise concerning Toleration*. There is neither of them carries your Name; and I will not venture to ask whether they are your's or not: This, only, I think, no Name need be ashamed of either.

Dr. Sibelius I find, is your Friend, and therefore I assure him of all Service I can possibly do him. I will make it my Business to get him Acquaintance in this Place; and I dare promise him some of the best.

The inclosed from my Brother, will tell you that he was your Acquaintance in Leyden. I my self have been there Anno 1685, but had not the good Fortune of being known to you. But from this time I shall reckon my self happy in your Friendship, and shall ever subscribe my self

Your most affectionate, and most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

London, Sept. 20. 1692.

THERE being nothing that I think of so much Value as the Acquaintance and Friendship of knowing and worthy Men, you may easily guess how much I find my self obliged, I will not say by the Offer of, but by the Gift you have made me of your's. That which confirms me in the Assurance of it is

is the little Pretence I have to it. For, knowing my self as I do, I cannot think so vainly of my self, as to imagine that you should make such Overtures and Expressions of Kindness to me for any other End, but merely as the Pledges and Exercise of it. I return you therefore my Thanks, as for the greatest and most acceptable Present you could have made me; and desire you to believe, that since I cannot hope that the Returns which I made you of mine should be of any great Use to you, I shall endeavour to make it up, as well as I can, with an high Esteem, and perfect Sincerity. You must therefore expect to have me live with you hereafter, with all the Liberty and Assurance of a settled Friendship. For meeting with but few Men in the World whose Acquaintance I find much reason to covet, I make more than ordinary Haste into the Familiarity of a rational Enquirer after, and Lover of Truth, whenever I can light on any such. There are Beauties of the Mind, as well as of the Body, that take and prevail at first Sight: and wherever I have met with this, I have readily surrender'd my self, and have never yet been deceiv'd in my Expectation. Wonder not therefore, if, having been thus wrought on, I begin to converse with you with as much Freedom as if we had begun our Acquaintance when you were in *Holland*; and desire your Advice and Assistance about a second Edition of my *Essay*, the former being now dispersed. You have, I perceive, read it over so carefully, more than once, that I know no Body I can more reasonably consult about the Mistakes and Defects of it. And I expect a great deal more from any Objections you should make, who comprehend the whole Design and Compass of it, than from one who has read but a Part of it, or measures it, upon a slight Reading, by his own Prejudices. You will find, by my Epistle to the Reader, that I was not insensible of the Fault I committed by being too long upon some Points, and the Repetitions that by my way of writing of it had got in, I let it pass with, but not without Advice so to do. But now that my Notions are got into the World, and have in some measure bustled through the Opposition and Difficulty they were like to meet with from the received Opinion, and that Prepossession which might hinder them from being understood upon a short Proposal; I ask you whether it would not be better now to pare off, in a second Edition, a great Part of that which cannot but appear superfluous to an intelligent and attentive Reader. If you are of that Mind, I shall beg the favour of you to mark to me these Passages which you would think fittest to be left out. If there be any thing wherein you think me mistaken, I beg you to deal freely with me, that either I may clear it up to you, or reform it in the next Edition. For I flatter my self that I am so sincere a Lover of Truth, that it is very indifferent to me, so I am possess'd of it, whether it be by my own, or any other's Discovery. For I count any Parcel of this Gold not the less to be valued, nor not the less enriching, because I wrought it not out of the Mine my self. I think every one ought to contribute to the common Stock, and to have no other Scruple or Shyness about the receiving of Truth, but that he be not impos'd on, and take Counterfeit, and what will not bear the Touch, for genuine and real Truth. I doubt not but, to one of your Largeness of Thought, that in the reading of my Book you miss several things, that perhaps belong to my Subject, and you would think belongs to the System: If in this Part too you will communicate your Thoughts, you will do me a Favour. For though I will not so flatter my self as to undertake to fill up the Gaps which you may observe in it; yet it may be of Use where mine is at a Stand, to suggest to others Matter of farther Contemplation. This I often find, that what Men by thinking have made clear to themselves, they are apt to think, that upon the first Suggestion it should be so to others, and so let it go not sufficiently explain'd; not considering what may be very clear to themselves, may be very obscure to others. Your Penetration and Quickness hinders me from expecting from you many Complaints of this Kind. But if you have met with any Thing, in your Reading of my Book, which at first Sight you stuck at, I shall think it a sufficient Reason, in the next Edition, to amend it for the Benefit of meaner Readers.

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The Remarks of that learned Gentleman you mention, which you say you have in your Hands, I shall receive as a Favour from you.

Tho' by the View I had of moral Ideas, whilst I was considering that Subject, I thought I saw that Morality might be demonstratively made out; yet whether I am able so to make it out, is another Question. Every one could not have demonstrated what Mr. Newton's Book hath shewn to be demonstrable: But to shew my Readiness to obey your Commands, I shall not decline the first Leisure I can get to employ some Thoughts that way; unless I find what I have said in my *Essay* shall have stir'd up some abler Man to prevent me, and effectually do that Service to the World.

We had here, the 8th Instant, a very sensible Earthquake, there being scarce an House, wherein it was not by some Body or other felt. We have News of it at several Places from *Cologn*, as far as *Bristol*. Whether it reach'd you I have not heard. If it did, I would be glad to know what was the exact Time it was felt, if any Body observed it. By the Queen's Pendulum at *Kensington*, which the Shake stop'd from going, it was 2 h. *post m.* At *Whitehall*, where I observed it, it was by my Watch 2 h. 5 m. *post m.* Which, supposing the Queen's Pendulum went exact, and adding the Equation of that Day, will fall near the Time mark'd by my Watch, or a little later. If there could be found People, that in the whole Extent of it, did by well adjusted Clocks exactly observe the Time, one might see whether it were all one Shock, or proceeded gradually from one Place to another.

I thank you for having taken Dr. *Sibelinus* into your Protection. I desire you, with my Service to present my most humble Thanks to your Brother for the Favour of his Letter; to which, tho' I have not time this Post to return an Answer, I shall not long delay my Acknowledgments.

I hope you will see, by the Freedom I have here taken with you, that I begin to reckon my self amongst your Acquaintance. Use me so, I beseech you. If there be any Service I can do you here employ me, with an Assurance that I am,

S I R,

Your most humble, and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

S I R,

Dublin, Oct. 15. 92.

I Do most heartily beg your Pardon for my long Silence to your's of the 20th last. Our then approaching Parliament was the Occasion of my not returning you an immediate Answer; and I expected withal to give you a more large Account of some Things you desire from me. But seeing no immediate Hopes of Leisure, by reason of our parliamentary Business, I venture at present to send you only the inclosed rough Papers. And till I can have an Opportunity my self of revising your Book, I have put it into the Hands of a very ingenious and learned Person, who promises me to give his Observations in Writing, which as soon as obtain'd I shall transmit to you.— The Earthquake was not at all felt here — I am wonderfully pleas'd that you give me Hopes of seeing a *Moral Essay* from your Hand; which I assure you, Sir, with all Sincerity, is highly respected by

Your most humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, Dec. 22. 1692.

I Now sit down to answer your's of September 20 concerning the second Edition of your Book, wherein you desire my Opinion and Advice. And after so long Consideration of the Matter, as between that and this; and consulting some ingenious Heads here about it, I can say but little; only that the same judicious Hand, that first form'd it, is best able to reform it where he sees convenient. I never quarrell'd with a Book for being too prolix, especially where the Prolixity is pleasant, and tends to the Illustration of the Matter in Hand, as I am sure your's always does. And after I received your Letter on this Subject, I communicated the Contents thereof to two very ingenious Persons here; and at the same time I lent them your Book, desiring them to examine it strictly, and to find out, and note, whatever might be changed, added, or subtracted. And after a diligent Perusal, they agreed with me in the same Conclusion, viz. That the Work, in all its Parts, was so wonderfully curious and instructive, that they would not venture to alter any Thing in it. But however, that I may in some measure answer your Expectations, I shall briefly note to you what I conceive on this Subject.

And, 1st, The *Errata Typographica* (besides those mention'd in the Table) are many and great; these therefore, in your next Edition, are diligently to be corrected.

2dly, pag. 270. 'Tis asserted, "That without a particular Revelation we cannot be certain, that Matter cannot think, or that Omnipotency may not endow Matter with a Power of Thinking."

And pag. 314, 315. "The Immateriality of God is evinced from the absolute Impossibility of Matter's Thinking." These two Places, I know, have been stumbled at by some, as not consistent. To me indeed they appear, and are, very agreeable; and I have clearly evinced their Consistency to those that have scrupled them. But I thought fit to give you this Hint, that in your next Edition you may prevent any such Doubt. My Sense, of these two Places is this. In the first 'tis said, "That we cannot tell (without a particular Revelation to the contrary) but an Almighty God can make Matter think." In the other 'tis asserted, "That unthinking Matter cannot be this Almighty God." The next place I take notice of, as requiring some farther Explication, is your Discourse about Man's Liberty and Necessity. This Thread seems so wonderfully fine spun in your Book, that at last the great Question of Liberty and Necessity seems to vanish. And herein you seem to make all Sins to proceed from our Understandings, or to be against Conscience, and not at all from the Depravity of our Wills. Now it seems harsh to say, that a Man shall be damn'd, because he understands no better than he does. What you say concerning *Genera* and *Species* is unquestionably true; and yet it seems hard to assert, that there is no such sort of Creatures in Nature as Birds: For tho' we may be ignorant of the particular Essence that makes a Bird to be a Bird, or that determines and distinguishes a Bird from a Beast; or the just Limits and Boundaries between each; yet we can no more doubt of a Sparrow's being a Bird, and an Horse's being a Beast, than we can of this Colour being black, and t'other white; tho' by Shades they may be made so gradually to vanish into each other, that we cannot tell where either determines.

But all this I write, more in Deference to your Desires from me, than to satisfy my self that I have given you any material Hints, or have offer'd any considerable Objection that is worth your Notice and Removal. Mr. Norris's unfortunate Attempts on your Book sufficiently testify its Validity; and truly I think he trifles so egregiously, that he should forewarn all Men how far they venture to criticize on your Work. But thus far, after all, I'll venture to intimate to you, that if you are for another Work of this Kind, I should advise you to let this stand as it does. And your next shall be of a Model wholly new, and that is by way of Logick; something accommodated

to

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to the usual Forms, together with the Consideration of Extension, Solidity, Mobility, Thinking, Existence, Duration, Number, &c. and of the Mind of Man, and its Powers, as may make up a complete Body of what the Schools call Logick and Metaphysics. This I am the more inclinable to advise on two Accounts; *First*, because I have lately seen *Johannis Clerici Logica, Ontologia* and *Pneumatologia*, in all which he has little extraordinary but what he borrows from you; and in the Alteration he gives them, he robs them of their native Beauties; which can only be preserved to them by the same incomparable Art that first framed them. *Secondly*, I was the first that recommended and lent to the Reverend Provost of our University, Dr. *Ashe*, a most learned and ingenious Man, your *Essay*, with which he was so wonderfully pleased and satisfied, that he has order'd it to be read by the Bachelors in the College, and strictly examines them in their Progress therein. Now a large Discourse in the way of a Logick would be much more taking in the Universities, wherein Youths do not satisfy themselves to have the Breeding or Business of the Place, unless they are engaged in Something that bears the Name and Form of Logick.

This, Sir, is in short what offers it self to me at present concerning your Work. There remains only that I again put you in Mind of the second Member of your Division of Sciences, the *Ars Practica*, or Ethicks; you cannot imagine what an earnest Desire and Expectation I have raised in those that are acquainted with your Writings, by the Hopes I have given them from your Promise of endeavouring Something on that Subject. Good Sir, let me renew my Requests to you therein; for believe me, Sir, 'twill be one of the most useful and glorious Undertakings that can employ you. The Touches you give in many Places of your Book on this Subject are wonderfully Curious, and do largely testify your great Abilities that way, and I am sure the Pravity of Men's Morals does mightily require the most powerful Means to reform them. Be as large as 'tis possible on this Subject, and by all Means let it be in *English*. He that reads the *xlvi*th Section in your *129*th Page, will be inflamed to read more of the same Kind from the same incomparable Pen. Look therefore on your self as obliged by God Almighty to undertake this Task (pardon me, Sir that I am so free with you, as to insist to your self on your Duty, who, doubtless, understand it better than I can tell you) suffer not therefore your Thoughts to rest till you have finish'd it, and that God Almighty may succeed your Labours, is, and shall be the Prayer of,

Worthy Sir,

Your intirely affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

Oates, 26. Dec. 1692.

Whatever has happen'd to give you Leisure sooner than was expected, I hope to receive some Advantage by it. And that now you will be able to send me your own Thoughts on my Book, together with the Observations of your Friend, into whose Hands you have put it with that Design. I return you my humble Thanks for the Papers you did me the Favour to send me in your last. But am apt to think you agree with me, that there is very little in those Papers wherein either my Sense is not mistaken, or very little wherein the Argument is directly against me. I suppose that learned Gentleman, if he had had the Leisure to read my *Essay* quite through, would have found several of his Objections might have been spared. And I can easily forgive those who have not been at the Pains to read the third Book of my *Essay*, if they make use of Expressions, that when examined signify nothing at all, in Defence of Hypotheses that have long possess'd their Minds. I am far from imagining my self infallible; but yet I should be loth to differ from any

any thinking Man, being fully persuaded there are very few Things of pure Speculation, wherein two thinking Men, who impartially seek Truth, can differ, if they give themselves the Leisure to examine their Hypotheses, and understand one another. I, presuming you to be of this Make, whereof so few are to be found (for 'tis not every one that thinks himself a Lover or Seeker of Truth, who sincerely does it) took the Liberty to desire your Objections, that in the next Edition I might correct my Mistakes. For I am not fond of any thing in my Book; because I have once thought or said it. And therefore I beg you, if you will give your self the Pains to look over my Book again with this Design to oblige me, that you would use all manner of Freedom, both as to Matter, Style, Disposition, and every thing wherein, in your own Thoughts, any thing appears to you fit in the least to be alter'd, omitted, explain'd, or added. I find none so fit, nor so fair Judges as those whose Minds the Study of Mathematicks has open'd, and dis-intangled from the Cheat of Words, which has too great an Influence in all the other which go for Sciences: And I think (were it not for the doubtful and fallacious Use is made of those Signs) might be made much more Sciences than they are.

I sent Order some time since, that a posthumous Piece of Mr. Boyle's should be given to your Bookseller in London to be convey'd to you. It is *A general History of the Air*, which, though left by him very imperfect, yet I think the very Design of it will please you, and it is cast into a Method that any one who pleases may add to it, under any of the several Titles, as his Reading or Observation shall furnish him with Matter of Fact. If such Men as you are, curious and knowing, would joyn to what Mr. Boyle had collected and prepared, what comes in their Way, we might hope in some time to have a considerable History of the Air, than which I scarce know any Part of Natural Philosophy would yield more Variety and Use; but it is a Subject too large for the Attempts of any one Man, and will require the Assistance of many Hands to make it a History very short of compleat.

Since I did my self the Honour to write to your Brother, I have been very ill, to which you must pardon some Part of the Length of my Silence. But my Esteem and Respect for you is founded upon Something so much beyond Complement and Ceremony, that I hope you will not think me the less so, though I do not every Post importune you with repeated Professions that I am,

SIR,

Your most Humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

Oates, 20. Jan. 9th.

HAD I known I should within so few Days have receiv'd the Favour of such a Letter as your's of 22. Dec. I should not have troubled you with mine, that went hence but a little before the Receipt of your's. I was afraid in reading the Beginning of your's, that I had not so great an Interest in you as I flatter'd my self, and upon a Presumption whereof it was that I took the Liberty so confidently to ask your Advice concerning the second Edition of my Book. But what followed satisfied me, that it was your Civility, and not Reservedness, made you tell me, that the same Hand which first form'd it, is best able to reform it. Could I flatter my self so as to think I deserved all that you say of me in your obliging Letter, I should yet think you a better Judge of what is to be reform'd in my Book than I my self. You have given the World Proofs of your great Penetration, and I have received great Marks of your Candor. But were the Inequality between us as much to my Advantage as it is on the other Side, I should nevertheless beg your Opinion. Whatsoever is our own, let us do what we can, stands a little too near us

to

to be view'd as it should: And though we ever so sincerely aim at Truth; yet our own Thoughts, judging still of our own Thoughts, may be suspected to overlook Errors and Mistakes. And I should think he valued Himself more than Truth, and presumed too much on his own Abilities, who would not be willing to have all the Exceptions could be made by any ingenious Friend, before he ventured any thing into the Publick. I therefore heartily thank you for those you have sent me, and for consulting some of your Friends to the same Purpose: And beg the Favour, if any Thing more occurs from your own Thoughts, or from them, you will be pleased to communicate it to me, if it be but those *Errata Typographica* you meet with, not taken notice of in the Table. I confess, I thought some of the Explications in my Book too long, though turn'd several Ways, to make those abstract Notions the easier sink into Minds prejudiced in the ordinary Way of Education, and therefore I was of a mind to contract it. But finding you, and some other Friends of mine, whom I consulted in the Case, of a contrary Opinion, and that you judge the Redundancy in it a pardonable Fault, I shall take very little Pains to reform it.

I confess what I say, page 270, compar'd with p. 314, 315. may, to an unwary Reader, seem to contain a Contradiction; but you, considering right, perceive that there is none. But it not being reasonable for me to expect, that every Body should read me with that Judgment you do, and observe the Design and Foundation of what I say, rather than stick barely in the Words, 'tis fit, as far as may be, that I accommodate my self to ordinary Readers, and avoid the Appearances of Contradiction, even in their Thoughts. p. 314. I suppose Matter in its own natural State, void of Thought, a Supposition I concluded would not be denied me, or not hard to be prov'd if it should: And thence I infer'd, Matter could not be the first eternal Being. But p. 270. I thought it no Absurdity or Contradiction to suppose, that a thinking omnipotent Being once granted, such a Being might annex to some Systems of Matter, ordered in a Way that he thought fit, a Capacity of some Degrees of Sense and Thinking. To avoid this Appearance of a Contradiction in my two Suppositions, and clear it up to less attentive Readers, I intend in the second Edition to alter it thus, if you think it will do.

P. 270. l. 20. read, *For I see no Contradiction in it, that the first eternal thinking Being, or omnipotent Spirit, should, if he pleased, give to certain Systems of created senseless Matter, put together as he thinks fit, some Degrees of Sense, Perception, and Thought; though I judge it no less than a Contradiction, to suppose Matter (which is evidently, in its own Nature, without Sense and Thought) should be the eternal first thinking Being. What Certainty of Knowledge can any one have, that some Perceptions, such as v. g. Pleasure and Pain, should not be in some Bodies themselves after—*

P. 315. l. 5. read, *Thought can never begin to be: For it is impossible to conceive that Matter, either with or without Motion, could have originally in and from it self Sense, Perception and Knowledge, as is evident from hence, that Sense, Perception and Knowledge must then be a Property eternally inseparable from Matter, and every Particle of it. Not to add, that though our general or specifick Conception of Matter makes us speak of it as one Thing; yet really all Matter is not one individual Thing, neither is there any such Thing existing as one material Being, or one Body, that we know or can conceive. And therefore, if Matter were the eternal first cogitative Being, there would not be one eternal infinite cogitative Being: But an infinite Number of finite cogitative Beings, independent one of another, of limited Force and distinct Thoughts, which could never produce that Order, Harmony and Beauty is to be found in Nature. Since therefore whatsoever is the first eternal Being must necessarily be cogitative: And whatsoever is first of all things—higher Degree, it necessarily follows, that the eternal first Being cannot be Matter. Pray give me your Opinion, whether, if I print it thus, it will not remove the Appearance of any Contradiction.*

I do not wonder to find you think my Discourse about *Liberty* a little too fine spun, I had so much that Thought of it my self, that I said the same Thing of it to some of my Friends before it was printed, and told them that upon that account I judged it best to leave it out, but they persuaded me to the contrary. When the Connexion of the Parts of my Subject brought me to the Consideration of *Power*, I had no Design to meddle with the Question of

of Liberty, but barely pursu'd my Thoughts in the Contemplation of that Power in Man of choosing or preferring, which we call the Will, as far as they would lead me without any the least Byass to one Side or other; or if there was any leaning in my Mind, it was rather to the contrary Side to that where I found my self at the End of my Pursuit. But doubting that it bore a little too hard upon Man's Liberty, I shew'd it to a very ingenious but profess'd *Arminian*, and desir'd him, after he had consider'd it, to tell me his Objections, if he had any, who frankly confess'd he could carry it no farther. I confess, I think there might be something said, which with a great many Men would pass for a satisfactory Answer to your Objection; but it not satisfying me, I neither put it into my Book, nor shall now into my Letter. If I have put any Fallacy on my self in all that Deduction, as it may be, and I have been ready to suspect it my self, you will do me a very acceptable Kindness to shew it me, that I may reform it. But if you will argue for or against Liberty from Consequences, I will not undertake to answer you. For I own freely to you the Weakness of my Understanding, that though it be unquestionable that there is Omnipotence and Omniscience in God our Maker, and I cannot have a clearer Perception of any Thing than that I am free; yet I cannot make Freedom in Man consistent with Omnipotence and Omniscience in God, though I am as fully persuaded of both as of any Truths I most firmly assent to. And therefore I have long since given off the Consideration of that Question, resolving all into this short Conclusion; That if it be possible for God to make a free Agent, then Man is free, though I see not the Way of it.

In the Objection you raise about *Species*, I fear you are fallen into the same Difficulty I often found my self under, when I was writing on that Subject, where I was very apt to suppose distinct *Species* I could talk of, without Names. For pray, Sir, consider what it is you mean, when you say, That we can no more doubt of a Sparrow's being a Bird, and an Horse's being a Beast, than we can of this Colour being Black, and t'other White, &c. but this, that the Combination of simple Ideas, which the Word *Bird* stands for, is to be found in that particular Thing we call a Sparrow. And therefore I hope I have no where said, *There is no such sort of Creatures in Nature as Birds*; if I have, it is both contrary to Truth and to my Opinion. This I do say, That there are real Constitutions in Things from whence these simple Ideas flow, which we observ'd combined in them. And this I farther say, That there are real Distinctions and Differences in those real Constitutions one from another; whereby they are distinguished one from another, whether we think of them, or name them or no. But that that, whereby we distinguish and rank particular Substances into Sorts, or *Genera* and *Species*, is not those real Essences, or internal Constitutions, but such Combinations of simple Ideas, as we observe in them. This I design'd to shew in *lib. iii. c. 6.* If, upon your Perusal of that Chapter again, you find any Thing contrary to this, I beg the Favour of you to mark it to me, that I may correct it, for it is not what I think true. Some Parts of that third Book concerning Words, though the Thoughts were easie and clear enough, yet cost me more Pains to express than all the rest of my *Essay*. And therefore I shall not much wonder if there be in some Places of it Obscurity and Doubtfulness. It would be a great Kindness from my Readers to oblige me, as you have done, by telling me any Thing they find amiss; for the printed Book being more for others Use than my own, 'tis fit I should accommodate it to that as much as I can, which truly is my Intention.

That which you propose of turning my *Essay* into a Body of Logick and Metaphysics, accommodated to the usual Forms, though I thank you very kindly for it, and plainly see in it the Care you have of the Education of young Scholars, which is a Thing of no small Moment; yet I fear I shall scarce find Time to do it; you have cut out other Work for me, more to my Liking, and I think of more Use. Besides that, if they have in this Book of mine, what you think the Matter of these two Sciences, or what you will call them; I like the Method it is in, better than that of the Schools, where I think 'tis no small Prejudice to Knowledge, that Predicaments, Predicables, &c.

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being universally in all their Systems, come to be look'd on as necessary Principles, or unquestionable Parts of Knowledge, just as they are set down there. If Logick be the first thing to be taught young Men, after Grammar, as is the usual Method, I think yet it should be nothing but Proposition and Syllogism. But that being in order to their disputing Exercises in the University, perhaps I may think those may be spared too. Disputing being but an ill (not to say the worst) Way to Knowledge. I say this not as pretending to change or find fault with what publick Allowance and establish'd Practice has settled in Universities; but to excuse my self to you, from whom I cannot allow my self to differ, without telling you the true Reasons of it. For I see so much Knowledge, Candor, and the Marks of so much good Will to Mankind in you, that there are few Men, whose Opinion I think ought to have so much Authority with me as your's. But as to the Method of Learning, perhaps I may entertain you more at large hereafter; only now let me ask you, since you mention Logick and Metaphysicks in relation to my Book, whether either of those Sciences may suggest to you any new Heads fit to be inserted into my *Essay* in a second Edition?

You have done too much Honour to me in the Recommendation I see you have given to my Book, and I am the more pleas'd with it, because I think it was not done out of Kindness to one so much a Stranger to you as I then was. But yet, pray do not think me so vain that I dare assume to my self almost any Part of what you say of me in your last Letter. Could I find in my self any Reason you could have to flatter me, I should suspect you resolv'd to play the Courtier a little. But I know what Latitude civil and well-bred Men allow themselves with great Sincerity, where they are pleas'd, and Kindness warms them. I am sensible of the Obligation, and in Return shall only tell you, that I shall speedily set my self to obey your Commands in the last Part of your Letter. I beg your Pardon for trespassing so much on your Patience, and am,

SIR,

Your most humble, and most obliged Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR,

Dublin, March 2. 1697.

Yours of Jan. 20. came to my Hands just as I lay down on a Bed of Sickness, being a severe Cholick, that held me nigh five Weeks, and brought me very weak; this was the more grievous to me, in that it hinder'd me from giving that ready answer to your Letters, which I desir'd; being very covetous, on all Opportunities, of keeping up a Correspondence with one for whom I have so great a Respect. I am now, God be thanked, pretty well recover'd, but yet weak, and have not yet stir'd abroad. I know the bare signifying this to you is sufficient in my Excuse; so that, relying on your Pardon, I proceed to answer your last.

And first, Sir, believe me, that whatever Respect I have at any time us'd to you, has been the sincere Thoughts of my Heart, and not the vain Complements that usually pass between Courtiers, and, how extravagant soever, are look'd upon as the Effects of good Breeding, and pass only as such by Licence. I think I know a worthy Man when I meet him, and they are so rare in the World, that no Honour is too great for those that are such. And I must plainly say it to your self, that so much Humanity, Candor, Condescension, and good Nature, join'd with so great Judgment, Learning, and Parts, I have not met with in any Man living, as in the Author of the *Essay concerning Human Understanding*. You so favourably entertain all Men's Objections, you are so desirous to hear the Sense of others, you are so tender in

in differing from any Man, that you have captivated me beyond Resistance. What you propose to add in those Places which I intimated to you, as seemingly repugnant to unwary Readers, pag. 270. and 314, 315. is abundantly sufficient; unless you may think it convenient (for the Prevention of all manner of Scruple, and to shew your Readers that you are aware of the Objection that may be raised against these Passages) to add in the Margin a little Note to that Purpose, specifying the seeming Repugnancy that was in the first Edition, and that for the clearing thereof, you have thus farther illustrated it in this. But this, as every thing else, I propose with all Submission to your better Judgment. Mentioning the marginal Note to you minds me to intimate, that I should think it convenient in your next Edition, to express the Abstract or Content of each Section in the Margin, and to spare (if you think fit) the Table of Contents at the latter end of the Book, though I think both may do best. I can assure you, for my own reading, and consulting your Book, I have put the Table of Contents to their respective Sections throughout the whole.

I am fully convinced by the Arguments you give me for not turning your Book into the scholastick Form of Logick and Metaphysics, and I had no other Reason to advise the other, but merely to get it promoted the easier in our University; one of the Businesses of which Places is to learn according to the old Forms. And this minds me to let you know the great Joy and Satisfaction of Mind I conceived on your Promise of the Method of Learning; there could nothing be more acceptable to me than the Hopes thereof, and that on this Account: I have but one Child in the World, who is now nigh four Years old, and promises well; his Mother left him to me very young, and my Affections (I must confess) are strongly placed on him: It has pleased God, by the liberal Provisions of our Ancestors, to free me from the toiling Cares of providing a Fortune for him; so that my whole Study shall be to lay up a Treasure of Knowledge in his Mind, for his Happiness both in this Life and the next. And I have been often thinking of some Method for his Instruction, that may best obtain the End I propose. And now, to my great Joy, I hope to be abundantly supply'd by your Method. And my Brother has sometimes told me, that whilst he had the Happiness of your Acquaintance at *Leyden*, you were upon such a Work as this I desire; and that too, at the Request of a tender Father, for the Use of his only Son. Wherefore, good Sir, let me most earnestly intreat you, by no Means to lay aside this infinitely useful Work, till you have finished it; for 'twill be of vast Advantage to all Mankind, as well as particularly to me your entire Friend. And on this Consideration of Usefulness to Mankind, I will presume again to remind you of your *Discourse of Morality*; and I shall think my self very happy, if by putting you on the Thought, I should be the least Occasion of so great Good to the World. What I have more to say relating to your Book, is of little or no Moment; however, you so readily entertain all Men's Thoughts of your Works, that, futile as mine are, you shall have a Remark or two more from me.

But first to your Query, whether I know any new Heads from Logick or Metaphysics to be inserted in the second Edition of your *Essay*: I answer, I know none, unless you think it may not do well to insist more particularly, and at large, on *Æterna Veritates*, and the *Principium Individuationis*. Concerning the first, you have some Touches, pag. 281. §. 31. p. 323. §. 14. p. 345. §. 14. and concerning the latter, p. 28. §. 4. p. 40. §. 12.

Pag. 96. Sect. 9. you assert, what I conceive is an Errour in Fact, viz. *That a Man's Eye can distinguish a Second of a Circle, whereof its self is the Centre*. Whereas 'tis certain, that few Men's Eyes can distinguish less than 30 Seconds, and most not under a Minute, or 60 Seconds, as is manifest from what Mr. Hook lays down in his *Animadversions* on the first Part of *Hevelii Machina cœlestis*, p. 8, 9, &c. But this, as I said before, is only an Errour in Fact, and affects not the Doctrine laid down in the said Section.

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Pag. 341. Sect. 2. You say, The Existence of all Things without us (except only of God) is had by our Senses. And P. 147. Sect. 33, 34, 35, 36. you shew how the Idea we have of God is made up of the Ideas we have gotten by our Senses. Now this, tho' no Repugnancy; yet to unwary Readers may seem one, and therefore perhaps may deserve a fuller Expression. To me 'tis plain, that in pag. 341. you speak barely of the Existence of a God; and in p. 147. you speak of the Ideas that are ingredient in the complex Idea of God; that is, p. 147. you say, That all the Ideas, ingredient in the Idea of a God, are had from Sense; and p. 341. you only assert that the Existence of this God, or that really there are united in one Being all these Ideas, is had, not from Sense, but Demonstration. This to me seems your Sense, yet perhaps every Reader may not so readily conceive it; and therefore, possibly you may think this Passage, p. 341. worth your farther Consideration and Addition.

I will conclude my tedious Lines with a jocosè Problem, that upon Discourse with several concerning your Book and Notions, I have proposèd to divers very ingenious Men, and could hardly ever meet with one, that, at first dash, would give me the Answer to it which I think true, till by hearing my Reasons they were convinced. 'Tis this: "Suppose a Man born blind, and now adult, and taught by his Touch to distinguish between a Cube and a Sphere (suppose) of Ivory, nighly of the same Bigness, so as to tell when he felt one and t'other, which is the Cube, which the Sphere. Suppose then, the Cube and Sphere placed on a Table, and the blind Man to be made to see; Query, whether by his Sight, before he touch'd them, he could now distinguish and tell which is the Globe, which the Cube? I answer, not; for tho' he has obtained the Experience of how a Globe, how a Cube affects his Touch; yet he has not yet attain'd the Experience, that what affects his Touch so or so, must affect his Sight so or so; or that a protuberant Angle in the Cube, that press'd his Hand unequally, shall appear to his Eye as it does in the Cube. But of this enough; perhaps you may find some Place in your *Essay*, wherein you may not think it amiss to say Something of this Problem.

I am extremely obliged to you for Mr. Boyle's Book of the Air, which lately came to my Hands. 'Tis a vast Design and not to be finish'd but by the united Labours of many Heads, and indefatigably prosecuted for many Years; so that I despair of seeing any Thing complete therein. However, if many will lend the same helping Hands that you have done, I should be in Hopes: And certainly there is not a Chapter in all Natural Philosophy of greater Use to Mankind than what is here proposèd. I am,

Worthy Sir,

Your most humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

London, 28. Mar. 1692.

YOUR Silence, that spared me a great deal of Fear and Uneasiness, by concealing from me your Sickness till it was well over, is abundantly made amends for by the Joy it brings me in the News of your Recovery. You have given me those Marks of your Kindness to me, that you will not think it strange, that I count you amongst my Friends, and with those, desiring to live with the Ease and Freedom of a perfect Confidence, I never accuse them to my self of Neglect or Coldness, when I fail to hear from them so soon as I expected or desired: Though had I known you so well before as I do now, since your last Letter, I should not have avoided being in Pain upon Account of your Health.

I cannot

I cannot at all doubt the Sincerity of any Thing you say to me; but yet give me leave to think, that 'tis an Excess of Kindness alone could excuse it from looking like Complement. But I am convinced you love your Friends extremely, where you have made choice of them, and then believe you can never think nor speak too well of them. I know not whether it belongs to a Man who gets once in Print, to read in his Book that it is perfect, and that the Author is infallible. Had I had such an Opinion of my own Sufficiency before I writ, my *Essay* would have brought me to another, and given me such a Sight of the Weakness of my Understanding, that I could not fail to suspect my self of Errour and Mistake in many Things I had writ, and to desire all the light I could get from others to set me right. I have found you one of the likeliest to afford it me; your Clearness and Candor gave me the Confidence to ask your Judgment, and I take it for no small Assurance of your Friendship that you have given it me, and have condescended to advise me of the *Printer's* Faults, which gives me Hopes you have not concealed any you have observed in the Work it self. The marginal Summaries you desire, of the Paragraphs, I shall take care to have added, were it only for your Sake, but I think too it will make the Book the more useful.

That Request of your's you press so earnestly upon me, makes me bemoan the Distance you are from me, which deprives me of the Assistance I might have from your Opinion and Judgment, before I ventur'd any Thing into the Publick. 'Tis so hard to find impartial Freedom in one's Friends, or an unbiass'd Judgment any where, that amongst all the Helps of Conversation and Acquaintance, I know none more wanted, nor more useful, than speaking freely and candidly one's Opinion upon the Thoughts and Compositions of another intended for the Press. Experience has taught me, that you are a Friend of this Rank, and therefore I cannot but heartily wish that a Sea between us did not hinder me from the Advantage of this good Office. Had you been within Reach, I should have beg'd your severe Examination of what is now gone to the *Printer* at your Instance; I had rather I could have said upon your Perusal, and with your Correction. I am not, in my Nature a Lover of Novelty nor Contradiction; but my Notions in this Treatise, have run me so far out of the common Road and Practice, that I could have been glad to have had them allow'd by so sober a Judgment as your's, or stop'd, if they had appear'd impracticable or extravagant, from going any farther. That which your Brother tells you, on this Occasion, is not wholly besides the Matter. The Main of what I now publish, is but what was contain'd in several Letters to a Friend of mine, the greatest Part whereof were writ out of *Holland*. How your Brother came to know of it I have clearly forgot, and do not remember that ever I communicated it to any Body there. These Letters, or at least some of them, have been seen by some of my Acquaintance here, who would needs persuade me 'twould be of use to publish them; your Impatience to see them, has not, I assure you, slacken'd my Hand, or kept me in Suspense: And I wish now they were out, that you might the sooner see them, and I the sooner have your Opinion of them. I know not yet whether I shall set my Name to this Discourse, and therefore shall desire you to conceal it. You see I make you my Confessor, for you have made your self my Friend.

The Faults of the Press are, I find upon a sedate Reading over of my Book, infinitely more than I could have thought; those that you have observed I have corrected, and return you my Thanks; and, as far as I have gone in my Review, have added and alter'd several Things, but am not yet got so far as those Places you mark for the *Æternæ Veritates*, and *Principium Individuationis*, which I shall consider when I come to them, and endeavour to satisfy your Desire. *Malebranche's Hypothesis of seeing all Things in God*, being that from whence I find some Men would derive our Ideas, I have some Thoughts of adding a new Chapter, wherein I will examine it, having, as I think, something for to say against it, that will shew the Weakness of it very clearly. But I have so little Love to Controversie, that I am not fully resolved. Some other additions I have made, I hope will not displease you, but I wish I could

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could shew them you before they are in Print; for I would not make my Book bigger, unless it were to make it better.

I thank you for advising me of the Errour about Sight, for indeed it was a great one in Matter of Fact, but it was in the Expression, for I meant a Minute, but, by Mistake, call'd $\frac{1}{60}$ of a Degree, a Second. Your ingenious Problem will deserve to be published to the World.

The seeming Contradiction between what is said p. 147. and p. 341. is just as you take it, and I hope so clearly expressed, that it cannot be mistaken, but by a very unwary Reader, who cannot distinguish between an Idea in the Mind, and the real Existence of Something out of the Mind answering that Idea. But I heartily thank you for your Caution, and shall take Care how to prevent any such Mistake when I come to that Place. My humble Service to your Brother. I am,

SIR,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, Apr. 18. 1693.

I Have lately received farther Testimonies of your Kindness and Friendship to me in your last of *March* 28. which brings withal the welcome News of your having committed your Work *Of Education* to the Press; than which, I know not any Thing that I ever expected with a more earnest Desire. What my Brother told me, relating to that Treatise, he had from your self in *Holland*; but perhaps you might have forgot what pass'd between you on that Occasion. I perceive you fear the Novelty of some Notions therein may seem extravagant; but, if I may venture to judge of the Author, I fear no such Thing from him. I doubt not, but the Work will be new and peculiar, as his other Performances; and this it is that renders them estimable and pleasant. He that travels the beaten Roads may chance indeed to have Company, but he that takes his Liberty, and manages it with Judgment, is the Man that makes useful Discoveries, and most beneficial to those that follow him. Had *Columbus* never ventur'd farther than his Predecessors, we had yet been ignorant of a vast Part of our Earth, preferable (as some say) to all the other three. And, if none may be allow'd to try the Ocean of Philosophy farther than our Ancestors, we shall have but little Advancements or Discoveries made in the *Mundus intellectualis*; wherein, I believe, there is much more unknown than what we have yet found out.

I should very much approve of your adding a Chapter in your *Essay*, concerning *Malebranche's Hypothesis*. As there are Enthusiasms in Divinity; so there are in Philosophy; and as one proceeds from not consulting, or misapprehending the Book of God; so the other from not reading and considering the Book of Nature. I look upon *Malebranche's* Notions, or rather *Plato's*, in this particular, as perfectly unintelligible. And if you will engage in a Philosophick Controversy, you cannot do it with more Advantage than in this Matter. What you lay down concerning our Ideas and Knowledge, is founded and confirmed by Experiment and Observation, that any Man may make in himself, or the Children he converses with, wherein he may note the gradual Steps that we make in Knowledge. But *Plato's* Fancy has no Foundation in Nature, but is meerly the Product of his own Brain.

I know 'tis none of your Business to engage in Controversy, or remove Objections; save only such as seem immediately to strike at your own Positions; and therefore I cannot insist upon what I am now going to mention to you. However I will give you the Hint, and leave the Consideration thereof to your own Breast. The 10th Chapter of your ivth Book, is a most exact Demonstration of the *Existence of a God*. But perhaps it might be more full,

full, by an Addition against the *Eternity of the World*, and that all Things have not been going on in the same Manner as we now see them *ab aeterno*. I have known a pack of Philosophical Atheists, that rely much on this *Hypothesis*; and even *Hobbs* himself does somewhere alledge (if I am not forgetful, 'tis in his Book *De Corpore*, in the Chapter *De Universo*) That the same Arguments, which are brought against the *Eternity of the World*, may serve as well against the *Eternity of the Creator of the World*. I am,

Honour'd SIR,

Your most affectionate, devoted Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

London, 15. July. 1693.

I Had not been so long before I had acknowledg'd the Favour of your last, had not I a Design to give you at large an Account of some Alterations I intended to make in the Chapter of *Power*, wherein I should have been very glad you had shewn me any Mistake. I my self, not being very well satisfied, by the Conclusion I was led to, that my Reasonings were perfectly right, review'd that Chapter again with great Care, and by observing only the Mistake of one Word (*viz.* having put *Things* for *Actions*, which was very easie to be done in the Place where it is, *viz.* p. 123. as I remember, for I have not my Book by me here in Town) I got into a new View of Things, which, if I mistake not, will satisfie you, and give a clearer Account of Human Freedom than hitherto I have done, as you will perceive by these Summaries of the following Sections of that Chapter;

- §. 28. Volition is the ordering of some Action by Thought.
- §. 29. Uneasiness determines the Will.
- §. 30. Will must be distinguished from Desire.
- §. 31. The greater Good in View barely consider'd determines not the Will. The Joys of Heaven are often neglected.
- §. 32. Desire determines the Will.
- §. 33. Desire is an Uneasiness.
- §. 34. The greatest present Uneasiness usually determines the Will, as is evident in Experience. The Reasons.
- §. 35. Because Uneasiness being a Part of Unhappiness, which is first to be removed in our Way to Happiness.
- §. 36. Because Uneasiness alone is present.
- §. 37. The Uneasiness of other Passions have their Share with Desire.
- §. 38. Happiness alone moves the Desire.
- §. 39. All absent Good not desired, because not necessary to our Happiness.
- §. 40. The greatest Uneasiness does not always determine the Will, because we can suspend the Execution of our Desires.

This short Scheme may perhaps give you so much Light into my present *Hypothesis*, that you will be able to judge of the Truth of it, which I beg you to examine by your own Mind. I wish you were so near that I could communicate it to you at large, before it goes to the Press. But it is so much too long for a Letter, and the Press will be so ready to stay for it before it is finished, that I fear I shall not be able to have the Advantage of your Thoughts upon the whole Thread of my Deduction. For I had much rather have your Corrections, whilst they might contribute to make it receive your Approbation, than flatter my self before-hand that you will be pleased with it.

I hope,

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I hope, e're this, you have receiv'd from Mr. that which I promised you the Beginning of this Spring. I must desire your Opinion of it without Reserve, for I should not have ventur'd, upon any other Condition, to have own'd, and presented to you such a Trifle. I am,

SIR,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, August 12. 1693.

YOURS of July 15. came to my Hands about a Fortnight since; and I had, e're this, acknowledged the Favour thereof, but that I waited the Arrival of your much desired Piece, *Of Education*, which came not to me till about three Days ago. I immediately set my self to read it, as all Things from its Author, with the utmost Attention; and I find it answerable to the highest Expectations I had of it. And since, with your usual Modesty you are pleased to require my Thoughts more particularly concerning it, I shall with all Freedom, but at the same time with all Dference, propose them to you, not doubting of your favourable Interpretation and Pardon, where you see it needful. And first, in general, I think you propose Nothing in your whole Book but what is very reasonable, and very practicable, except only in one Particular, which seems to bear hard on the tender Spirits of Children, and the natural Affections of Parents: 'Tis pag. 117, 118. where you advise, *That a Child should never be suffer'd to have what he craves, or so much as speaks for, much less if he cries for it.* I acknowledge what you say in explaining this Rule, Sect. 101. in relation to natural Wants, especially that of *Hunger*, may be well enough allow'd; but in Sect. 102. where you come to apply it to *Wants of Fancy and Affectation*, you seem too strict and severe. You say indeed, *this will teach them to stifle their Desires, and to practice Modesty and Temperance*; but for teaching these Virtues, I conceive we shall have Occasions enough in relation to their hurtful Desires, without abridging them so wholly in Matters indifferent and innocent, that tend only to divert and please their busie Spirits. You allow indeed, *That 'twould be Inhumanity to deny them those Things one perceives would delight them*; if so, I see no Reason why, in a modest Way, and with Submission to the Wills of their Superiors, they may not be allow'd to declare what will delight them. No, say you; *but in all Wants of Fancy and Affectation, they should never, if once declared, be harken'd to, or comply'd with.* This I can never agree to, it being to deny that Liberty between a Child and its Parents, as we desire, and have granted us, between Man and his Creator. And, as in this Case, Man is allow'd to declare his Wants, and with Submission to recommend his Requests to God; so I think Children may be allow'd by their Parents or Governours. And as between the Creature and Creator all manner of repining upon Denial or Disappointment is forbidden; so in the Case of Children, all Frowardness or Discontent upon a Refusal, is severely to be reprimanded. But thus far I agree with you in the whole, that whether it be in Wants natural or fanciful that they express their Desires in a froward humourfom Manner, there they should be surely deny'd them. A farther Reason for my allowing Children a Liberty of expressing their innocent Desires, is, that the contrary is impracticable; and you must have the Children almost moaped for Want of Diversion and Recreation, or else you must have those about them study nothing all Day but how to find Employment for them; and how this would rack the Invention of any Man alive, I leave you to judge. And besides, were it an easie Task for any adult Person to study the Fancy, the unaccountable Fancy, and Diversion of Children, the whole Year round; yet it would not prove delightful to a Child, being not

not his own Choice. But this, you'll say, is what you would have imprinted on them, that they are not to choose for themselves; but why not, in harmless things, and Plays or Sports, I see no Reason. In all Things of Moment let them live by the Conduct of others wiser than themselves.

This, Sir, is all, that in your whole Book I stick at; to all the rest I could subscribe. And I am not a little pleased, when I consider that my own Management of my only little one has hitherto been agreeable, in the main, to your Rules, save only in what relates to his hardy Breeding, which I was cautious in, because he is come from a tender and sickly Mother; but the Child himself is hitherto (God be thanked) very healthful, though not very strong.

The Rules you give for the correcting of Children, and implanting in their Minds an early Sense of Praise or Dispraise, of Repute and Dishonour, are certainly very just.

The Contrivances you propose for teaching them to read and write, are very ingenious. And because I have practised one much of the same Nature, I'll venture to describe it. "'Tis by writing Syllables and Words in Printed hand, on the Face of a Pack of Cards, with Figures or Cyphers adjoin'd to each Word; by which I can form twenty several sorts of Games, that shall teach Children both to read and count at the same time; and this with great Variety." One Thing more I shall venture to add to what you direct concerning Writing; that is, I will have my Son taught Short-hand; I do not mean to that Perfection as to copy a Speech from the Mouth of a ready Speaker, but to be able to write it readily for his own private Business. Believe me, Sir, 'tis as useful a Knack as a Man of Business, or any Scholar can be Master of, and I have found the Want of it my self, and seen the Advantage of it in others frequently.

You are certainly in the right of it, relating to the Manner of acquiring Languages, *French, Latin, &c.* and in what you lay down concerning Grammar-Schools, Themes, Verses, and other Learning. But above all, what you direct in every Particular for the forming of Children's Minds, and giving them an early Turn to Morality, Virtue, Religion, &c. is most excellent.

And I can only say in general, that I can give no better Proof of my liking your Book in all these Precepts, than by a strict Observance of them in the Education of my own Son, which I shall pursue (God willing) as exactly as I can. One Thing, I fear, I shall be at a loss in, that is, a Tutor agreeable to the Character you prescribe. But in this neither shall my Endeavours be wanting, though I leave him the worse Estate, to leave him the better Mind.

I could heartily have wish'd you had been more particular in naming the Authors you would advise Gentlemen to read, and be conversant in, in the several Parts of Learning you recommend to their Study. Had you done this, I know no *Logick* that deserves to be named, but the *Essay of Human Understanding*. So that I fear you would rather have left that Head open, than recommended your own Work.

The last Thing I shall take notice of, is what mightily pleases me, it being the very Thought of my own Mind these many Years; which is, your recommending a manual Trade to all Gentlemen. This I have ever been for, and have wonder'd how it comes to pass, that 'tis so generally neglected; but the lazy effeminate Luxuriousness that overruns the Nation, occasions the Neglect thereof. *Painting* I have ever designed for my Son, but you have raised two Objections against it, that are not easily answer'd, especially its taking up so much Time to attain a Mastery in it.

I have now given you my Opinion of your Book, and now I am obliged to thank you for sending me a Present, which I so highly value.

As to that Part of your Letter relating to the Alterations you have made in your *Essay* concerning *Man's Liberty*, I dare not venture, upon those short Hints you give me, to pass my Opinion. But, now that you have discovered it to me, I plainly perceive the Mistake of *Sett.* 28. *P.* 123. where you put *Thing* for *Action*. And I doubt not, but in your next Edition, you will fully rectify this Matter. And I could advise you to hasten that Edition

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tion with what Speed you can, least Foreigners undertake a Translation of your first, without your second Thoughts. Thus they have served me, by translating into *Latin*, and printing my *Dioptricks* in *Holland*, when I have now by me a Translation of my own of that Work, with many Amendments and large Additions.

Pray, Sir, let me beg the favour of your Correspondence as frequently as you can, for nothing is more acceptable to

Your most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

Oates, 23. Aug. 1693.

YOURS of *August 12.* which I received last Night, eased me of a great deal of Pain your Silence had for some time put me in; for you must allow me to be concern'd for your Health, as for a Friend that I could not think in Danger, or a Disease, without a Concern and Trouble, suitable to that great Esteem and Love I have for you. But you have made me amends plentifully by the Length and Kindness, and, let me add too, the Freedom of your Letter. For the Approbation you so largely give to my Book is the more welcome to me, and gives me the better Opinion of my Method, because it has joyn'd with it your Exception to one Rule of it; which I am apt to think you your self, upon second Thoughts, will have remov'd, before I say any Thing to your Objections. It confirms to me that you are the good natur'd Man I took you for; and I do not at all wonder, that the Affection of a kind Father should startle at it at first Reading, and think it very severe that Children should not be suffer'd to express their Desires; for so you seem to understand me. And such a Restraint, you fear, *would be apt to moop them, and hinder their Diverfion.* But if you please to look upon the Place, and observe my Drift, you will find that they should not be indulged, or complied with, in any Thing their Conceits have made a Want to them, as necessary to be supplied. What you say, *That Children would be moaped for want of Diverfion and Recreation, or else we must have those about them study nothing all Day, but how to find Employment for them; and how this would rack the Invention of any Man living, you leave me to judge,* seems to intimate, as if you understood that Children should do nothing but by the Prescription of their Parents or Tutors, chalking out each Action of the whole Day in Train to them. I hope my Words express no such Thing, for its quite contrary to my Sense, and I think would be useless Tyranny in their Governours, and certain Ruin to the Children. I am so much for Recreation, that I would, as much as possible, have all they do be made so. I think Recreation as necessary to them as their Food, and that nothing can be Recreation which does not delight. This, I think, I have so expressed, and when you have put that together, judge whether I would not have them have the greatest Part of their Time left to them, without Restraint, to divert themselves any way they think best, so it be free from vicious Actions, or such as may introduce vicious Habits. And therefore if they should ask to play, it could be no more interpreted a *Want of Fancy*, than if they asked for Victuals when hungry; though where the Matter is well order'd, they will never need to do that. For when they have either done what their Governour thinks enough in any Application to what is usually made their Business, or are perceived to be tir'd with it, they should of course be dismissed to their innocent Diverfions, without ever being put to ask for it. So that I am for the full Liberty of Diverfion, as much as you can be, and, upon a second Perusal of my Book, I do not doubt but you will find me so. But being allow'd that, as one of their natural Wants, they should not yet be permitted to let loose their Desires in Importunities for what they fancy. Children are very apt to covet what they see those above them in Age have or do, to have

have or do the like, especially if it be their elder Brothers and Sisters. Does one go Abroad? The other strait has a mind to it too. Has such an one new, or fine Cloaths, or Play-things? They, if you once allow it them, will be impatient for the like, and think themselves ill dealt with if they have it not. This being indulged when they are little, grows up with their Age, and with that enlarges it self to Things of greater Consequence, and has ruin'd more Families than one in the World. This should be suppressed in its very first Rise, and the Desires you would not have encouraged, you should not permit to be spoken, which is the best Way for them to silence them to themselves. Children should by constant Use learn to be very modest in owning their Desires, and careful not to ask any Thing of their Parents, but what they have Reason to think their Parents will approve of. And a Reprimand upon their ill bearing a Refusal comes too late, the Fault is committed and allow'd; and if you allow them to ask, you can scarce think it strange they should be troubled to be deny'd; so that you suffer them to engage themselves in the Disorder, and then think the fittest time for a Cure, and, I think, the surest and easiest Way is Prevention. For we must take the same Nature to be in Children, that is in grown Men; and how often do we find Men take ill to be deny'd what they would not have been concerned for if they had not asked. But I shall not enlarge any farther in this, believing you and I shall agree in the Matter; and indeed it is very hard, and almost impossible to give general Rules of Education, when there is scarce any one Child, which in some Cases should not be treated differently from another. All that we can do in general, is only to shew what Parents and Tutors should aim at, and leave to them the ordering of particular Circumstances as the Case shall require.

One Thing give me leave to be importunate with you about: You say, your Son is not very strong; to make him strong, you must use him hardly, as I have directed; but you must be sure to do it by very insensible Degrees, and begin an Hardship you would bring him to only in the Spring. This is all the Caution needs be used. I have an Example of it in the House I live in, where the only Son of a very tender Mother was almost destroy'd by a too tender keeping. He is now, by a contrary Usage, come to bear Wind and Weather, and wet in his Feet; and the Cough, which threaten'd him under that warm and cautious Management, has left him, and is now no longer his Parents constant Apprehension as it was.

I am of your Mind as to short Hand. I my self learn'd it since I was a Man, but had forgot to put it in when I writ, as I have, I doubt not, overseen a thousand other Things, which might have been said on this Subject. But it was only at first a short Scheme for a Friend, and is publish'd to excite others to treat it more fully.

I know not whether it would be useful to make a Catalogue of Authors to be read by a young Man, or whether it could be done, unless one knew the Child's Temper, and what he was designed to.

My *Essay* is now very near ready for another Edition, and upon Review of my Alterations, concerning what determines the *Will*, in my cool Thoughts I am apt to think them to be right, as far as my Thoughts can reach in so nice a Point, and in short is this. *Liberty* is a Power to act or not to act, accordingly as the Mind directs. A Power to direct the operative Faculties to Motion or Rest in particular Instances, is that which we call the *Will*. That, which in the Train of our voluntary Actions determines the Will to any Change of Operation, is some present *Uneasiness*, which is, or at least is always accompanied with that of *Desire*. *Desire* is always moved by Evil to fly it; because a total Freedom from Pain always makes a necessary Part of our Happiness. But every *Good*, nay every greater *Good*, does not constantly move *Desire*, because it may not make, or may not be taken to make any necessary Part of our Happiness; for all that we desire is only to be happy. But though this general *Desire* of Happiness operates constantly and invariably in us; yet the Satisfaction of any particular *Desire*, can be suspended from determining the Will to any subservient Action, till we have maturely examined, whether the particular apparent Good we then desire,

make a Part of our real Happiness, or be consistent or inconsistent with it. The Result of our Judgment, upon Examination, is what ultimately determines the Man, who could not be *free*, if his Will were determined by any thing but his own Desire, guided by his own Judgment. This, in short, is what I think of this Matter, I desire you to examine it by your own Thoughts. I think I have so well made out the several Particulars where I treat them at large, that they have convinced some I have shewn them to here, who were of another Mind; and therefore how much soever contrary to the receiv'd Opinion, I think I may publish them; but I would first have your judicious and free Thoughts, which I much rely on; for you love Truth for it self, and me so well, as to tell it me without Disguise.

You will herewith receive a new Chapter *Of Identity and Diversity*, which, having writ only at your Instance, 'tis fit you should see and judge of before it goes to the Press. Pray send me your Opinion of every Part of it. You need not send back the Papers, but your Remarks on the Paragraphs you shall think fit, for I have a Copy here.

You desir'd me too to enlarge more particularly about eternal Verities, which, to obey you, I set about, but upon Examination, find all general Truths are eternal Verities, and so there is no Entering into Particulars; though, by Mistake, some Men have selected some as if they alone were eternal Verities. I never, but with Regret, reflect on the Distance you are from me, and am,

S I R,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured S I R,

Dublin, Sept. 16. 1693.

I Have your's from *Oates* of *Aug. 23.* with your Chapter of *Identity and Diversity*; and I acknowledge my self extremely obliged to you, for being at all that Thought on my Account. However, I repent not of the Trouble I gave you therein, seeing the Effects thereof, such clear Reasoning, and profound Judgment, that convinces and delights at once. And I protest, Sir, 'tis to me the hardest Task in the World, to add any Thing to, or make any Remarks upon, what you deliver therein; every Thing you write therein is deliver'd with such convincing Reason, that I fully assent to all. And to make Remarks where I have no Room to say any Thing, would please neither you nor my self. And to shew you that I would not wholly rely on my own Examination of your Chapter, I imparted it to others, desiring their Censure of it; but still with the same Event, all acknowledg'd the Clearness of the Reasoning, and that nothing more was left to be said on the Subject.

The Answer you make to what I writ on your Thoughts of *Education*, does fully satisfy me. But I assure you, Sir, I was not the only Person shock'd at that Passage. I find several stumble at it, as taking little Play-things, that Children are very apt to desire and ask for, to be Matters of Fancy and Affectation within your Rule. But seeing, in your last Letter, you confine Desires of Fancy and Affectation to other Matters, I am satisfy'd in this Business.

I can say no more to the Scheme you lay down of *Man's Liberty*, but that I believe it very just, and will answer in all Things. I long to see the second Edition of your *Essay*; and then, if any Thing offer, I'll give you my Thoughts more fully.

I am very sensible how closely you are engaged, till you have discharged this Work off your Hands; and therefore I will not venture, till it be over, to press you again to what you have promis'd in the Business of *Man's Life, Morality*. But you must expect that I shall never be forgetful of that, from which I propose so great Good to the World, and so much Satisfaction to

Your most intirely affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR,

Dublin, Dec. 23. 1693.

I Have now read over your *Essay of Human Understanding* a third time, and always make new Discoveries therein of Something profound. I should set upon it again, but that I will wait for your next Edition, which I hope by this time is almost finished. The usual Satisfaction I take in reading all Things that come from you, made me lately again run over your Chapter of *Identity and Diversity*; concerning the Justness whereof, I have yet the same Opinion as formerly. But one Thought suggested it self to me, which on my first Reading did not occur. It relates to *Seet. 22.* wherein the Reason you give, why the Law may justly punish a sober Man for what he did when Drunk, or a waking Man for what he did when walking in his Sleep, tho' it be true and full in the Case of the Night-walker; yet I conceive it not so full in the Case of the drunken Man. For Drunkenness is itself a Crime, and therefore no one shall alledge it an Excuse of another Crime. And in the Law we find, *That Killing a Man by Chance-Medly is not Capital*; yet if I am doing an unlawful Act, as shooting at a Deer in a Park to steal it, and by Chance-medly I kill a Man unawares, this is Capital; because the Act wherein I was engaged, and which was the Occasion of this Mischief, was in itself unlawful, and I cannot plead it in Excuse. In the Case of the Night-walker, your Answer is true, full, and satisfactory; but that in the Drunkard's Case is somewhat short. The Night-walking is a sort of Distemper, not to be help'd or prevented by the Patient. But Drunkenness is a deliberate Act, which a Man may easily avoid and prevent. Moreover, whatever the Law appoints in this Case, I think, were I on the Jury of one, who walking in his Sleep had kill'd another, I should not violate a good Conscience if I acquitted him; for he is certainly, during those Fits, *Non compos mentis*; and it were easie to distinguish, by Circumstances, how far he counterfeited or not.

You will very much oblige me by a Line or two, to let me know how forward your Work is, and what other Things you have on the Anvil before you; amongst which, I hope you will not forget your *Thoughts on Morality*. For I am obliged to prosecute this Request to you, being the first, I presume, that moved you in it.

There is a Gentleman in this Town, one Captain *Henry Monk*, a nigh Relation of the *Albemarles*, who tells me he has been known to you long ago; and on all Occasions mentions you with the highest Respects. He desired me the other Day to give you his most humble Service. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most obedient Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Honoured SIR,

Oates, 19. Jan. 94.

I Can take it for no other than a great Mark of your Kindness to me, that you spend so much of your Time in the Perusal of my Thoughts, when you have so much better of your own to improve it. To which you add this farther Obligation, that you read my Book for my Instruction, still taking notice to me of what you judge amiss in it. This is a good Office, that so few in the World perform in the way that you do, that it deserves my particular Acknowledgment. And I own my self no less beholden to you when I differ from you, than when convinced by your better Judgment, you give me Opportunity to mend what before was amiss; your Intention being that, to which I equally, in both Cases, owe my Gratitude.

You

You doubt whether my Answer be full in the Case of the Drunkard. To try whether it be or no, we must consider what I am there doing. As I remember (for I have not that Chapter here by me) I am there shewing that Punishment is annexed to Personality, and Personality to Consciousness: How then can a Drunkard be punished for what he did, whereof he is not conscious? To this I answer, Human Judicatures justly punish him, because the Fact is proved against him; but Want of Consciousness cannot be proved for him. This you think not sufficient, but would have me add the common Reason, that Drunkenness being a Crime, one Crime cannot be alledged in Excuse for another. This Reason, how good soever, cannot, I think, be used by me, as not reaching my Case; for what has this to do with Consciousness? Nay, it is an Argument against me, for if a Man may be punished for any Crime, which he committed when drunk, whereof he is allowed not to be conscious, it overturns my *Hypothesis*. Your Case of shooting a Man by Chance, when stealing a Deer, being made Capital, and the like, I allow to be just; but then, pray consider, it concerns not my Argument; there being no Doubt of Consciousness in that Case, but only shews, that any criminal Action infects the Consequences of it. But Drunkenness has Something peculiar in it when it destroys Consciousness; and so the Instances you bring justify not the punishing of a drunken Fact, that was totally and irrecoverably forgotten, which the Reason that I give being sufficient to do, it well enough removed the Objection, without entering into the true Foundation of the Thing, and shewing how far it was reasonable for Human Justice to punish a Crime of a Drunkard, which he could be suppos'd not conscious of, which would have uselessly engag'd me in a very large Discourse, and an impertinent Digression. For I ask you, if a Man by intemperate Drinking should get a Fever, and in the Frenzy of his Disease (which lasted not perhaps above an Hour) committed some Crime, would you punish him for it? If you would not think this just, how can you think it just to punish him for any Fact committed in a drunken Frenzy, without a Fever? Both had the same criminal Cause, *Drunkenness*, and both committed without Consciousness. I shall not enlarge any farther into other particular Instances, that might raise Difficulties about the punishing or not punishing the Crime of an unconscious drunken Man, which would not easily be resolved, without enquiring into the Reason upon which Human Justice ought to proceed in such Cases, which was beyond my present Business to do. Thus, Sir, I have laid before you the Reasons why I have let that Passage go without any Addition made to it. I desire you to lay by your Friendship to me, and only to make use of your Judgment in considering them. And if you are still of Opinion that I need give the Reason too, that one Crime cannot be alledged in Excuse of another, I beg the Favour of you to let me know it as soon as I can, that I may add what is necessary in this Place amongst the *Errata*, before my Book comes out, which advances now apace, and I believe there are, by this time, near 150 Pages of it printed. And now, Sir, though I have not agreed with your Opinion in this Point; yet I beseech you believe I am as much obliged to your Kindness in it, as if you had shewn me what, upon your Reason, had appear'd to me the grossest Mistake; and I beg the Favour of you, whenever you cast your Eye upon any of my Writings, to continue and communicate to me your Remarks.

You write to me, as if Ink had the same Spell upon me, that Mortar, as the *Italians* say, has upon others, that when I had once got my Fingers into it, I could never afterwards keep them out. I grant, that methinks I see Subjects enough, which Way ever I cast my Eyes, that deserve to be otherwise handled, than I imagine they have been; but they require abler Heads, and stronger Bodies than I have, to manage them. Besides, when I reflect on what I have done, I wonder at my own bold Folly, that has so far exposed me in this nice and critical, as well as quick-sighted and learned Age. I say not this to excuse a lazy Idleness, to which I intend to give up the rest of my few Days. I think every one, according to what way Providence has placed him in, is bound to labour for the publick Good as far as he is able,

or

or else he has no Right to eat. Under this Obligation of doing Something, I cannot have a stronger to determine me what I shall do, than what your Desires shall engage me in. I know not whether the Attempt will exceed my Strength. But there being several here who join with you to press me to it; (I received a Letter with the same Instance, from two of my Friends at London, the last Post) I think, the first Leisure I can get to my self, I shall apply my Thoughts to it; and however I may miss my Aim, will justify my self in my Obedience to you, and some others of my ingenious Friends.

I am exceedingly obliged to Captain Monk for his kind Remembrance, and to you for sending it me, and letting me know he is alive. I have, as I ought, all the Esteem for him, that you know so modest and good a Man deserves. Pray, when you see him, present my humble Service to him, and let him know that I am extremely glad to hear that he is well, and that he has not forgot me, and should be much more so to see him here again in England. Pray, give my humble Service to your Brother. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most humble, and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR,

Dublin, Febr. 17. 1694.

I am so very sensible of the great Caution, and deep Consideration you use before you write any Thing, that I wonder at my own Hardiness when I venture to object any Thing against your Positions. And when I read your Answers to any of such my Objections, I much more admire at my own Weakness in making them. I have a new Instance of this in your last of January 18. which came not to this Place before Yesterday. This has most abundantly satisfied me in the Doubt I lay under, concerning the Case of a drunken Man; which you have clear'd up to me in three Words most convincingly. So that I think you have no Reason in the least to alter that Paragraph, unless you may think it convenient to express that Matter a little plainer. Which I think indeed your last Letter to me does better than your twenty second Section of that Chapter. That Section runs thus;

22. *But is not a Man, drunk and sober, the same Person? Why else is he punished for the Fact he commits when drunk, though he be never afterwards conscious of it? Just as much the same Person, as a Man that walks, and does other Things in his Sleep, is the same Person, and is answerable for any Mischief he shall do in it. Human Laws punish both with a Justice suitable to their way of Knowledge; because in these Cases they cannot distinguish certainly what is real, what counterfeit. And so the Ignorance in Drunkenness or Sleep is not admitted as a Plea, &c.*

Now I conceive, that which makes the Expression herein not so very clear, is, *suitable to their way of Knowledge*. Some will be apt to mistake the Word *their* to refer to the drunken or sleeping Man, whereas it refers to the Laws, as if you had said, "Suitable to that way of Knowledge or Information, which the Laws have established to proceed by."

This, in your Letter, is very manifest in a few Words. There you say, *Punishment is annexed to Personality, Personality to Consciousness*. How then can a Drunkard be punished for what he did, whereof he is not conscious? To this I answer, *Human Judicatures justly punish him, because the Fact is proved against him, but Want of Consciousness cannot be proved for him*. This, Sir, is most full in the Case you are there treating of. So I have nothing more to offer in that Matter.

Only give me leave to propose one Question more to you, though it be foreign to the Business you are upon in your Chapter of *Identity*. How comes it to pass that Want of Consciousness cannot be proved for a Drunkard as well as for a Frenzy? One, methinks, is as manifest as the other; and if Drunkenness may be counterfeit, so may a Frenzy. Wherefore to me it seems,

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seems that the Law has made a Difference in these two Cases, on this Account, *viz.* "That Drunkenness is commonly incurr'd voluntarily and premeditately; whereas a Frenzy is commonly without our Consent, or impossible to be prevented." But enough of this.

I should not have troubled you with this, but that according to your usual Candor and Goodness, you seem'd to desire my farther Thoughts thereon, as speedily as I could. I am,

Most worthy S I R,

Your most obliged, humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

S I R,

London, 26. May, 1694.

THE Slowness of the Press has so long retarded my Answer to your last obliging Letter, that my Book, which is now printed and bound, and ready to be sent to you, must be an Excuse for my long Silence. By the Obedience I have pay'd to you in the Index and Summaries order'd according to your Desires, you will see 'tis not Want of Deference to you, or Esteem of you, that has caused this Neglect. And the Profit I have made by your Reflections on several Passages of my Book, will, I hope, encourage you to the Continuance of that Freedom, to a Man who can distinguish between the Censures of a judicious Friend, and the Wrangling of a peevish Critick. There is nothing more acceptable to me than the one, nor more, I think, to be slighted than the other. If therefore, as you seem to resolve, you shall throw away any more of your Time in a Perusal of my *Essay*; judge, I beseech you, as severely as you can of what you read. I know you will not forsake Truth to quarrel with me; and whilst you follow her you will always oblige me, by shewing me my Mistakes, or what seems to you to be so. You will find, in this second Edition, that your Advice at any time has not been thrown away upon me. And you will see by the *Errata*, that though your last came a little too late; yet that could not hinder me from following what you so kindly, and with so much Reason suggested.

I agree with you, that Drunkenness being a voluntary Defect, Want of Conscioufness ought not to be presum'd in Favour of the Drunkard. But Frenzy, being involuntary, and a Misfortune, not a Fault, has a Right to that Excuse, which certainly is a just one where it is truly a Frenzy. And all that lies upon human Justice is, to distinguish carefully between what is real, and what counterfeit in the Case.

My Book, which I desire you to accept from me, is put into Mr. Churchill the Bookseller's Hand, who has told me he will send it in a Bale of Books, the next Week, to Mr. Dobson, a Bookseller in *Castle-street, Dublin*; and I have order'd him to send with it a Copy of the Additions and Alterations which are printed by themselves, and will help to make your former Book useful to any young Man, as you will see (is design'd) by the Conclusion of the Epistle to the Reader. I am,

S I R,

Your most affectionate, and most humble Servant;

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, June 2. 1694.

I Am highly obliged to you for the Favour of your last, of *May 26.* which I received Yesterday. It brought me the welcome News of the second Edition of your *Essay* being published; and that you have favour'd me with a Copy, which I shall expect with some Impatience; and when I have perus'd it, I shall, with all Freedom, give you my Thoughts of it.

And now that you have clear'd your Hands of your second Edition, I hope you may have Leisure to turn your Thoughts to the Subject I have so often propos'd to you; but this, you will say, is a Cruelty in me, that no sooner you are rid of one Trouble, but I set you on another. Truly, Sir, were I sensible it could be a Trouble to you, I should hardly presume so far on your Goodness; but I know those Things are so easy and natural to your Mind, that they give you no Pain in the Production. And I know also, such is your universal Love of Mankind, that you count nothing troublesome that tends to their Good, in a Matter of so great Concernment as Morality.

I have formerly told you what Care I propos'd to take in the Education of my only Child. I must now beg your Pardon if I trouble you in a Matter, wherein I shall be at a Loss without your Assistance. He is now five Years old, of a most towardly and promising Disposition; bred exactly, as far as his Age permits, to the Rules you prescribe, I mean as to forming his Mind, and mastering his Passions. He reads very well, and I think it Time now to put him forward to some other Learning. In order to this I shall want a Tutor for him, and indeed this Place can hardly afford me one to my Mind. If therefore you know any ingenious Man that may be proper for my Purpose, you would highly oblige me, by procuring him for me. I confess the Encouragement I can propose to such a one is but moderate, yet perhaps there may be some found that may not despise it. He should eat at my own Table, and have his Lodging, Washing, Firing and Candlelight in my House, in a good handsome Apartment; and besides this, I should allow him *20 l. per Ann.* His Work for this should be only to instruct three or four Boys in Latin, and such other Learning as you recommend in your Book; I say three or four Boys, because perhaps I may have a Relation's Child or two; one who is my Sister's Son I have always, and do intend to keep as a Companion to my own Son; and of more I am uncertain. But if there be one or two, that will be no great Addition to his Trouble, considering, that perhaps their Parents may recompense that by their Gratuities. I mention to you, of the Languages, only *Latin*, but, if I could obtain it, I should be glad he were also Master of the *French*. As to his other Qualifications, I shall only say in general, I could wish them such as you would desire in a Tutor, to instruct a young Gentleman as you propose in your Book. I would have him indeed a good Man, and a good Scholar; and I propose very much Satisfaction to my self in the Conversation of such a one. And because a Man may be cautious of leaving his native Soil, and coming into a strange Country, without some Certainty of being acceptable to those that send for him, and of some Continuance and Settlement, I can say that I design him to stay with my Son to his State of Manhood; whether he go into the University, or travel, or whatever other State of Life he may take to. And if perhaps on Trial for some time, he or I may not like each other, I do promise to bear his Charges both to and from me, so that he shall be no Loser by his Journey.

I beg your Answer to this at your Leisure; and if any such present, be pleas'd to let me know of him what Particulars you can, as his Parentage, Education, Qualifications, Disposition, &c. with what other Particulars you please to mention; and accordingly I shall write to you farther about it.

526 *Familiar* LETTERS *between* Mr. LOCKE,

In the mean time, I beseech you to pardon this Trouble given you by,

Honoured SIR,

Your most affectionate, and most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

London, 28 June, 1694.

SINCE the Receipt of your's of the second Instant, I have made what Enquiry I can for a Tutor for your Son; the most likely, and the best recommended that I have met with, you will have an Account of from himself in the Inclosed, to which I need add little but these two Things; 1st, That Mr. Fletcher, who is a good Judge, and a Person whose Word I can rely on, gave me a very good Character of him, both as to his Manners and Abilities, and said he would be answerable for him: The other is, That however it comes to pass, the *Scotch* have now here a far greater Reputation for this sort of Employment, than our own Countrey-men. I am sorry it is so, but I have of late found it in many Instances.

I hope, by this Time, the second Edition of my Book, which I ordered for you, and a printed Copy of the Additions are come to your Hands. I wish it were more answerable to the Value you place on it, and better worth your Acceptation. But, as I order the Matter, methinks I make it a hard Bargain to you, to pay so much Time and Pains as must go to the Reading it over, though it were more slightly than we seem agreed, when you promise, and I expect your Observations on it. There appears to me so little Material in the Objections that I have seen in Print against me, that I have passed them all by but one Gentleman's, whose Book not coming to my Hand till those Parts of mine were printed that he questions, I was fain to put my Answer in the latter End of the Epistle.

I wish the Endeavours I have used to procure you a Tutor for your Son, may be as successful as I desire. 'Tis a Business of great Concernment to both you and your Son; but Governours, that have right Thoughts concerning Education, are hard to be found. 'Tis happy for your Son, that a good Part of it is to be under your Eye. I shall be very glad, if in this or any other Occasion, I may be able to do you any Service; for with great Sincerity and Respect I am,

SIR,

Your most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

My most honoured Friend,

Dublin, July 28. 1694.

FOR so you have publickly allow'd me to call * you; and 'tis a Title wherein I boast more than in *Maces* or *Parliament-Robes*. By this you may find I have received the second Edition of your *Essay*, which I prize as an inestimable Treasure of Knowledge. 'Tis but a Week since it came to me; and I have yet only look'd over those Parts which are newly added, particularly that of *Liberty*, the Alterations wherein, I take to be most judiciously made; and now, I think that whole Chapter stands so well put together, and the Argumentation is so legitimate, that nothing can shake it.

I was

See Mr. Locke's *Essay of Human Understanding*, 2d Edit. p. 68.

I was mightily pleased to find therein a rational Account of what I have often wonder'd at, viz. *Why Men should content themselves to stay in this Life for ever, though at the same time they will grant, that in the next Life they expect to be infinitely happy?* Of this you give so clear an Account in the 44th Section of your xxi. Chapter, Book II. that my Wonder no longer remains. That candid Recession from your former *Hypothesis*, which you shew in this Chapter, where Truth requir'd it, raises in me a greater Opinion (if possible) of your Worth than ever. This is rarely to be found amongst Men, and they seem to have something Angelical, that are so far raised above the common Pitch.

In time I shall give you my farther Thoughts of the other Parts of your Book, where any Thing occurs to me. But, at present, I can only pour out my Thanks to you for the favourable Character, under which you have transmitted me to Posterity, pag. 67. My only Concern is, that I can pretend to none of it, but that of your Friend; and this I set up for in the highest Degree. I should think my self happy had I but half the Title to the rest.

I am extremely obliged to you for the Trouble you took on you in my last Request, about a Tutor for my Son. I received your Letter with Mr. Gibbs's inclosed; to which I returned an Answer, address'd to himself. The Import whereof was, "That I had some Offers made to me in this Place, relating to that Matter, to which I thought I should hearken, at least, so far as to make some Tryal. That I was loth to divert him from his good Intentions to the Ministry, and therefore I could not encourage him to undertake so long a Journey, on such Uncertainties on both Sides, &c. I am,

My most highly esteem'd Friend,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

S I R,

Oates, 3 Sept. 1694.

I Have so much the Advantage in the Bargain, if Friendship may be call'd one, that whatsoever Satisfaction you find in your self on that Account, you must allow in me with a large Over-plus. The only Riches I have valued, or labour'd to acquire, has been the Friendship of ingenious and worthy Men, and therefore you cannot blame me if I so forwardly laid hold of the first Occasion that open'd me a Way to your's. That I have so well succeeded in it, I count one of my greatest Happineses, and a sufficient Reward for writing my Book, had I no other Benefit by it. The Opinion you have of it, gives me farther Hopes, for it is no small Reward to one who loves Truth, to be perswaded that he has made some Discoveries of it, and any ways help'd to propagate it to others. I depend so much upon your Judgment and Candor, that I think my self secure in you from peevish Criticism or Flattery; only give me leave to suspect, that Kindness and Friendship do sometimes carry your Expressions a little too far on the favourable Side. This, however, makes me not apprehend you will silently pass by any Thing you are not thoroughly satisfied of in it. The Use I have made of the Advertisements I have received from you of this Kind, will satisfy you that I desire this Office of Friendship from you, not out of Complement, but for the Use of Truth, and that your Animadversions will not be lost upon me. Any Faults you shall meet with in Reasoning, in Perspicuity, in Expression, or of the Press, I desire you to take Notice of, and send me Word of. Especially if you have any where any Doubt; for I am perswaded, that, upon Debate, you and I cannot be of two Opinions; nor, I think, any two Men used to think with Freedom, who really prefer Truth to Opiniatrety, and a little foolish Vain-glory of not having made a Mistake.

Vol. III.

G g g g 2

I shall

528 *Familiar* LETTERS *between* Mr. LOCKE,

I shall not need to justify what I have said of you in my Book: The learned World will be Vouchers for me; and that in an Age not very free from Envy and Censure. But you are very kind to me, since for my Sake you allow your self to own that Part which I am more particularly concern'd in, and permit me to call you *my Friend*, whilst your Modesty checks at the other Part of your Character. But assure your self, I am as well persuaded of the Truth of it, as of any Thing else in my Book, it had not else been put down in it. It only wants a great deal more I had to say, had that been a Place to draw your Picture at large. Herein I pretend not to any peculiar Obligation above others that know you. For though perhaps I may love you better than many others; yet, I conclude, I cannot think better of you than others do.

I am very glad you were provided of a Tutor nearer home, and it had this particular good Luck in it, that otherwise you had been disappointed, if you had depended on Mr. Gibbs; as a Letter I writ to you from London about it, I hope, acquainted you. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most affectionate, and most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

Oates, 23. Nov. 1694.

YOU speak of my Book in such Terms, that had I not convincing Arguments that you are not a Man of Complements, I should a little suspect your Civility border'd very much on them in this Case. But there are so few of them to be found, that you think you cannot speak too highly of the Endeavours of one who pursues Truth unbiassedly, and chooses not his Opinions first, and then seeks Arguments to support them. Upon that Account I admit of whatever you please to say; but withal give me leave to assure you, that in the Performance itself, I see nothing but what any one might have done, who would have sat down to it with the same Love of Truth and Indifferency, that I did. However, I cannot but be pleased that you think so well of it: For whether your Friendship to me bribes your Judgment, or whether your good Opinion of my *Essay* adds to your kind Thoughts of the Author; I find my Account both Ways, and should think my self well rewarded for my Pains in this single Purchase. But, Sir, will you not pardon so lawful a Desire, in one that loves you, if I ask, Shall I never have the Happiness to see you in *England*?

Mr. Churchill, my Bookseller, sends me Word by the last Post, that he has sent you the six Copies that you sent for, and Advice of it. I sent to him a Project of a new Reduction of the Year by Dr. Wood, to be sent with the Copy of my *Essay* to you. The Author gave me it himself, and I thought it might possibly please you, if you had not seen it before. This, with the supernumerary Cuts I order'd him to send you, will, with the Books, I hope, come safe to your Hands. The mentioning of those Cuts puts me in Mind again of your Civility, which I see studies all manner of ways of expressing it self.

You see, by this Liberty I take with you, that I am past Terms of Complement with you, that is, I use you as one I look upon to be my Friend, with a Freedom of good Offices, either to receive or do them, as it happens. Look upon me as such, I beseech you, and believe that I am, with the utmost Sincerity,

SIR,

Your most affectionate Friend, and most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, Decemb. 18. 1694.

YOUR'S of November 23. found me labouring under a sharp Fever, which has held me this Month past, but I am now, God be thanked, pretty well recovered. I am obliged to you for the earnest Desire you express of seeing me in *England*. But as to that Particular, the Truth is thus; Last Summer I designed to make a Journey, on Purpose to pay my Respects to you, and for no other Errand; but my Resolutions were not so fix'd as to give you any Intimations thereof. For indeed, the State of my Health was so very uncertain, that I was very mistrustful whether I should be able to undertake the Journey. However, I thought to make an Essay of my Strength in our own Country; so that some Business calling me about threescore Miles from this City, the Fatigue was so troublesome to me, that I was quite discouraged from thinking of *England* that Season. I have now had another Pull-back, by my present Sicknels, so that I cannot yet well tell how to think of the other Side of the Water. This only I will assure you, that the first entire Health God is pleased to bestow on me, shall be employ'd in a Journey towards you; there being nothing, I so earnestly covet, as the Personal Acquaintance of one, for whom I have so great a Respect and Veneration, and to whom I am so highly obliged for many Favours.

There is a very worthy Person, Dr. St. George Ashe, Provost of the College here, lately gone from hence to *London*; he is a great Admirer, and zealous Promoter of your Writings in his College. He desired from me a Letter of Recommendation to you, but I fear your being in the Country will hinder his design'd Happinels in your Conversation. He stays in *London* these three or four Months to come, in which time, if your Business call you to the City, you will hear of him either at your Lodging at Mr. Pawlin's, (where perhaps he will leave the Place of his Residence) or at Mr. Tucker's, in the Secretary's Office at *Whitehall*, where a Penny-Post Letter will find him out.

I thank you for the Care you have taken to send me the Books and Sculptures, which I hope to receive in good time, having Advice thereof already from Mr. Churchill. I am,

Worthy SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR,

Dublin, January 15. 1694.

IHAVE received the six Copies of your Book, and thank you for the Care you have taken about them. I acknowledge my self likewise obliged to you for your Present of Dr. Wood's Almanack, tho' it was not new to me, having received the Favour of one from the Author himself, when Accountant General here in *Ireland*, many Years ago. 'Tis a very pretty Project, but, I believe, 'twill hardly ever be practis'd; because Men think what they have already, sufficiently accurate for the common Uses of Life, and are hardly brought from what they have used, so long as they have done the common *Julian* Account, unless prevailed upon by some such potent Authority as the Church, which abrogated the *Julian*, and established the *Gregorian* Kalendar.

The Sculptures also I received, and thank you for them. I shall do them all the Honour that outward Ornament can give them. And I heartily wish I had more effectual Ways of shewing my Respects, which I think I can never do sufficiently.

I have

530 *Familiar* LETTERS *between* Mr. LOCKE,

I have ever thought that an elegant Translation of your *Essay* into Latin, would be highly acceptable to Foreigners, and of great Use in those Countrys, whose Minds lie yet captivated in *Verbose*, disputative Philosophy, and false Reasoning; I therefore presume to mention it to you, that tho' your own Leisure may not permit you to perform it your self, you may think of putting some one on it, that under your Eye may do it correctly. And were I not persuaded that your own Eye and Correction were absolutely requisite herein, I would venture to make a bold Proposal to have it done by some one in this Place, whom I should reward for his Labour herein. And this I do, not that I think you may not with a great deal of Ease employ one your self in this Matter, but meerly that herein I may have an Opportunity of doing so much Good in the World. You see, Sir, what a Veneration I have for your Writings, and therefore you will pardon me, if I desire from you *sub amicitia tesserâ*, the Names of what Books you have publish'd. I remember, once I propos'd to you the like Request, and you were silent to it. If it were, that you designedly conceal them, I acquiesce; but perhaps it proceeded from your cursory Passing over that Part of my Letter, which makes me venture again on the same Request. And now that your Thoughts are at liberty from that *Essay*, you will give me leave, with all Submission, to mind you of what you once told me you would think of, *viz.* of demonstrating *Morals*. I am sure, as no Hand could perform it better; so no Age ever requir'd it more than our's.

I do heartily wish you an happy succeeding Year; and may it end with us happier than the last past. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR,

Oates, 8 Mar. 1697.

YOU will, I fear, think me frozen up with this long Winter, or else with a Negligence colder than that, having two very obliging Letters of your's by me, the one ever since *January*, the other *February* last, I make you no Answer to either, till thus far in *March*. The Truth is, expecting ever since I received your last Letter an Account from *London*, concerning Something I had a mind to put into my Letter, and after writing four times about it, being yet delayed, I can forbear no longer to return you my Thanks, and to beg your Pardon that I have been so slow in it. If you interpret it right, you will look upon it as the Effect of a Friendship got past Formalities, and that has Confidence enough to make bold with you, where it is without Neglect of you, or Prejudice to either. I was not a little rejoiced with the News you sent me in the first of your Letters, of your safe Recovery of a Fever. Had I known it before the Danger was over, that you had been ill, it would have been no small Fright and Pain to me. For I must assure you, that amongst all the Friends your Kindness or Worth has procured you, there is not any one who values you more than I do, or does more interest himself in all your Concerns. This makes me, that tho' I have a long time extremely desired to see you, and propose to my self an infinite Satisfaction in a free Conversation with you; yet what you tell me, that you were coming last Summer into *England*, to make me a Visit, makes me dread the Satisfaction of my own Wishes. And methinks I ought not to purchase one of the greatest Happineses I can propose to my self at so dear and dangerous a Rate. I have received many and great Obligations from you before, but they were such, as though I had no Title to, I thought I might accept from one whom I love, and therefore was glad to find kind to me. But when I reflect on the Length of the Way, and the Sea between us, the Danger of the one, and the Fatigue of both, and your
no

no very robust Constitution, as I imagine, I cannot consent you should venture so much for my Sake. If any Harm should happen to you in the Journey, I could never forgive it my self, to be the Occasion of so great a Loss to the World and my self. And if you should come safe, the Greatness of the Hazard, and an Obligation out of all Proportion to what I either ought to receive, or was capable to return, would overwhelm me with Shame, and hinder my Enjoyment. And yet, if I may confess my secret Thoughts, there is not any Thing which I would not give, that some other unavoidable Occasion would draw you into *England*. A rational free-minded Man, tied to nothing but Truth, is so rare a Thing, that I almost worship such a Friend; but when Friendship is joyn'd to it, and these are brought into a free Conversation, where they meet, and can be together; What is there can have equal Charms? I cannot but exceedingly wish for that happy Day, when I may see a Man I have so often longed to have in my Embraces. But yet, though it would endear the Gift to receive it from his Kindness, I cannot but wish rather that Fortune alone would throw him into my Arms.

This cold Winter has kept me so close a Prisoner within Doors, that 'till Yesterday, I have been Abroad but once these three Months, and that only a Mile in a Coach. And the Inability I am in to breathe *London-Air* in cold Weather, has hinder'd me yet from the Happiness of waiting on Dr. *Ashe*; but I hope to get to *London* before he leaves it, that I may, to a Person whom you have an Esteem for, pay some Part of the Respects I owe you. I had last Week the Honour of a Visit from an ingenious Gentleman, a Member of your College at *Dublin*, lately returned from *Turkey*. He told me he was a Kinsman of your's; and though his other good Qualities might have made him welcome any where, he was not, you may be sure, the less welcome to me, for being known and related to you. He seems to me to have been very diligent and curious in making Observations whilst he has been Abroad, and more inquisitive than most of our People that go into those Parts. And, by the Discourse I had with him the little Time we were together, I promise my self we shall have a more exact Account of those Parts, in what I hope he intends to publish, than hitherto is extant. Dr. *Huntington*, who was formerly at *Aleppo*, and is my old Acquaintance, and now my Neighbour in this Country, brought Mr. *Smith* hither with him from his House. But yet I must acknowledge the Favour to you, and desire you to thank him for it, when he returns to *Dublin*. For the Friendship he knew you had for me, was, I take it, the great Inducement that made him give himself the Trouble of coming six or seven Miles in a dirty Country.

You do so attack me on every Side with your Kindness to my Book, to me, to my Shadow, that I cannot but be ashamed I am not in a Capacity to make you any other Acknowledgment, but in a very full and deep Sense of it. I return you my Thanks for the Corrections you have sent me, which I will take all the Care of I can in the next Edition, which, my Bookseller tells me, he thinks, will be this Summer. And if any other fall under your Observation, I shall desire the Continuance of your Favour in communicating them.

I must own to you, that I have been solicited from beyond Sea to put my *Essay* into *Latin*, but you guess right, I have not the Leisure to do it. It was once translated by a young Man in *Holland* into *Latin*, but he was so little Master of the *English* or *Latin* Tongue, that when it was shew'd me, which he did not till he had quite done it, I satisfied him that it would be very little for his Credit to publish it, and so that was laid by. Since that, my Bookseller was, and had been for some time, seeking for a Translator, whom he would have treated with to have undertaken it, and have satisfied for his Pains. But a little before the Coming of your Letter, he writ me Word he had been disappointed, where he expected to have found one who would have done it, and was now at a Loss. So that what you call a bold, is not only the kindest, but the most seasonable Proposal you could have made. You understand my Thoughts as well as I do my self, and can be a fit Judge, whether the Translator has expressed them well in *Latin* or no, and can di-

rect him, where to omit or contract any Thing, where you think I have been more large than needed. And though in this I know you intend, as you say, some Good to the World; yet I cannot but take it as a very particular Obligation to my self, and shall not be a little satisfied to have my Book go abroad into the World with Strokes of your judicious Hand to it. For, as to omitting, adding, altering, transposing any Thing in it, I permit it wholly to your Judgment. And if there be any Thing in it defective, or which you think may be added with Advantage to the Design of the whole Work, if you will let me know, I shall endeavour to supply that Defect the best I can. The Chapter of *Identity* and *Diversity*, which owes its Birth wholly to your putting me upon it, will be an Encouragement to you to lay any the like Commands upon me. I have had some Thoughts my self, that it would not be possibly amiss to add, in *lib. iv. cap. 18.* Something about *Enthusiasm*, or to make a Chapter of it by it self. If you are of the same Mind, and that it will not be foreign to the Business of my *Essay*, I promise you, before the Translator you shall employ shall be got so far, I will send you my Thoughts on that Subject, so that it may be put into the *Latin* Edition. I have also examined *P. Malebranche's* Opinion concerning *Seeing all Things in God*, and to my own Satisfaction laid open the Vanity, Inconsistency, and Unintelligibility of that Way of explaining Human Understanding. I have gone almost, but not quite through it, and know not whether I now ever shall finish it, being fully satisfied my self about it. You cannot think how often I regret the Distance that is between us; I envy *Dublin* for what I every Day want in *London*. Were you in my Neighbourhood, you would every Day be troubled with the Proposal of some of my Thoughts to you. I find mine generally so much out of the Way of the Books I meet with, or Men led by Books, that, were I not conscious to my self that I impartially seek Truth, I should be discouraged from letting my Thoughts loose, which commonly lead me out of the beaten Track. However, I want some Body near me, to whom I could freely communicate them, and without Reserve lay them open. I should find Security and Ease in such a Friend as you, were you within Distance. For your Judgment would confirm and set me at Rest, where it approved, and your Candor would excuse what your Judgment corrected, and set me right in. As to your Request you now repeat to me, I desire you to believe that there is nothing in your Letters which I pass over slightly, or without taking notice of; and if I formerly said nothing to it, think it to be, that I thought it the best way of answering a Friend, whom I was resolved to deny nothing that was in my Power. There are some particular Obligations that tie me up in the Point, and which have drawn on me some Displeasure for a Time, from some of my Friends who made me a somewhat like Demand. But I expect to find you more reasonable, and give you this Assurance, that you shall be the first that shall be satisfied in that Point. I am not forgetful of what you so kindly put me upon. I think no Body ought to live only to eat and drink, and count the Days he spends idly. The small Remainder of a crazy Life, I shall, as much as my Health will permit, apply to the Search of Truth, and shall not neglect to propose to my self those that may be most useful. My Paper is more than done, and, I suppose, you tired, and yet I can scarce give off. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

S I R,

Dublin, March 26. 1695.

THE Concern you express for my Welfare is extremely obliging, and I never prized my Health so much, as since thereby I am enabled to enjoy your Correspondence and Friendship. But whatever becomes of me and my Carcass, I can heartily wish you had one more easy, healthful and strong. For I know Mankind in general is interested in you; whereas I am sure to fall unlamented to all, save a few particular Friends.

I understand my Kinsman has enjoy'd that which I have earnestly long'd for. He tells me by Letter, the great Obligations he bears you, for the Civilities you shew'd him, and desires me to acknowledge them.

I am very glad to find your *Essay* like to suffer a third Impression; 'tis a good Sign, and shews the World not so averse to Truth, when fairly laid open. To have Truth prevail, the only Way is calmly and meekly to publish it, and let it shift for it self; *Magna res est Veritas & praevalabit*: 'Twill make its own Party good without Fire and Faggot, which never promoted, but, I am sure, has often stifled it.

This encourages me, with more Vigour, to promote the Translation of your Work, and to own my self infinitely obliged to you, that you are pleas'd so readily to comply with the Offer I made you in my last. Yesterday I sent for an ingenious young Man of the College here, to discourse with him about it. The Result was, he would make an Essay, and shew it me, and accordingly would proceed or desist. But then, he tells me that he cannot set himself fully to it till towards the latter End of May; for he designs to stand Candidate for a Fellowship in the College, which, by the Removal of the Provost, is to be disposed of about next *Trinity-Sunday*; and, in the mean time, he is to prepare himself for the Examination they undergo on that Occasion. I shall see his first Attempt the next Week, and shall give you an Account. As to any Alterations to be made by me, I should be very cautious of meddling therein; I know the whole Work has already undergone so exact a Judgment, that there is no Room left for Amendments. However, if any such offer, after your Approbation of them, I should venture to insert them.

I must freely confess, that if my Notion of *Enthusiasm* agrees with your's, there is no Necessity of adding any Thing concerning it, more than by the bye, and in a single Section in *chap. 18. lib. 4.* I conceive it to be no other than a religious Sort of Madness, and comprises not in it any Mode of Thinking, or Operation of the Mind, different from what you have treated of in your *Essay*. 'Tis true indeed, the Absurdities Men embrace on account of Religion are most astonishing; and if in a Chapter of *Enthusiasm* you endeavour to give an Account of them, it would be very acceptable. So that (on second Thoughts) I do very well approve of what you propose therein, being very desirous of having your Sentiments on any Subject.

Pere Malebranche's Chapter of *Seeing all Things in God*, was ever to me absolutely unintelligible; and unless you think a polemick Discourse in your *Essay* (which you have hitherto avoided therein) may not be of a Piece with the rest, I am sure it highly deserves to be expos'd, and is very agreeable to the Business of your Work. I would therefore humbly propose it to you to consider of doing Something therein. *Pere Malebranche* has many curious Notions, and some as erroneous and absurd. 'Tis a good while since I read him, but I am now turning him over a second time; he is mostly Platonick, and in some Things, almost Enthusiastical. I am,

Honoured dear S I R,

Your most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX:

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

Oates, April 26. 1695.

YOU look with the Eyes, and speak the Language of Friendship, when you make my Life of much more Concern to the World than your own. I take it, as it is, for an Effect of your Kindness, and so shall not accuse you of Complement; the Mistakes and Over-valuings of good Will being always sincere, even when they exceed what common Truth allows. This on my Side, I must beg you to believe, that my Life would be much more pleasant and useful to me, if you were within my Reach, that I might sometimes enjoy your Conversation, and, upon twenty Occasions, lay my Thoughts before you, and have the Advantage of your Judgment. I cannot complain that I have not my Share of Friends of all Ranks, and such, whose Interest, Assistance, Affection, and Opinions too, in fit Cases, I can rely on. But methinks, for all this, there is one Place vacant, that I know no Body that would so well fill as your self, I want one near me to talk freely with, *De quolibet Ente*; to propose to, the Extravagancies that rise in my Mind; one with whom I would debate several Doubts and Questions, to see what was in them. Meditating by one's self is like digging in the Mine; it often, perhaps, brings up maiden Earth, which never came near the Light before; but whether it contain any Metal in it, is never so well tried as in Conversation with a knowing judicious Friend, who carries about him the true Touch-stone, which is Love of Truth in a clear-thinking Head. Men of Parts and Judgment the World usually gets hold of, and by a great Mistake (that their Abilities of Mind are lost, if not employ'd in the Pursuit of Wealth or Power) engages them in the Ways of Fortune and Interest, which usually leave but little Freedom or Leisure of Thought for pure disinterested Truth. And such who give themselves up frankly, and in earnest, to the full Latitude of real Knowledge, are not every where to be met with. Wonder not, therefore, that I wish so much for you in my Neighbourhood; I should be too happy in a Friend of your Make, were you within my Reach. But yet, I cannot but wish that some Business would once bring you within Distance, and 'tis a Pain to me to think of leaving the World, without the Happiness of seeing you.

I do not wonder that a Kinsman of your's should magnifie Civilities that scarce deserve that Name; I know not wherein they consisted, but in being glad to see One that was any way related to you, and was himself a very ingenious Man; either of those was a Title to more than I did, or could shew him. I am sorry I have not yet had an Opportunity to wait on him in London, and I fear he should be gone before I am able to get thither. This long Winter, and cold Spring, has hung very heavy upon my Lungs, and they are not yet in a Case to be ventur'd in London-Air, which must be my Excuse for not waiting upon him and Dr. *Ashe* yet.

The third Edition of my *Essay* is already, or will be speedily in the Press. But what perhaps will seem stranger, and possibly please you better, an Abridgment is now making (if it be not already done) by one of the University of *Oxford*, for the Use of young Scholars, in the Place of an ordinary System of Logick. From the Acquaintance I had of the Temper of that Place, I did not expect to have it get much Footing there. But so it is, I some time since received a very civil Letter from one, wholly a Stranger to me there, concerning such a Design, and, by another from him since, I conclude it near done. He seems to be an ingenious Man, and he writes sensibly about it, but I can say nothing of it till I see it, and he, of his own Accord, has offer'd that it shall wholly be submitted to my Opinion, and Disposal of it. And thus, Sir, possibly that which you once propos'd may be attained to, and I was pleas'd with the Gentleman's Design for your Sake.

You

You are a strange Man, you oblige me very much by the Care you take to have it well translated, and you thank me for complying with your Offer. In my last, as I remember, I told you the Reason why it was so long before I writ, was an Expectation of an Answer from *London*, concerning Something I had to communicate to you: It was in short this, I was willing to know what my Bookseller would give for a good *Latin* Copy; he told me at last, twenty Pounds. His Delay was, because he would first have known what the Translator demanded. But I forced him to make his Proposal, and so I send it you, to make what Use of it you please. He since writ me Word, that a Friend of his at *Oxford* would, in some Time, be at Leisure to do it, and would undertake it. I bid him excuse himself to him, for that it was in Hands I approv'd of, and some Part of it now actually done. For I hope the *Essay* (he was to shew you the next Week after you writ to me last) pleased you. Think it not a Complement, that I desire you to make what Alterations you think fit. One Thing particularly you will oblige me and the World in, and that is, in paring off some of the superfluous Repetitions, which I left in for the Sake of illiterate Men, and the softer Sex, not used to abstract Notions and Reasonings. But much of this Reasoning will be out of Doors in a *Latin* Translation. I refer all to your Judgment, and so am secure it will be done as is best.

What I shall add concerning *Enthusiasm*, I guess, will very much agree with your Thoughts, since your's jump so right with mine about the Place where it is to come in, I having design'd it for *chap. 18. lib. iv.* as a false Principle of Reasoning often made use of. But, to give an historical Account of the various Ravings Men have embraced for Religion, would, I fear, be besides my Purpose, and be enough to make an huge Volume.

My Opinion of *P. Malebranche* agrees perfectly with your's. What I have writ concerning *Seeing all Things in God*, would make a little Treatise of it self. But I have not quite gone through it, for fear I should by Somebody or other be tempted to print it. For I love not Controversies, and have a personal Kindness for the Author. When I have the Happiness to see you, we will consider it together, and you shall dispose of it.

I think I shall make some other Additions to be put into your *Latin* Translation, and particularly concerning the *Connexion of Ideas*, which has not, that I know, been hitherto consider'd, and has, I guess, a greater Influence upon our Minds, than is usually taken notice of. Thus, you see, I make you the Confident of my Reveries; you would be troubled with a great many more of them, were you nearer. I am,

Honoured SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, May 7. 1695.

I Am extremely pleased to understand by your's of *April 26.* that we are to expect an Abridgment of your Work from a judicious Hand in *Oxford*; 'tis what I always thought might be of good Use in the Universities, where we yet want another sort of Language, than what has hitherto prevail'd there, to the great Hindrance of Science.

As to the Translation that is going on here, 'tis undertaken by one Mr. William Mullart, a *senior* Bachelor in the College. He has the Repute of an ingenious and learned young Man, and I hope he may perform it well. I here inclose a Specimen of his Performance, concerning which I desire you would give me your Thoughts, before he proceed much farther. This only may be hinted, that when he is better acquainted with the Work, and your Language, and has enter'd farther into it, 'tis probable his Translation

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may be better, more easie and natural. He proposes to finish it in half a Year, or nine Months at farthest; for he cannot wholly disengage himself from some other Studies. I perceive your Bookseller is resolv'd to share with me in the Good I thought to do the World, by bestowing on it this Translation. And since he is so generous as to have it so, I will by no means be the Translator's Hindrance in partaking of the Bookseller's Profer; and, at the same time, to engage his Diligence the more, I will increase the Reward considerably, that I may not wholly miss of the good Design I first propos'd to my self. If you encourage the Translator to go forward, you may be pleas'd to transmit to me the Additions you design; as that of *Enthusiasm*, *Connexion of Ideas*, and what else you have.

And now, with redoubled Force, I send back to you the Complaints you make for our Distance. I cannot but hope, that Providence has yet in store for me so much Happiness on this side the Grave, and if it have not, I shall think I have miss'd the greatest temporal Good my Mind was ever set on. But I still say, I live in Hopes, the Accomplishment whereof would be the greatest Satisfaction to

Your most cordially affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Were it not too nigh approaching to Vanity, I could tell you of the extraordinary Effects your Method of *Education* has had on my little Boy.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR,

Oates, 2. July 1695.

DID I not assure my self that our Friendship were grown beyond Suspicion of Complement, I should think I should have need to make Excuses to you for my long Silence; but I know you will credit me, when I tell you it has been neither Forgetfulness nor Negligence. The Specimen of the Translation you sent me, gave me some Reason to apprehend, that Mr. Mullart's Stile would lay too great a Burthen on your Kindness, by often needing the Correction of your Hand, to make it express my Sense with that Clearness and Easiness, which I know you desire. My Bookseller therefore having before told me of one who had offer'd to undertake the Translation of my *Essay*, I have been ever since endeavouring to get from him a Specimen, that I might send it you, and have your Opinion, which is like to do best; that so if this Man had a Talent that way, you might be eas'd of the Trouble, which your Friendship to me, and Zeal to the Work, I foresee, is likely to lay upon you. But, having the last Post received this Account from Mr. Churchill, that the Gentleman propos'd is in the Country, and must have a Book sent him down, on purpose, before we can expect to see any Thing from him, and this being all to be managed by a third Hand, who is not every Day to be met with; I have resolv'd to lose no more Time on that Thought, but accepting of your kind Offer, put that whole Matter into your Hands, to be order'd as you shall think best, and shall spend no more Time in other Enquiries, since the Gentleman you propose will (as I remember you told me) be about this Time at Leisure to set himself in Earnest to it. There is one Thing I would offer, which may be of Advantage to him and the Work too, and that is, that he would constantly and sedulously read *Tully*, especially his Philosophical Works, which will insensibly work him into a good *Latin* Stile. I have heard it reported of Bishop *Sanderson*, that being ask'd how he came to write *Latin* so well, as appears in the Treatises he published in that Tongue? He answer'd, *By ordering his Studies so, that he read over all Tully's Works every Year.* I leave it to you, whether you will think fit to mention this to Mr. Mullart.

The

The Abridgment of my *Essay* is quite finish'd. It is done by a very ingenious Man of *Oxford*, a Master of Arts, very considerable for his Learning and Virtue, who has a great many Pupils. It is done with the same Design you had in View, when you mention'd it. He has generally (as far as I could remember) made use of my Words; he very civilly sent it me when it was done, and, upon looking it over, I guess you will approve of it, and think it well done. It is in Mr. *Churchill's* Hands, and will be printed as soon as the third Edition of my *Essay*, which is now in the Press, is printed off.

I am extremely glad to hear that you have found any good Effects of my Method on your Son. I should be glad to know the Particulars; for though I have seen the Success of it in a Child of the Lady, in whose House I am, (whose Mother has taught him *Latin* without knowing it her self when she began) yet I would be glad to have other Instances; because some Men, who cannot endure any Thing should be mended in the World by a new Method, object, I hear, that my Way of Education is impracticable. But this I can assure you, that the Child above-mention'd, but nine Years old in *June* last, has learn'd to read and write very well; is now reading *Quintus Curtius* with his Mother, understands Geography and Chronology very well, and the *Copernican* System of our Vortex; is able to multiply well, and divide a little; and all this without ever having had one Blow for his Book. The third Edition is now out, I have order'd Mr. *Churchill* to send you one of them, which I hope he has done before this. I expect your Opinion of the Additions, which have much encreased the Bulk of the Book. And though I think all that I have said right; yet you are the Man I depend on for a fair and free Censure, not enclined either to flatter, or quarrel. You know not of what Value a knowing Man, that is a sincere Lover of Truth, is, nor how hard to be found; wonder not, therefore, if I place a great Part of my Happiness in your Friendship, and with every Day you were my Neighbour; you would then find what Use I should make of it. But, not to complain of what cannot be remedied, pray let me have all the Advantage I can at this Distance. Read the Additions, and examine them strictly, for I would not willingly mislead the World. Pray let me know whether the Dr. your Brother has any Children; when he has, I count I owe him one of my Books of *Education*.

With my Treatise of *Education*, I believe you will receive another little one concerning *Interest* and *Comage*. It is one of the Fatherless Children which the World lay at my Door; but, whoever be the Author, I shall be glad to know your Opinion of it.

And now I must mightily bemoan the Loss of an Happiness which you design'd me, and I through great Misfortune missed. The Impressions of the last severe Winter on my weak Lungs, and the slow Return of warm Weather this Spring, confined me so long to the Country, that I concluded Dr. *Ashe* would be gone before I should get to Town, and I should lose the Honour of so desired an Acquaintance. However, as soon as I was got to *London*, I enquir'd of Mr. *Churchill*, who told me Dr. *Ashe* was lately in Town, and he promised me, as I desired him, that he would enquire whether he was still there, and where he lodged. He returned me no Answer, and I (through a Multitude of Business) forgot to enquire again, for some few Days. Upon the first Thought of it again, I went to the Secretary's Office at *Whitehall*, and not finding Mr. *Tucker* there, I went to his House, who told me that Dr. *Ashe* was that very Morning gone out of Town. The missing of him thus unluckily, when he had been within my Reach, very much vexed me, and it look'd, as if Fortune had a Mind sensibly to cross me, in what she knew I was extremely desirous of. I enquired too for Mr. *Smith*, but he, I heard, was gone to *Flanders* before I came to Town. It would have been more than ordinary Satisfaction to me, to have convers'd and made an Acquaintance with so esteem'd a Friend of your's as Dr. *Ashe*. I shall not be at quiet, till some Business brings you into *England* to repair this Loss, and brings me a Satisfaction to the most earnest of all my Desires. My decaying Health does not promise me any long Stay in this World, you are the only Person in it, that I desire to see once, and to converse some time with,

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with, before I leave it. I wish your other Occasions might draw you into *England*, and then let me alone to husband our Time together; I have laid all that in my Head already. But I talk my Desires and Fancies as if they were in View. I wish you all manner of Happiness, and am,

Dear SIR,

Your most affectionate, and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Pray present my humble Service to Dr. *Ashe*, and excuse my misfortunate Loss to him.

When you consider the Length of this, you will find my late Silence was not from a Sparingness of Speech, or a Backwardness to talk with you; I have more Reason now to beg your Pardon for my Talkativeness than Silence.

The Additions I intend to make, shall be sent time enough for the Translator.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, August 24. 1695.

I Defer'd my Answer all this while to your's of *July 2.* (which I received some Weeks ago) in Expectation of the Books you have been pleased to order for me; but hitherto they are not arrived, and I would not omit my Duty any longer, lest the Business of our ensuing Parliament should give me a farther Hindrance. The University has done me the Honour to choose me as one of their Representatives; and tho' I cannot pretend to do them any great Service; yet it shall not be for want of constant Attendance on their Business, which will take up most of my Time, till the Session is ended.

I am now at a great Loss what Apology to make you, for the Disappointment you are at last like to receive in the Translation of your *Essay*. But, to a candid and ingenuous Man, the best Excuse is a plain Narrative of the Matter of Fact.

The Gentleman, whom I formerly mentioned to you, Mr. *Mullart*, went into the Country about the middle of last *June*, and return'd about a Fortnight ago. When he went away, he assur'd me, he would make a considerable Progress in the Work, in a Month or six Weeks time; but he was taken ill for about a Fortnight, and, at his Return, I found he had scarce done four Pages of the Book. I found also (as you rightly surmised) that his Style will hardly answer Expectation; but this Difficulty, I thought, might be overcome by Time and Application. But what to say to his very slow Performance I cannot tell, or whether it may answer your, or your Book-seller's Designs. But that which most of all discourages me, is, that the young Man himself seems not very fond of the Undertaking, but has fix'd his Thoughts on another Pursuit. I formerly told you how he designed for a Fellowship, had any at that time happen'd vacant, as there did none. But very lately there are two Fellowships become void, and a third like to be so, before the time of sitting for them, which is next *June 1696*; and he tells me plainly, he must endeavour to get one of them; and that there will be at least five Competitors, if not six, who are all his Seniors; and therefore, he must use his utmost Diligence, Application and Study in the intermediate Time, to fit himself for the Examination they undergo; and this, he says, will take up so much of his Time, that he knows not whether he shall have any to spare for the Translation.

I cannot

I cannot well tell which way next to turn my self in this Affair. I have but one Anchor more, and that is not at hand immediately to use. There is a Gentleman of my Acquaintance, the greatest Master of Stile of any I have known, who, I am confident, would perform this Work to your utmost Satisfaction; but he is not, at present, in Town, and when he comes, (which, I expect, may be about *Michaelmas* next, as I have it from himself) I make some Doubt, whether his other Avocations will permit him to undertake this. He is Chancellor of the Diocese of *Down and Connor*, and has also a private Work of his own, in *Latin*, now fitting for the Press, which he permits to run through my Hands, as he goes on with it. When he comes to Town, I will move him in it, if you will give me leave, and you shall know the Event.

I am mightily pleased that your *Essay* is abridg'd, tho' for my own Reading, I would not part with a Syllable of it. However, others may not have so much Leisure as to set on a large Book, and for such the Abridgment may be useful. 'Tis to me no small Argument of the curious Genius of the *English* Nation, that a Work, so abstract as your's, should now suffer three Impressions in so short a Time.

I have already so much Experience of your Method of *Education*, that I long to see your third Edition. And since you put me upon it, (to whom I can refuse nothing in my Power) I will give you a short Account of my little Boy's Progress under it.

He was six Years old about the middle of last *July*. When he was but just turn'd five he could read perfectly well; and on the Globes could have traced out, and pointed at all the noted Parts, Countrys, and Cities of the World, both Land and Sea. And by five and an half could perform many of the plainest Problems on the Globe, as the Longitude and Latitude, the Antipodes, the Time with them and other Countrys, &c. and this by way of Play and Diversion, seldom call'd to it, never chid or beaten for it. About the same Age he could read any Number of Figures, not exceeding six Places, break it as you please by Cyphers or Zero's. By the time he was six, he could manage a Compass, Ruler and Pencil, very prettily, and perform many little Geometrical Tricks, and advanced to Writing and Arithmetick; and has been about three Months at *Latin*, wherein his Tutor observes, as nigh as he can, the Method prescrib'd by you. He can read a *Gazette*, and, in the large Maps of *Sanfon*, shews most of the remarkable Places as he goes along, and turns to the proper Maps. He has been shewn some Dogs dissected, and can give some little Account of the grand Traces of Anatomy. And as to the Formation of his Mind, which you rightly observe to be the most valuable Part of Education; I do not believe that any Child had ever his Passions more perfectly at Command. He is obedient and observant to the nicest Particular, and at the same time sprightly, playful, and active.

But I will say no more, this may be tiresome to others, however pleasing to my self.

I have some Thoughts of seeing *England* next Spring, or Summer, but the Time I cannot prefix as yet, till I see how our Affairs are like to go in Parliament, and whether we are like to have another Session, and when. T'other Day I chanced to mention your Name accidentally to his Excellency my Lord *Capel*, who thereupon expressed himself with the utmost Respect and Esteem for you. I am,

Honour'd SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX;

Mr.

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Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

London, 16. Nov. 1695.

THOUGH there be no Man in the World that I so much long to see as you; yet your last Letter, of the second Instant, makes me afraid of your Coming. Your Kindness and Expression in my Favour, has painted me so in your Fancy, that I shall unavoidably fall many Degrees in your Esteem, when you find me come so much short of what you expected; *Paratus est mihi magnus adversarius Expectatio*, as I remember, *Tully* somewhere says. One Thing only I have to satisfy my self, *viz.* That, whatever I may want of those Qualities you ascribe to me, I have one that helps mightily to cover Defects, and make one acceptable, without the Recommendation of great Perfections, I mean Friendship, true and sincere. This I can boast of to you, this I can bid you expect, and tell you, you shall not be deceived. Come then, but come with this Resolution, that you will be content, that shall make up to you all those fine Things which you imagine before-hand, in a Man whom you will really find a plain, honest, well-meaning Man, who unbiassedly seeks Truth, though it be but a very small Part of it he has yet discover'd.

I am very glad you approve of the Additions to the third Edition of my *Education*: You are a Father, and are concerned not to be deceived, and therefore I expect you will not flatter me in this Point. You speak so well of that you have, that I shall take Care to have another of those Treatises of *Interest* and *Coinage* sent to you. The Affair of our Money, which is in a lamentable State, is now under Debate here, what the Issue will be, I know not; I pray for a good One. I find every Body almost looks on it as a Mystery; to me there appears to be none at all in it. 'Tis but stripping it of the Cant which all Men that talk of it involve it in, and there is nothing easier: Lay by the arbitrary Names of Pence and Shillings, and consider and speak of it as Grains and Ounces of Silver, and 'tis as easie as telling of Twenty.

I had a great deal more to say to you, in Answer to this, and two other obliging Letters I am indebted to you for: But I am sent for into the Country by an Express. I am,

SIR,

Your most humble, and most affectionate Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

Oates, 20. Nov. 1695.

BEFORE I left London, I gave Order that the Book you desired about *Interest* and *Money*, should be sent you by the first Opportunity. But it is to you I send it, and not to any Body else; you may give it to whom you please, for 'tis your's as soon as you receive it, but pray do not give it to any Body in my Name, or as a Present from me. And however you are pleased to make me a Complement, in making me the Author of a Book you think well of; yet you may be sure I do not own it to be mine, till you see my Name to it.

You, I see, are troubled there about your Money, as well as we are here, though, I hope, you are not so deep in that Disease as we are. A little before his Majesty's Return, the Lords Justices here had this Matter under Consideration, and, amongst others, were pleased to send to me for my Thoughts about it. This is too publicly known here, to make the mentioning of it to you appear Vanity in me. The Paper I here inclose would seem a strange Thing, did I not tell you the Occasion of my writing it. And, since some of my Friends here persuade me it gives some Light to that

that, which the States-man you mention, thinks so profound a Mystery, I have taken the Liberty to send it you, either to open that Matter a little farther to you, or that you may shew me the Mistakes and Defects of it. But pray, whatever Use you make of it, conceal my Name.

I writ to you from *London*, just as I was leaving the Town in haste, in Answer to your's of the second Instant. You must pardon the Faults of that to the Hurry and Disturbance I was then in. I am not much more at Leisure, or at Quiet now; but Shame will not suffer me to be silent any longer, under the Obligation of two other Letters I have by me of your's unanswered.

I cannot read your's of the 24th of *August* last, without finding new Marks of your Kindness to me, in the Concern you therein express to get a good Hand for the translating my *Essay*. I think, at last, you have got a better than I could have expected. I designed to have brought Mr. *Churchill* and him together, and settled that Matter before I left *London*; but I was so unexpectedly called thence, that I left that and several other Businesses undone. But I took order with Mr. *Churchill*, my Bookseller, to go to him; he is a reasonable Man, and, I doubt not, but it will be taken care of, as well as if I were there. I think the Abridgment is near, if not quite printed; but I had not the Time or Memory to enquire, after my hasty Summons into the Country. I was told too, when I was in Town, that some Body is printing against it; if it be a fair Enquirer I shall be glad, if a wrangling Disputant, I shall not mind him.

Mr. *Burridge* is the Man you speak him to be, in your's of *September* 19. Had I stay'd in *London*, I think I should have been able to have procured him some Particulars would have been of Use to him in his Design. Some of them I have taken Care he should receive, notwithstanding my Absence. But perhaps they might have been more, could I have stay'd till more of my Acquaintance were come to Town. I am now in an House of Sorrow and Business, which hinders me from that Freedom I would be in when I write to you. I am,

SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, December 24. 1695.

I Am ashamed to say, that I have two of your's before me unanswered. Your's of *Nov.* 20. brought me a Paper, which, of all Things I have ever seen on that Subject, I most highly admire. You have therein revealed the whole Mystery of Money, Exchange, Trade, &c. which have hitherto been wrap'd up in unintelligible Cant, I believe, partly out of Knavery, partly out of Ignorance. You gave me Liberty to make what Use of it I pleased, and therefore I ventur'd to give a Copy of it to his Excellency my Lord Deputy *Capel*, rather than the Book of *Interest* and *Coinage*, which I thought might be too long for his present Perusal in his multitude of Business. But I can tell you, that your admirable Perspicuity of Writing is so clearly different from all the World, and almost peculiar to your self; that in Vain you expect to be conceal'd in any thing that comes from you. For, I assure you, in some Discourse I had with his Excellency, no longer ago than Yesterday, concerning the Business of Money; he asked me (without any Occasion given him from me) whether I had ever seen Mr. *Locke's* Book of *Interest*, &c. for he has formerly known (as I think I have told you) that I had the Happiness of your Acquaintance; I reply'd to his Lordship, That I had seen such a Book, but that it did not bear your Name in it: He answer'd me:

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The Printer presented it to him as your's; and besides (says he) all the World knows Mr. Locke's way of Writing; and, if I may guess, I believe the Paper you gave me a few Days ago, came from Mr. Locke; pray, did it not? I told his Excellency I was under some Obligation to conceal the Author. That's enough (says he) I am sure 'tis his, and will put his Name to it, and lay it up among my choicest Papers.

I have lately received three small Prints from London, concerning the Subject of Money. They were inclosed in a blank Wrapper, and frank'd to me by Sir Walter Young, Bar. a Gentleman whom I never saw, and have no manner of Acquaintance with. I wonder how he comes to confer an Obligation on me so suitable and agreeable to my present Thoughts. If you have any Hand in this Favour to me, be pleased to accept of my Thanks, and to express the same to Sir Walter. The Titles of those Papers are,

Sir W. Petty's Quantulumcunque concerning Money.

A Letter from an English Merchant at Amsterdam, to his Friend at London, concerning the Trade and Coin of England.

Some Questions answer'd, relating to the Badness of the new Silver Coin of England.

I hear Mr. Lowndes of the Treasury has publish'd something on that Subject, and that Mr. Flamsted has answer'd him, in a Tract he calls *Five not Six*.

I wish I could see them both, and shall beg the Favour of you, if this Letter finds you at London, to get them beaten pretty close, wrap'd up in Folds, and directed to me, unless they be much too bulky for the Post. You need not have them frank'd, for our Letters come to us so, as we are of the Parliament here.

I herewith send you inclosed the Copy of a Letter from an ingenious Man, on the Problem which you have honour'd with a Place in pag. 67. of your *Essay*. You will find thereby, that what I say of its puzzling some ingenious Men, is true; and you will easily discover by what false Steps this Gentleman is led into his Error. The Letter was communicated to me by the Party to whom it was writ, Dr. Quayl. And the Writer of the Letter, Mr. Edw. Synge, is the Author of a little Book call'd the *Gentleman's Religion*, which is vended as your's. The Gentleman is on a second Part, which he will shew me before he sends it to the Press. But this only between our selves, and the Bookseller, who has been lately informed of thus much already. For tho' the Book shews not that Freedom of Thought as you or I, perhaps, may expect; yet it shews enough to incense his own Herd against him, for there is little of *Mystery* or *Enthusiastick* in it, and yet the Author is a Clergy-man. And you know that, in a Writer on a religious Subject, 'tis an high Offence, even to be silent on those abstruse Points. The Clergy are not dissatisfied only with those that plainly oppose them, but are enraged also, even at those that omit zealously to advance them; as we have had a late Instance in him that writes against the *Reasonableness of Christianity*.

I should be mighty glad to hear that Mr. Burridge had set upon translating your *Essay*: I believe he will do it well.

I shall also be very much obliged by any Information you give me, of whatsoever is done, or doing by your self, or others, relating to your Works, of which there is none a more devoted Admirer than the excellent Author's

Most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. SYNGE to Dr. QUAYL.

Dear SIR,

Corke, Septemb. 6. 1695.

MR. Molyneux's ingenious Question, of which you gave me an Account at Mr. Lukey's Yesterday, has run so much in my Mind ever since, that I could scarce drive it out of my Thoughts. To be reveng'd on you therefore for putting my Brains into such a Ferment, I have resolv'd to be so Impertinent as to send you the Result of my Meditations upon the Subject.

The Case is this: A Man born perfectly blind has a Globe and a Cube given into his Hands, and instructed, as much as he is capable of, in the Notion of each of these Figures, and the Difference between them. Let us now suppose this Man suddenly to be endowed with the Sense of Seeing, and the Question is, whether, the Globe and the Cube being placed before his Eyes, he would be able, by his Sight alone, and without touching them, to tell which was the Globe, and which the Cube?

For the better Understanding of what I shall say on this Question, I desire you to take Notice, that I call every Notion of any Thing which a Man entertains, an *Idea*; but that Notion only, which a Man entertains of a visible Thing, as it is visible, I call an *Image*.

This being premised, I lay down these Propositions.

1. A Man born Blind may have a true (though perhaps not a perfect) *Idea* of a Globe and of a Cube, and of some Difference which is between them.

This evidently appears, because he will certainly be able by his Touch to distinguish them one from the other.

2. A Man who has ever been perfectly Blind, and whilst he so remains, can have no *Image* in his Mind, either of a Cube or Globe.

This, in my Opinion, is very evident, because there is no Passage but the Organs of Sight (of which we suppose him to be deprived) for such an *Image* to enter; and I take it for granted, that such *Images* are not innate in Men's Apprehensions.

3. Such a Man, as soon as he is endowed with the Sense of Seeing, will immediately have a different *Image* in his Mind, of a Globe, and of a Cube, as soon as they are expos'd to his Sight.

This must needs be so, if his Sight, and the Organs thereof be such as our's, which we suppose.

4. And if immediately, upon the Sight of the Globe and Cube, there be Grounds enough for such a Person clearly to perceive the Agreement, and the Difference between his pre-conceived *Ideas*, and newly conceived *Images* of those Figures, then may he be able to know which is the Globe, and which the Cube, without touching them again after he has seen them.

For the Agreement which he may find between his *Idea* and his *Image* of a Globe, and the Difference of the *Idea* of a Globe from the *Image* of a Cube (& sic vice versa) will be a sufficient Direction to him. (If, I say, there be sufficient Ground immediately to perceive the said Agreement and Difference.)

5. The *Idea* which such a blind Man must needs, by his Touch alone, form of a Globe, will be this, that it is a Body which is exactly alike on all Sides.

For let him rowl it as often as he will between his Hands, and he can find no manner of Difference between the one Side and the other.

6. Part of the *Idea* which such a Man must needs, by his Touch, conceive of a Cube, will be, that it is a Body which is not alike in every Part of its Superficies.

For in one Part he feels a smooth Flat, in another the sharp Point of an Angle, and in a third a long Ridge, which reaches from one Angle to another.

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7. The *Image*, which at the first Sight such a Man will form of a Globe, must needs represent it as a Body which is alike on all Sides, which consequently must be agreeable to the *Idea* which he before had of it, and different from that *Idea* which he had of a Cube.

For turn a Globe ten thousand ways, and it still carries the same Aspect, if it be all of the same Colour which we now suppose.

8. The *Image*, which upon the first View such a Man will frame of a Cube, must needs be this, that it is a Body which is not alike in all the Parts of its Superficies, which consequently must be agreeable to the *Idea* which before he had of it, and different from that *Idea* which he had of a Globe.

For a Cube does not carry the same Aspect when it is exposed to our Sight in different Positions.

Since then the *Image*, which such a Man would have of a Globe, would be agreeable to the *Idea* which before he had conceiv'd of it, and different from that *Idea* which before he had entertain'd of a Cube (*& sic vice versâ*) it follows, that by his Sight alone he might be able to know which was the Globe, and which the Cube.

I have no more, but to wish you a good Journey, and tell you, that if you call me Impertinent for sending you my Thoughts upon such a Speculation, I will retort, and tell that it was your self who put the Question to

Your most affectionate Friend, and faithful Servant,

EDW. SYNGE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, March 14. 169².

AS nothing is more pleasing to me than a Letter from you; so my Concern is not little, when in so long a Time I have wanted that Satisfaction; and more especially so, when I have Reason to fear it may proceed from your Indisposition in Health. The last Letter I had from Mr. Churchill intimated to me that you were not well, and I have not yet received any Account to the contrary; so that my Fears daily increase upon me, and I shall be very uneasy till I receive the glad Tidings of your Recovery and Safety.

Mr. Lowndes's Book about our Coin, and your's against him (which I understand you have sent me, and for which I most heartily thank you) are not yet arrived; when they come, you shall hear farther from me concerning them.

I have lately received a Letter from Mr. Burridge, who is gone down to his Cure in the Country; he takes all Opportunities of thanking you for the civil Reception you gave him; and, as it was upon my Recommendation, I must also thank you for my Share in the Favour. He tells me he has read over your *Essay* carefully, and has just set upon the Translation thereof; but he has not yet sent me any Specimen thereof, when he does you shall receive it forthwith from me. I doubt not but he will perform it to your Satisfaction; there is not a Man in Ireland but himself, for whom I dare promise so boldly in this Matter. One Thing he intimates to me, which I must needs mention to you, as being so agreeable to the Apprehensions I have always had of the excellent Author of the *Essay*, to whom I have sometimes presumed to propose it, viz. That he would write a *Book of Offices*, or *moral Philosophy*. I give you Mr. Burridge's own Words, who goes on, *The fine Strokes which he has frequently in his Essay, make me think he would perform it admirably. I wish you would try his Inclinations; you may assure him, I will cheerfully undertake the Translation of it afterwards.*

Thus you see, Sir, how you are attack'd on all Sides; I doubt not but you have as frequent Solicitations from your Friends in England. I will at this time add nothing more to the troublesome Importunity. Only, on this Occasion,

Occasion, I will venture to tell you, that I have a Design on Mr. Burridge, to get him, by Degrees, to translate all the Books you have written, and will give leave for. I am,

Honoured SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

Oates, 30 March 1696.

THOUGH I have been very ill this Winter, not without some Apprehensions of my Life; yet I am ashamed that either that, or Business that has took up more of my Time than my Health could well allow, should keep me so long silent to a Man so kindly concerned to hear from me. 'Twas more than once that I resolv'd on the next Post, but still Something or other came between; and I more readily yielded to Delays, in hopes to hear Something from you concerning my Answer to Mr. Lowndes. If this be a Fault in me, it is such an one that I am guilty of to no Body but my Friends. Perhaps the running from Ceremony or Punctuality towards those whom I look on as my sure Friends, that is, myself, may sometimes carry me a little too far to the other Side. But if you disapprove of it, I shall only say, it is an ill Effect of a very good Cause; and beg you to believe, that I shall never be tardy in writing, speaking, or doing, whenever I shall think it may be of any Moment to the least Interest of your's.

The Business of our Money has so near brought us to Ruin, that, till the Plot broke out, it was every Body's Talk, every Body's Uneasiness. And because I had play'd the Fool to print about it, there was scarce a Post wherein Somebody or other did not give me fresh Trouble about it. But now the Parliament has reduced Guineas to two and twenty Shillings a piece after the 10th Instant, and prohibited the Receipt of clip'd Money after the 4th of May next. The Bill has passed both Houses, and, I believe, will speedily receive the Royal Assent. Though I can never bethink any Pains or Time of mine, in the Service of my Country, as far as I may be of any Use; yet I must own to you, this, and the like Subjects, are not those which I now relish, or that do, with most Pleasure, employ my Thoughts; and therefore shall not be sorry if I 'scape a very honourable Employment, with a thousand Pounds a Year Salary annexed to it, to which the King was pleased to nominate me some Time since. May I have but Quiet and Leisure, and a Competency of Health to perfect some Thoughts my Mind is sometimes upon, I should desire no more for my self in this World, if one Thing were added to it, viz. You in my Neighbourhood. You cannot imagine how much I want such a Friend within Distance, with whom I could confer freely *De quolibet Ente*, and have his Sense of my Reveries, and his Judgment to guide me.

I am ashamed to receive so many Thanks for having done so little for a Man who came recommended to me by you. I had so little Opportunity to shew the Civility I would have done to Mr. Burridge, that I should not know how to excuse it to you or him, were not he himself a Witness of the perpetual Hurry I was in all the Time I was then in Town. I doubt not at all of his Performance in the Translation of my Book he has undertaken. He has Understanding, and Latin, much beyond those who usually meddle with such Works. And I am so well satisfied, both of his Ability, and your Care, that the sending me a Specimen I shall look on as more than needs. As to a *Treatise of Morals*, I must own to you, that you are not the only Persons (you and Mr. Burridge I mean) who have been for putting me upon it; neither have I wholly laid by the Thoughts of it. Nay, I so far incline to comply with your Desires, that I ever now and then lay by some Materials for it, as they occasionally occur in the Rovings of my Mind. But when I consider,

that

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that a Book of *Offices*, as you call it, ought not to be slightly done, especially by me, after what I have said of that Science in my *Essay*; and that *Nonumque prematur in annum*, is a Rule more necessary to be observed in a Subject of that Consequence, than in any Thing *Horace* speaks of; I am in doubt whether it would be prudent, in one of my Age and Health, not to mention other Disabilities in me, to set about it. Did the World want a Rule, I confess there could be no Work so necessary, nor so commendable. But the Gospel contains so perfect a Body of *Ethicks*, that Reason may be excused from that Enquiry, since she may find Man's Duty clearer and easier in Revelation than in herself. Think not this the Excuse of a lazy Man, though it be, perhaps, of one, who having a sufficient Rule for his Actions, is content therewith, and thinks he may, perhaps, with more Profit to himself, employ the little Time and Strength he has in other Re-searches, wherein he finds himself more in the Dark.

You put too great a Value on my Writings, by the Design you own on Mr. *Burridge*, in Reference to them. I am not to flatter my self, that because they had the good Luck to pass pretty well here amongst *English* Readers, that therefore they will satisfy the learned World, and be fit to appear in the learned Language. Mr. *Wyme's* Abstract of my *Essay* is now publish'd, and I have sent Order to Mr. *Churchill* to send you one of them. Thus far in Answer to your's of the 14th of *March*. I come now to that of the 24th of *December*.

My Lord Deputy and you did too great Honour to the Paper I sent you, and to me, upon that Account. I know too well the Deficiency of my Style, to think it deserves the Commendations you give it. That which makes my Writings tolerable, if any Thing, is only this, that I never write for any Thing but Truth, and never publish any Thing to others, which I am not fully persuaded of my self, and do not think that I understand. So that I never have need of false Colours to set off the weak Parts of an *Hypothesis*, or of obscure Expressions, or the Assistance of artificial Jargon, to cover an Error of my System or Party. Where I am ignorant (for what is our Knowledge) I own it. And though I am not proud of my Errors; yet I am always ready and glad to be convinced of any of them. I think there wants nothing but such a Preference of Truth to Party-Interest, and Vain-glory, to make any Body out-do me in what you seem so much to admire.

Though Sir *Walter Young* be an intimate Friend of mine; yet I can assure you I know nothing of those three Prints he frank'd to you, and so have no Title to any Part of your Thanks.

I see by Mr. S's Answer to that which was originally your Question, how hard it is, for even ingenious Men to free themselves from the Anticipations of Sense. The first Step towards Knowledge is to have clear and distinct Ideas; which I have just Reason, every Day more and more, to think few Men ever have, or think themselves to want; which is one great Cause of that infinite Jargon and Nonsense which so pesters the World. You have a good Subject to work on; and therefore, pray let this be your chief Care, to fill your Son's Head with clear and distinct Ideas, and teach him, on all Occasions, both by Practice and Rule, how to get them, and the Necessity of it. This, together with a Mind active, and set upon the attaining of Reputation and Truth, is the true principling of a young Man. But to give him a Reverence for our Opinions, because we taught them, is not to make knowing Men, but prating Parrots. I beg your Pardon for this Liberty; it is an Expression of good Will, and not the less so, because not within the precise Forms of good Breeding. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR,

Dublin, June 6. 1696.

TIS a melancholy Thought to me, that since I have had the Happiness of your Correspondence, there has hardly happen'd a Year, when both you and I have not made it an Apology for our long Silence, that we have been indisposed in our Health; yet it has pleas'd God, that so it has been, and so it is on my Side at present. About four Years and an half ago I was first seiz'd by a violent Cholick, which then so weaken'd me, that, to this Time, I lie so far under the Effects thereof, as upon any Cold to be very apt to relapse into the same. And so it has been with me for a while past, but now, God be thanked, I am again well recovered. I had not otherwise so long deferr'd my Answer to your's of *March* the 30th, which, after a long Silence, brought me the Assurance of your Health, and therewith no small Satisfaction; having, before that, entertained some painful Thoughts of your Indisposition, from some Rumours I had heard. But, I find, Heaven is not yet so angry with us as to take you from amongst us.

And now I most heartily congratulate you, both on the Recovery of your Health, and on the honourable Preferment you have lately received from His Majesty. In your Writings concerning Money, you have given such demonstrative Proofs of your Reach, even in the Business of the World, that I should have wonder'd had the King overlook'd you. And I do as much wonder, that, after what you have publish'd on that Subject, there should remain the least Doubt with any Man concerning that Matter. But, I fancy, 'tis only those who are prejudiced by their Interest, that seem to be dissatisfied; such as *Bankers*, &c. who make a Prey of the People's Ignorance in this great Affair. But, I think, you have clear'd up the Mystery, and made it so plain to all Men's Capacities, that *England* will never again fall into the like Inconveniences. 'Till you writ, we us'd Money as the *Indians* do their *Wampompeek*, it serv'd us well enough for buying and selling, and we were content and heeded it no farther; but for the intimate Nature, Affections, and Properties thereof, we no more understand them than the *Indians* their Shells.

I have read over Mr. *Wynne's* Abridgment of your *Essay*. But I must confess to you, I was never more satisfied with the Length of your *Essay*, than since I have seen this Abridgment; which, though done justly enough; yet falls so short of that Spirit which every where shews it self in the Original, that nothing can be more different. To one already vers'd in the *Essay*, the Abridgment serves as a good Remembrancer; but, I believe, let a Man wholly unacquainted with the former, begin to read the latter, and he will not so well relish it. So that how desirous soever I might have formerly been of seeing your *Essay* put into the Form of a Logick for the Schools, I am now fully satisfied I was in an Error; and must freely confess to you, that I wish Mr. *Wynne's* Abridgment had been yet undone. That Strength of Thought and Expression, that every where reigns throughout your Works makes me sometimes wish them twice as long.

I find, by some little Pieces I have lately met with, that you are the reputed Author of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*; whether it be really so or not, I will not presume to enquire, because there is no Name to the Book; this only I will venture to say on that Head, that whoever is the Author or *Vindicator* thereof, he has gotten as weak an Adversary in Mr. *Edwards* to deal with, as a Man cou'd wish; so much unmannerly Passion, and *Billingsgate* Language, I have not seen any Man use. In so much that were Mr. *Edwards* to defend the best Cause in the World, should he do it in that manner, he would spoil it. Were an Angel of Heaven to justify a Truth with Virulence and Heat, he would not prevail.

And now, my ever honour'd Friend, with much Reluctance; I am to tell you, that I cannot be so happy this Summer as to see you in *England*. 'Tis needless to trouble you with a long Detail of the Reasons hereof; but what between my own private Affairs, and a little Place I have in the Publick,

so

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so it is, and I cannot help it. But as a small Repair to my self, of this Disappointment, I shall beg the Favour of you to admit a young Gentleman, whom I shall send to you within a while, only to look on you, and afterwards to look on a Picture of your's, which, I hear, is at Mr. Churchill's. The young Gentleman's Name is *Howard*, a modest and ingenious Youth, and excellently skill'd both in the Judicious and Practical Part of Painting; for his Advancement wherein he is now kept at *London*, and designs soon for *Italy*. He is eldest Brother to my Brother's Wife, of a good Fortune and Family. If, by his Report, I understand that that Picture of your's at Mr. Churchill's be an excellent Piece, and like you, he will procure it to be finely copied for me, and may save you the trouble of sitting; but if it prove otherwise, and be not worth Copying, I will then make it my Request to you, that, at your Leisure, you would spare me so many Hours time, as to sit for such a Hand as Mr. *Howard* shall procure to take your Picture. This I thought fit to intimate to you before-hand, that when he waits on you, you may be forewarned of his Business.

I doubt not, but by this Time, you have heard of our Lord Deputy *Capel's* Death. We are now under a most unsettled Government, and our Eyes are fix'd on *England* for Relief. Some here wish for your Noble Patron, my Lord *Pembroke*, and go so far as to say, that he will be the Man. I am confident we should be happy under one that favour'd you; and if there be any Thing in this Report, you would highly favour me, by letting his Lordship know, that here he will find me, amongst several others that are your Admirers; for that I reckon the most advantageous Character I can come recommended under to his Lordship.

Mr. *Burridge* has been lately so taken up with his Ecclesiastick Affairs in the Country, that (as he writes me Word) he has hitherto made but little further Progress in the Translation of the *Essay*, but he promises now to set about it earnestly. I wish you would give me your free Opinion of what I have already sent you thereof.

I fear your Publick Business will, in some measure, take you off from your more retired Thoughts, by which the World were Gainers every Day. But, good Sir, let me intreat you, that at your leisure Hours you would think on, and send a Line to

Your most affectionate, and humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

London, 2. July 1696.

I Cannot, without great Trouble, hear of any Indisposition of your's; your Friendship, which Heaven has bestow'd on me, as one of the greatest Blessings I can enjoy for the Remainder of my Life, is what I value at so high a Rate, that I cannot consider my self within Danger of losing a Person, every way so dear to me, without very great Uneasiness of Mind.

Thus far I got when I sat down to write to you about a Month since, as you will see by the Date at the Top; Business, and a little Excursion into the Country, has hinder'd me ever since. Were you a Man I only cared to talk with out of Civility, I should sooner answer your Letters. But, not contenting my self with such a formal Correspondence with you, I cannot find in my Heart to begin Writing to you, 'till I think I shall have Time to talk a great deal, and pour out my Mind to a Man to whom I make sure I can do it with Freedom; his Candor and Friendship allows that, and I find I know not what Pleasure in doing it. I promised my self Abundance of Pleasure this Summer in seeing you here, and the Disappointment is one of the most sensible I could have met with in my private Concerns; and the Occasion that rob'd me of that Satisfaction frights me. I have, I thank God, now as much Health as my Constitution will allow me to expect. But yet,
if

if I will think like a reasonable Man, the Flattery of my Summer Vigour ought not to make me count beyond the next Winter at any time for the future. The last sat so heavy upon me, that it was with Difficulty I got through it; and you will not blame me, if I have a longing to see and imbrace a Man I esteem and love so much, before I leave this silly Earth; which, when the Conveniencies of Life are moderately provided for, has nothing of Value in it equal to the Conversation of a knowing, ingenious, and large-minded Friend, who sincerely loves and seeks Truth.

When I took Pen in Hand to continue this Letter, I had your's of *March* and *June* last before me, with a Design to answer them. But my Pen run on, as you see, before I could get leave of my forward Thoughts, to come to what was my chief Business, viz. To read again, and answer those kind Letters of your's.

That of *March* 28. brought me a Sample of Mr. *Burridge's* Translation; upon my reading of it, I began to correct it after my Fashion, and intended to have gone through that, and so all the rest of the Sheets, as they came to my Hand; but some other more pressing Occasion interrupted me, and now I am past all Hopes to have any Leisure at all to do any thing more to it in that Kind, and must wholly leave it to his and your Care. When I say your Care, I do not make so ill an Use of your Kindness, as to expect you should look it over, and correct it; but I doubt not, but you have such an Interest in your College, that you can have the Assistance of some able Man there to do it. The Subject itself, and my Way of expressing my Thoughts upon them, may, I doubt not, but be very different from the Genius of the *Latin* Tongue, and therefore I should not think it amiss, if Mr. *Burridge* would take more Liberty to quit the Scheme and Phrase of my Stile, and so he takes but my Sense, to comply more with the Turn and Manner of *Tully's* Philosophical Language. For so he has but my Sense, I care not how much he neglects my Words; and whether he expresses my Thoughts, you are as good a Judge as I, for I think you as much Master of them. I say this to excuse you from the Trouble of sending his Papers over to me as he dispatches them; for, in my present Circumstances, I shall hardly have Time so much as to peruse them. Pray, when you see, or send to him, give him my humble Service.

Though your Cholick has done me no small Prejudice, yet I am much more angry with it, upon the account of those Inconveniencies it has made you suffer. I know you are in skilful, as well as careful Hands, under the Care of your Brother, and it could not be adviseable in any one to draw you from them. The Cholick is so general a Name for Pains in the lower Belly, that I cannot from thence pretend to make any Judgment of your Case; but it can be no Harm to advise you to ask him, whether he does not think that the Drinking of our *Bath* Waters may be useful to you in your Case. I know those Waters mightily strengthen those Parts.

Your Congratulation to me I take as you meant, kindly, and seriously, and, it may be, it is what another would rejoice in; but, if you will give me leave to whisper Truth without Vanity, in the Ear of a Friend, 'tis a Preferment which I shall get nothing by, and I know not whether my Country will, tho' that I shall aim at with all my Endeavours.

Riches may be instrumental to so many good Purposes, that it is, I think, Vanity, rather than Religion or Philosophy, to pretend to condemn them. But yet they may be purchased too dear. My Age and Health demand a Retreat from Bustle and Business, and the Pursuit of some Enquiries I have in my Thoughts, makes it more desirable than any of those Rewards which publick Employments tempt People with. I think the little I have enough, and do not desire to live higher, or die richer than I am. And therefore you have Reason rather to pity the Folly, than congratulate the Fortune, that engages me in the Whirlpool.

'Tis your Pre-occupation, in favour of me, that makes you say what you do of Mr. *Wynne's* Abridgement; I know not whether it be that, or any thing else, that has occasion'd it; but I was told, some time since, that my *Essay* began to get some Credit in *Cambridge*, where, I think for some Years after

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it was published, it was scarce so much as look'd into. But now, I have some Reason to think it is a little more favourably received there, by these two Questions held there this last Commencement; viz. *Probabile est animam non semper cogitare: And, Idea Dei non est innata.*

What you say of the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, gives me occasion to ask your Thoughts of that *Treatise*, and also how it passes amongst you there; for here, at its first coming out, it was received with no Indifferency, some speaking of it with great Commendation, but most censuring it as a very bad Book. What you say of Mr. Edwards is so visible, that I find all the World of your Mind.

This is now a third Sitting before I finish this Letter; whereby, I fear, I shall give you an ill Picture of my self. By the reading of the next Paragraph of your obliging Letter of June 6. I am mightily comforted to find that it is not want of Health (as it run in my Head by a strong Impression I found remain'd in my Mind, from the Cholick mentioned in the beginning of your Letter) but Business, that keeps me this Year from the Happiness of your Company. This is much more tolerable to me than the other, and though I suffer by it, yet I can bear it the better, whilst there is room to hope it may be such that both you and your Country may receive Advantage by it. Mr. Howard, whom I was resolving yesterday Morning to enquire after, prevented me by a Visit he made me, wherein he gave me an Account he had received a Letter from you since his Return from Cambridge. That which you desire of me, as the chief Reason of affording me his Acquaintance, is what I cannot refuse, and yet it causes in me some Confusion to grant. If the Original could do you any Service, I shall be glad; but to think my Picture worth your having, would carry too much Vanity with it, to allow my Consent, did not the Skill of the Painter often make amends for the Meanness of the Subject, and a good Pencil frequently make the painted Representation of more Value than the real Substance. This may probably be my Case. Mr. Howard is a very pretty young Gentleman, and I thank you for his Acquaintance. I wish it lay in my Power to do him any Service whilst he is here. If the Length of my Letter could be an Excuse for the Slowness of its coming, I have certainly made a very ample Apology; though I satisfy my self neither in being silent so long, nor in tiring you with talking so much now; but 'tis from an Heart wholly devoted to you. I am,

4. August 1696.

SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

London, 12. Sept. 1696.

COULD the Painter have made a Picture of me capable of your Conversation, I should have sat to him with more Delight than ever I did any thing in my Life. The Honour you do me, in giving me thus a Place in your House, I look upon as the Effect of having a Place already in your Esteem and Affection; and that made me more easily submit to what methought look'd too much like Vanity in me. Painting was design'd to represent the Gods, or the great Men that stood next to them. But Friendship, I see, takes no Measure of any thing, but by itself; and where it is great and high, will make its Object so, and raise it above its Level. This is that which has deceived you into my Picture, and made you put so great a Complement upon me; and I do not know what you will find to justify your self to those who shall see it in your Possession. You may indeed tell them, the Original is as much your's as the Picture; but this will be no great Boast, when the Man is not more considerable than his Shadow. When I look'd upon it, after it was done, methought it had not that Countenance I ought to

to accost you with. I know not whether the secret Displeasure I felt, whilst I was sitting, from the Consideration that the going of my Picture brought us no nearer together, made me look grave: But this I must own, that it was not without Regret, that I remember'd that this Counterfeit would be before me with the Man that I so much desired to be with, and could not tell him, how much I long'd to put my self into his Hands, and to have him in my Arms. One Thing pray let it mind you of, and when you look on it at any time, pray believe, that the Colours of that Face on the Cloath, are more fading and changeable than those Thoughts which will always represent you to my Mind, as the most valuable Person in the World, whose Face I do not know, and one whose Company is so desirable to me, that I shall not be happy till I do.

Though I know how little Service I am able to do; yet my Conscience will never reproach me for not wishing well to my Country, by which I mean *Englishmen*, and their Interest every where. There has been, of late Years, a Manufacture of Linnen carried on in *Ireland*, if I mistake not; I would be glad to learn from you the Condition it is in; and, if it thrives not, what are the Rubs and Hindrances that stop it. I suppose you have Land very proper to produce Flax and Hemp, why could not there be enough, especially of the latter, produced there to supply His Majesty's Navy? I should be obliged by your Thoughts about it, and how it might be brought about. I have heard there is a Law requiring a certain Quantity of Hemp to be sown every Year: If it be so, how comes it to be neglected? I know you have the same publick Aims for the Good of your Country that I have, and therefore, without any Apology, I take this Liberty with you. I received an Account of your Health, and your Remembrance of me, not long since, by Mr. Howard, for which I return you my Thanks. I troubled you with a long Letter about the Beginning of the last Month, and am,

SIR,

Your most affectionate, and most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honour'd SIR,

Dublin, Sept. 26. 1696.

I Have now before me two of your's, one of *August* the 4th, and t'other of the 12th Instant. I had sooner answer'd the former, but that I waited to give you an Account of the farther Progress of the Translation, which Mr. Burridge faithfully promised me; and I lately understand from him, that he has gone through the three first Chapters of the first Book. I must confess, his Avocations are many, and therefore his Progress is not so quick as I could desire. But I am sure he will accomplish it, and that well too; and Mr. Churchill has told him that you say, *sat cito si sat bene*: And he is very well pleased that you give him Time.

I do not wonder that your *Essay* is received in the Universities. I should indeed have wonder'd with Indignation at the contrary; *Magna est Veritas & prævalebit*. We may expect a Liberty of Philosophizing in the Schools; but that your Doctrine should be so soon heard out of our Pulpits, is what is much more remarkable. He that, even ten Years ago, should have preach'd, that *Idea Dei non est imata*, had certainly drawn on him the Character of an Atheist; yet now we find Mr. Bentley very large upon it, in his Sermons at Mr. Boyle's Lectures, *Serm. 1. p. 4. and Serm. 3. p. 5.* And Mr. Whiston, in his *new Theory of the Earth*, pag. 128.

Mentioning these Books minds me to intimate to you, that these ingenious Authors agree exactly with you in a Passage you have in your *Thoughts of Education*, p. 337. 3d Edit. §. 192. *That the Phenomenon of Gravitation cannot be accounted for by meer Matter and Motion, but seems an immediate Law of the Divine*

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Will so ordering it. And you conclude that Section thus, *Reserving to a fitter Opportunity, a fuller Explication of this Hypothesis, and the Application of it to all the Parts of the Deluge, and any Difficulties can be supposed in the History of the Flood.* This seems to imply, that you have some Thoughts of writing on that Subject; it would be a mighty Satisfaction to me, to know from you the Certainty thereof. I should be very glad also to hear what the Opinion of the Ingenious is concerning Mr. *Whiston's* Book.

As to the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, I do not find but 'tis very well approved of here, amongst candid unprejudiced Men, that dare speak their Thoughts. I'll tell you what a very learned and ingenious Prelate said to me on that Occasion: I asked him whether he had read that Book, and how he liked it? He told me, Very well; and that if my Friend Mr. *Locke* writ it, 'twas the best Book he ever labour'd at; but, says he, if I should be known to think so, I should have my Lawns torn from my Shoulders. But he knew my Opinion afore-hand, and was therefore the freer to commit his secret Thoughts in that Matter to me.

I am very sorry I can give you no better an Account of the Linnen Manufactures, of late Years set up in *Ireland*, than what follows.

About the Year 1692. (I think) one *Monf. Du Pin* came to *Dublin* from *England*, and here, by the King and Queen's Letter, and Patents thereon, he set up a Royal Corporation, for carrying on the Linnen Manufacture in *Ireland*. Into this Corporation many of the Nobility and Gentry were admitted, more for their Countenance and Favour to the Project, than for any great Help could be expected, either from their Purfes or Heads to carry on the Work. *Du Pin* himself was nominated Under-governor, and a great Bustle was made about the Business; many Meetings were held, and considerable Sums advanced to forward the Work, and the Members promised themselves prodigious Gains; and this Expectation prevailed so far (by what Artifices I cannot tell) as to raise the Value of each Share to 40 or 50 Pounds, though but five Pounds was paid by each Member at first for every Share he had. At length Artificers began to be set at work, and some Parcels of Cloth were made, when on a sudden there happen'd some Controversie between the Corporation here in *Ireland*, and such another Corporation establish'd in *England*, by *London* Undertakers, and in which *Du Pin* was also a chief Member. Much Time was spent in managing this Dispute, and the Work began in the mean time to flag, and the Price of the Shares to lower mightily.

But, some little time before this Controversie happen'd, some private Gentlemen and Merchants, on their own Stock, without the Authority of an incorporating Patent, set up a Linnen Manufacture at *Drogheda*, which promised, and thriv'd very well at first; and the Corporation of *Dublin* perceiving this, began to quarrel with them also, and would never let them alone till they embodied with them. These Quarrels and Controversies (the Particulars whereof I can give you no Account of, for I was not engaged amongst them, and I can get no one that was, who can give any tolerable Account of them) I say they grew so high, and *Du Pin* began to play such Tricks, that all were discouraged, and withdrew as fast as they could. So that now all is blown up, and nothing of this Kind is carried on, but by such as out of their own private Purfes set up Looms and bleaching Yards. We have many of these in many Parts of *Ireland*; and, I believe, no Country in the World is better adapted for it, especially the *North*. I have as good Diaper, made by some of my Tenants nigh *Armagh*, as can come to a Table, and all other Cloth for Household uses.

As to the Law for encouraging the Linnen Manufacture, 'tis this, In the 17th and 18th of *Car. II.* there was an Act of Parliament made, "Obliging all Landlords and Tenants to sow such a certain Proportion of their Holdings with Flax, under a great Penalty on both, on Failure; and empowering the Sheriffs to levy 20 Pounds in each of their respective Counties, to be distributed at the Quarter-Sessions, yearly, to the three Persons who should bring in the three best Webs of Linnen Cloth, of such a Length and Breadth, 10 *l.* to the first, 6 *l.* to the second, and 4 *l.* to the third." This, whilst it lasted, was a great Encouragement to the Country People, to strive

to out-do each other, and it produced excellent Cloth all over the Kingdom; but then it was but temporary, only for twenty Years from passing the Act, and is now expired. But that Part of the Act, *Ordaining Landlords and Tenants to sow Flax*, is perpetual; and I can give no Reason why 'tis not executed; only this I can say, that the Transgression is so universal, and the Forfeiture thereon to the King, is so severe, that if it were enquired into, I believe all the Estates in *Ireland* would be forfeited to his Majesty. So that now the Multitude of Sinners is their Security. This Statute you will find amongst the *Irish Acts*, 17 & 18 Car. II. chap. 9.

England, most certainly, will never let us thrive by the Woollen Trade; this is their darling Mistress, and they are jealous of any Rival. But I see not that we interfere with them in the least by the Linnen Trade. So that that is yet left open to us to grow rich by, if it were well established and managed, but by what Means this should be, truly I dare not venture to give my Thoughts. There is no Country has better Land or Water for Flax and Hemp; and I do verily believe, the Navy may be provided here with Sailing and Cordage cheaper by far than in *England*. Our Land is cheaper, Victuals for Workmen is cheaper, and Labour is cheaper, together with other Necessaries for Artificers.

I know not in what manner to thank you for the Trouble you have been at in sitting for your Picture, on my Account. 'Tis a Favour of that Value, that I acknowledge my self extremely obliged to you for it; and therefore I could not think that the Expressions concerning it in your last belonged to me, did they come from one less sincere than your self. *Painting*, 'tis true, was designed to represent the Gods, and the great Men that stand next them; and therefore it was, that I desired your Picture. This, Sir, is the real and sincere Thought of

Your most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, Jan. 5. 1697.

TIS now three Months since I ventur'd to trouble you with a Letter; you may see thereby that I have a Regard to the Publick Business you are engaged in; but I have not been all this while without the Satisfaction of hearing that you are well; for, as all my Friends know that I have the most respectful Concern for you in the World; so they are not wanting, on all Opportunities, from t'other side the Water, to give me the acceptable Tidings of your Welfare. I have lately received a Letter from Mr. Howard, that obliges me to make his Acknowledgments for the Favours he has received from you. This I can hardly do, without complaining of him at the same time, for not yet sending me your Picture; but I suppose, by this time, 'tis on the Road hither, and I forgive him; and, with all Gratitude imaginable, return you my Thanks on his Account.

The inclosed Piece of Natural History, I am desired by my Brother to present to you, with his most affectionate humble Service. If, upon perusing it, you think it may deserve it, you may send it by the Penny-Post to the *Royal Society*, to fill up an empty Page in the Transactions. There is nothing to recommend it but it's being exactly true, and an Account of a non-descript Animal. Formerly I had a constant Correspondence with the Secretary of the Society, but of late it has fail'd; and therefore we take the Liberty of sending this through your Hands.

I have lately met with a Book here of Monf. Le Clerc's, called *The Causes of Incredulity*, done out of French. 'Tis the same Le Clerc that writes *Ontologia*, and dedicates it to you. I find thereby you are his Acquaintance and Friend; I should be very glad you would be pleased to give me some Account of that

Gentle-

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Gentleman, and his Circumstances in the World, if you know them. To me he seems an impartial and candid Enquirer after Truth, and to have the true Spirit of Christianity in that his Book. The Reason why I enquire after him, is, because I suppose him one of the Refugees from *France*, and perhaps he may receive some Encouragement to come into this Kingdom. I am,

SIR,

Your most affectionate Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, Feb. 3. 1697.

AS I had Reason to rejoice on the Nation's Account, when you were first put on Publick Business; so I find, on my own Particular, I had Cause to lament; for since that time (to my great Concern) your Letters have been less frequent, and the Satisfaction I had in them abundantly diminished. Were I assured of the confirmed State of your Health, I could more patiently submit to this; but knowing your sickly Disposition, a Month's Silence puts me in Pain for you; and I am very uneasy under the Apprehensions of any Danger that may attend you: Favour me therefore, good Sir, though it were but by a Line or two, in the Crowd of your Business; for that it self would be some Contentment to me, in the Want of those noble Philosophical Thoughts which sometimes you were pleased to communicate to me.

And now, Sir, I shall beg a Favour of you a little out of our common Road of Correspondence. We have here lately received the Certainty of Mr. *Methwin's* being declared our Lord Chancellor; and truly Sir, all moderate and good Men, I find, are very well pleased at it. I suppose, by your Interest and Acquaintance with my Lord Keeper of *England*, you have an Acquaintance likewise with Mr. *Methwin*; and I beg the Favour of you to mention me to him as your devoted Friend and Servant. I am sure, if he knows you rightly, I cannot be represented to him under a more advantageous Character; and I know this will give me Admittance to his Graces, which I desire, more as I hear he is a good, than a great Man; and being one of the Masters in Chancery here, 'tis natural to covet the Favour of him under whom I am to act.

I have lately met with a Book of the Bp. of *Worcester's* concerning the *Trinity*. He takes Occasion therein to reflect on some Things in your *Essay*; but truly, I think, with no great Strength of Reason. However, he being a Man of great Name, I humbly propose it to you, whether you may not judge it worth your while to take notice of what he says, and give some Answer to it, which will be no difficult Task. I do not intend hereby, that an Answer, on Purpose for that End only, should be framed by you, I think it not of that Moment; but perhaps you may find some accidental Occasion of taking notice thereof, either in the next Edition of your *Essay*, or some other Discourse you may publish hereafter.

I have not yet received the Satisfaction of having your Likeness before me, and have therefore lately writ a very discontented Letter about it to Mr. *Howard*. A great Man here told me, I something resembled you in Countenance; could he but assure me of being like you in Mind too, 'twould have been the Eternal Honour and Boast of

Your most devoted humble Servant,

and entirely affectionate Friend,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

I find,

I find, by a Book I lately light on, of Mr. Norris's, that Mr. Masbam and my Son agree in one odd Circumstance of Life, of having both their Mothers blind; for my Wife lost her Sight above twelve Years before she dyed, and I find my Lady Masbam is in the same Condition.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

Oates, 22. Feb. 1697.

I Fear you will be of an Opinion, that I take my Picture for my self, and think you ought to look no farther, since that is coming to you, or is already with you. Indeed we are Shadows much alike, and there is not much Difference in our Strength and Usefulness. But yet I cannot but remember, that I cannot expect my Picture should answer your Letters to me, pay the Acknowledgements I owe you, and excuse a Silence as great as if I were nothing but a Piece of Cloath overlay'd with Colours. I could lay a great deal of the Blame on Business, and a great deal on Want of Health. Between these two I have had little leisure since I writ to you last. But all that will bear no Excuse to my self, for being three Letters in Arrear to a Person whom I the willinglyst hear from of any Man in the World, and with whom I had rather entertain my self, and pass my Hours in Conversation, than with any one that I know. I should take it amiss if you were not angry with me for not writing to you all this while; for I should suspect you loved me not so well as I love you, if you could patiently bear my Silence. I hope it is your Civility makes you not chide me. I promise you, I should have grumbled cruelly at you, if you had been half so guilty as I have been. But if you are angry a little, pray be not so very much, for if you should provoke me any way, I know the first Sight of a Letter from you, would allay all my Choler immediately; and the Joy of hearing you were well, and that you continued your Kindness to me, would fill my Mind, and leave me no other Passion. For, I tell you truly, that since the Receipt of your Letter in September last, there has scarce a Day pass'd, I am sure not a Post, wherein I have not thought of my Obligation and Debt to you, and resolv'd to acknowledge it to you, though something or other has still come between to hinder me. For you would have pitied me, to see how much of my Time was forced from me this Winter in the Country (where my Illness confin'd me within Doors,) by Crowds of Letters which were therefore indispensibly to be answer'd, because they were from People whom either I knew not, or cared not for, or was not willing to make bold with; and so you, and another Friend I have in *Holland*, have been delay'd, and put last, because you are my Friends beyond Ceremony and Formality. And I reserv'd my self for you when I was at leisure, in the Ease of Thoughts to enjoy. For that you may not think you have been pass'd over by a peculiar Neglect, I mention to you another very good Friend of mine, of whom I have now by me a Letter, of an ancients Date than the first of your three, yet unanswer'd.

However, you are pleas'd out of Kindness to me, to rejoice in your's of September 26. that my Notions have had the good Luck to be vented from the Pulpit, and particularly by Mr. Bentley; yet that Matter goes not so clear as you imagine. For a Man of no small Name, as you know Dr. S — is, has been pleas'd to declare against my Doctrine of no innate Ideas, from the Pulpit in the *Temple*, and, as I have been told, charg'd it with little less than Atheism. Though the Dr. be a great Man, yet that would not much fright me, because I am told, that he is not always obstinate against Opinions which he has condemn'd more publick, than in an Harangue to a *Sunday's* Auditory. But that 'tis possible he may be firm here, because 'tis also said, he never quits his Aversion to any Tenet he has once declared against, 'till Change of Times bringing Change of Interest, and fashionable Opinions open his Eyes and his Heart, and then he kindly embraces what before deserv'd his Aversion and Censure. My Book crept into the World
about

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about six or seven Years ago, without any Opposition, and has since passed amongst some for useful, and, the least favourable, for innocent. But, as it seems to me, it is agreed by some Men that it should no longer do so. Something, I know not what, is at last spied out in it, that is like to be troublesome, and therefore it must be an ill Book, and be treated accordingly. 'Tis not that I know any thing in particular, but some things that have happen'd at the same time together, seem to me to suggest this: What it will produce, Time will shew. But, as you say in that kind Letter, *Magna est Veritas & praevalerebit*; that keeps me at perfect Ease in this, and whatever I write; for as soon as I shall discover it not to be Truth, my Hand shall be the forwardest to throw it in the Fire.

You desire to know, what the Opinion of the ingenious is, concerning Mr. *Whiston's* Book. I have not heard any one of my Acquaintance speak of it, but with great Commendation, as I think it deserves. And truly, I think he is more to be admired, that he has laid down an Hypothesis, whereby he has explained so many wonderful, and, before, inexplicable Things in the great Changes of this Globe, than that some of them should not go easily down with some Men, when the whole was entirely new to All. He is one of those sort of Writers, that I always fancy should be most esteem'd and encouraged. I am always for the Builders who bring some Addition to our Knowledge, or, at least some new Thing to our Thoughts. The Finders of Faults, the Confuters and Pullers down, do not only erect a barren and useless Triumph upon human Ignorance, but advance us nothing in the Acquisition of Truth. Of all the Motto's I ever met with, this writ over a Water-work at *Cleve*, best pleased me, *Natura omnes fecit Judices, paucos Artifices*.

I thank you for the Account you gave me of your Linnen Manufacture. Private Knavery, I perceive, does there as well as here destroy all Publick good Works, and forbid the Hope of any Advantages by them, where Nature plentifully offers what Industry would improve, were it but rightly directed, and duly cherished. The Corruption of the Age gives me so ill a Prospect of any Success in Designs of this Kind, ever so well laid, that I am not sorry my ill Health gives me so just a Reason to desire to be eased of the Employment I am in.

Your's of the 5th of *January*, which brought with it that curious and exact Description of that Non-descript Animal, found me here under the Confinement of my ill Lungs; but knowing Business of several Kinds would make it necessary for me to go to *London* as soon as possible, I thought it better to carry it thither my self, than send it at random to the Royal Society. Accordingly, when I went up to Town, about a Fortnight since, I shew'd it to Dr. *Sloane*, and put it into his Hands to be communicated to the Royal Society; which he willingly undertook; and, I promise my self it will be published in their next Transactions. Dr. *Sloane* is a very ingenious Man, and a very good Friend of mine; and, upon my telling him that your Correspondence with the Secretary of the Society had been of late interrupted, he readily told me, that if you pleased, he would take it up, and be very glad if you would allow him the Honour of a constant Correspondence with you.

You shew your charitable and generous Temper, in what you say concerning a Friend of mine in *Holland*, who is truly all that you think of him. He is married there, and has some kind of Settlement; but I could be glad, if you in *Ireland*, or I here (tho' of the latter say nothing to others) could get him a Prebendary of 100 or 200 *l. per Annum*, to bring him over into our Church, and to give him Ease, and a sure Retreat to write in, where, I think he might be of great use to the Christian World. If you could do this, you would offer him a Temptation would settle him amongst us; if you think you cannot, I am never the less obliged to you, for offering to one, whom you take to be a Friend of mine, what you are able. If he should miss the Effect, yet I have still the Obligation to you.

When your's of the 3d Instant met me in *London*, when I was there lately I was rejoiced at my Journey, though I was uneasie in Town, because I thought my being there, might give me an Opportunity to do you some little

little Service, or at least shew you my willingness to do it. To that Purpose I went twice or thrice to wait upon Mr. *Methwin*, though he be a Person, in whose Company I remember not that I was ever but once in my Life. I missed him, by good Luck, both times, and my Distemper encreased so fast upon me, that though I went to *London* with an intention to make some Stay there, yet I was forced away in eight Days, and had not an Opportunity to see Mr. *Methwin* at all. You will, perhaps, wonder to hear me call my missing of him good Luck; but so I must always call that which any way favours my Design of serving you, as this did. For hereupon I applied my self to a Friend of mine, who has an Interest in him, and one to whom your Worth and Friendship to me is not unknown, who readily undertook all I desired on your Behalf. And I promise my self, from thence, that you will find Mr. *Methwin* will be as desirous of your Acquaintance, as you are of his.

You will, in a little time, see that I have obeyed, or rather anticipated a Command of your's towards the latter end of your last Letter. What Sentiments I have of the usage I have received from the Person you there mention, I shall shortly more at large acquaint you. What he says, is, as you observe, not of that Moment much to need an Answer; but the true Design of it I think necessary to oppose; for I cannot allow any one's great Name a Right to use me ill. All fair Contenders for the Opinions they have, I like mightily; but there are so few that have Opinions, or at least seem, by their way of defending them, to be really persuaded of the Opinions they profess, that I am apt to think there is in the World a great deal more Scepticism, or at least want of Concern for Truth, than is imagin'd. When I was in Town I had the Happiness to see Mr. *Burridge*; he is, he says, speedily returning to you, where I hope his Book, which is received with great Applause, will procure him something more solid than the Name he has got him here; which I look upon as a good Fore-runner of greater Things to come. He spoke something of his Intention to set about my Book, but that I must leave to you and him. There is lately fallen into my Hand a Paper of Mons. *L*——, writ to a Gentleman here in *England*, concerning several Things in my *Essay*. I was told, when I was in *London*, that he had lately ordered his Correspondent to communicate them to me, and something else he has since writ hither. He treats me all along with great Civility, and more Complement than I can deserve. And being, as he is, a very great Man, 'tis not for me to say there appears to me no great Weight in the Exceptions he makes to some Passages in my Book; but his great Name and Knowledge in all Parts of Learning, ought to make me think, that a Man of his Parts says nothing but what has great Weight in it; only I suspect he has, in some Places, a little mistaken my Sense, which is easie for a Stranger, who has (as I think) learned *English* out of *England*. The Servant I have now cannot copy *French*, or else you should see what he says: When I have all his Papers you shall hear farther from me. I repine, as often as I think of the Distance between this and *Dublin*.

I read that Passage of your Letter to my Lady *Masham* which concerned her Sight; she bid me tell you, That she hopes to see you here this Summer. You will, possibly, wonder at the Miracle, but that you must find in Mr. *Norris's* Book. She has, 'tis true, but weak Eyes, which Mr. *Norris*, for Reasons he knew best, was resolved to make blind ones. And having fitted his Epistle to that Supposition, could not be hinder'd from publishing it so; though my Lady, to prevent it, writ him Word that she was not blind, and hoped she never should be. 'Tis a strange Power, you see, we Authors take to our selves; but there is nothing more ordinary, than for us to make whomsoever we will blind, and give them out to the World for such, as boldly as *Bayard* himself. But 'tis time to spare you and your Eyes. I am, with the utmost Respect and Sincerity,

S I R,

Your most humble and most affectionate Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.
Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, March 16. 1697.

I Must confess, dear Sir, I have not lately (if ever in my Life) been under a greater Concern, than at your long Silence. Sometimes I was angry with my self, but I could not well tell why; and then I was apt to blame you, but I could less tell why. As your Silence continued, my Distraction encreas'd; till, at last, I was happily relieved by your's of the 22d of *February*, which came not to my Hands till the 10th Instant. I then perceived I was to charge some Part of my troubled Time to the Conveyance of your Letter, which was almost three Weeks on its way hither. And that which added to my Concern, was the want of even your Shadow before me, for to this Moment I have not received that, which will be apt, on its Appearance, to make me an Idolater. Mr. *Howard* writes me Word, he has sent it from *London* above five Weeks ago; but I hear nothing of it from our Correspondent, to whom 'tis consigned in *Chester*. However, seeing I know the Substance to be in Safety, and well, I can bear the hazard of the Shadow with some Patience, and doubt not but my Expectation will be satisfied in due time.

Both *Whiston* and *Bentley* are positive against the Idea of God being innate; and I had rather rely on them (if I would rely on any Man) than on Dr. S—. 'Tis true, the latter has a great Name; but that, I am sure, weighs not with you or me. Besides, you rightly observe, the Dr. is no obstinate Heretick, but may veer about when another Opinion comes in Fashion; for some Men alter their Notions as they do their Cloaths, in Compliance to the Mode. I have heard of a Master of the *Temple*, who during the Siege of *Limerick*, writ over hither to a certain Prelate, to be sure to let him know, by the first Opportunity, whenever it came to be surrender'd, which was done accordingly; and immediately the good Doctor's Eyes were opened, and he plainly saw the Oaths to K. *William* and Q. *Mary*, were not only expedient, but Lawful, and our Duty. A good roaring Train of Artillery is not only *Ratio ultima Regum*, but of other Men besides.

I fancy I pretty well guess what it is that some Men find mischievous in your *Essay*: 'Tis opening the Eyes of the ignorant, and rectifying the Methods of Reasoning, which perhaps may undermine some received Errors, and so abridge the Empire of Darkness; wherein, though the Subjects wander deplorably, yet the Rulers have their Profit and Advantage. But 'tis ridiculous, in any Man to say in general, your Book is dangerous; let any fair Contender for Truth, sit down and shew wherein 'tis Erroneous. Dangerous is a Word of an uncertain Signification, every one uses it in his own Sense. A *Papist* shall say 'tis dangerous, because, perhaps, it agrees not so well with Transubstantiation; and a *Lutheran*, because his Consubstantiation is in hazard; but neither consider, whether Transubstantiation or Consusubstantiation be true or false, but taking it for granted that they are true, or at least gainful, whatever hits not with it, or is against it, must be dangerous.

I am extremely obliged to you for your introducing a Correspondence between Dr. *Sloane* and me, and it would be the greatest Satisfaction imaginable to me, could I but promise my self Materials, in this Place, fit to support it. However, I shall soon begin it, by sending him an Account of the largest Quadruped that moves on the Earth, except the Elephant, with which this Country has anciently been plentifully stock'd, but is now quite perished from amongst us, and is not to be found, for ought as I can learn, any where at present, but about *New England*, *Virginia*, &c.

And now I come to that Part of your Letter relating to Mons. *Le Clerc*, which grieves me every time I think on't. There are so many Difficulties, in what you propose concerning him, that I know not how they will be surmounted. The Clergy here, have given that learned, pious, and candid Man, a Name that will frighten any Bishop from serving him, though otherways inclinable enough in his own Breast. I know but two or three that are in any Post in the Church capable to help him, on whom I could rely to do it; but, at the same time, I know them to be such cautious wary Men,
and

and so fearful of the Censure of the rest of the Tribe, that they would hardly be brought to it. I take *Monf. Le Clerc* to be one of the greatest Scholars in *Europe*; I look on him as one of the most judicious, pious, and sincere Christians that has appear'd publicly; and it would be an infinite Honour to us, to have him amongst us; but, I fear, an Ecclesiastical Preferment will be very difficult to be obtained for him. And indeed, when I troubled you to give me some Account of him, it was in Prospect of bringing him into my own Family, could his Circumstances have allow'd it; for I took him to be a single Man, and one of the Refugees in *Holland*, and wholly unprovided for. On his own Account, I am heartily glad he has any Settlement there; but, for my own Sake, I could wish he were in other Circumstances. But, notwithstanding these Difficulties, I have ventur'd to break this Matter to a Clergy-man here in a considerable Post, Dr. Dean of, a Gentleman who is happy in your Acquaintance, and is a Person of an extensive Charity, and great Candor. He relish'd the Thing extremely, but moved the forementioned Difficulties, and rais'd some farther Scruples concerning Mr. *Le Clerc's* Ordination; for ordained he must necessarily be, to capacitate him for an Ecclesiastical Preferment; and he question'd whether he would submit to those Oaths, and Subscription of Assent and Consent, that are requisite thereto. But he promised me, that when he attends the King this Summer into *Holland*, as his Chaplain, he will wait on Monsieur *Le Clerc* at *Amsterdam*, and discourse with him farther about this Matter. This Gentleman is the likeliest Ecclesiastick in *Ireland* to effect this Business, for he is a rising Man in the Church; and though he be very zealous in his own Principles, yet 'tis with the greatest Charity and Deference to others; which, I think, is the true Spirit of Christianity. I have not mention'd you in the least to him, in all this Matter.

I am extremely obliged to you for the good Offices you have done me to Mr. *Methwin* our Lord Chancellor. I promise my self a great deal of Satisfaction in the Honour of his Lordship's Acquaintance. And, I could wish, if it were consistent with your Convenience, that you would let me know the Person you desired to mention my Name to his Lordship.

I am heartily glad to understand, that you have taken notice of what the Bishop of *Worcester* says, relating to your Book. I have been in discourse here, with an ingenious Man, upon what the Bishop alledges; and the Gentleman observed, that the Bishop does not so directly object against your Notions as Erroneous, but as misused by others, and particularly by the Author of *Christianity not mysterious*; but I think, this is no very just Observation. The Bishop directly opposes your Doctrine, though, 'tis true, he does it on the Occasion of the foresaid Book. I am told the Author of that Discourse is of this Country, and that his Name is *Toland*, but he is a Stranger in these Parts; I believe, if he belongs to this Kingdom, he has been a good while out of it, for I have not heard of any such remarkable Man amongst us.

I should be very glad to see *Monf. L—'s* Paper concerning your *Essay*. He is certainly an extraordinary Person, especially in *Mathematicks*; but really, to speak freely of him, in Relation to what he may have to say to you, I do not expect any great Matters from him; for methinks (with all Deference to his great Name) he has given the World no extraordinary Samples of his Thoughts this way, as appears by two Discourses he has printed, both in the *Acta Erudit. Lipsiæ*, the first Anno 1694. pag. 110. *De prima Philosophia Emendatione*, &c. the other Anno 1695. pag. 145. *Specimen Dynamicum*, which truly to me is, in many Places, unintelligible; but that may be my Defect, and not his.

I beg you would excuse me to my Lady *Masbam*, for the Error I committed relating to her Ladyship. I ever look'd on Mr. *Norris* as an obscure Enthusiastick Man, but I could not think he would knowingly impose on the World so notorious a Falſity in Matter of Fact. I wish Authors would take more Pains to open than to shut Men's Eyes, and then we should have

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more Success in the Discoveries of Truth. — But I have almost out-run my Paper. I am,

Ever honour'd SIR,

Your most affectionate, and

most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honour'd SIR,

Dublin, April 6. 1697.

IN my last to you of *March 16.* there was a Passage relating to the Author of *Christianity not mysterious.* I did not then think that he was so near me, as within the Bounds of this City; but I find since, that he is come over hither, and have had the Favour of a Visit from him. I now understand (as I intimated to you) that he was born in this Country; but that he has been a great while Abroad, and his Education was, for some time, under the great *Le Clerc.* But that for which I can never honour him too much, is his Acquaintance and Friendship to you, and the Respect, which, on all Occasions, he expresses for you. I propose a great deal of Satisfaction in his Conversation; I take him to be a candid Free-Thinker, and a good Scholar. But there is a violent sort of Spirit that reigns here, which begins already to shew it self against him; and, I believe, will increase daily; for I find the Clergy alarmed to a mighty degree against him. And last *Sunday* he had his Welcome to this City, by hearing himself harangued against, out of the Pulpit, by a Prelate of this Country.

I have at last received my most esteemed Friend's Picture; I must now make my grateful Acknowledgments to you, for the many idle Hours you spent in sitting for it, to gratifie my Desire. I never look upon it, but with the greatest Veneration. But though the Artist has shewn extraordinary Skill at his Pencil, yet now I have obtained some Part of my Desire, the greatest remains unsatisfied; and seeing he could not make it speak, and converse with me, I am still at a loss. But I find you are resolved, in some measure, to supply even that too, by the kind Presents you send me of your Thoughts, both in your Letters, and in your Books, as you publish them. Mr. *Churchill* tells me, I am obliged to you for one or two of this Kind, that you have been pleased to favour me with; they are not yet come to hand, but I return you my heartiest Thanks for them. I long, indeed, to see your Answer to the Bishop of *Worcester*; but for *Edwards*, I think him such a poor Wretch, he deserves no notice. I am,

Most Worthy SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR,

Oates, 10. April 1697.

THough I do not suspect that you will think me careless or cold in that small Business you desired of me, and so left it in negligent Hands, give me leave to send you a Transcript of a Passage in my Friend's Letter, which I received last Post.

“Tis

" 'Tis a great while since that Mr. P—— undertook to tell you that I had spoken to Mr. Methwin about Mr. Molyneux, and that he received your Recommendation very civilly, and answer'd, He should always have a great Regard for any Body you thought worthy of your Esteem; and you gave so advantageous a Character of Mr. Molyneux, that he should covet his Acquaintance, and therefore he must desire the Favour of you to recommend him to Mr. Molyneux.

Thus, my Friend, whose Words, though in them there be something of Complement to my self, I repeat to you just as they are in his Letter, that you may see he had the same Success I promised you in my last.

In Obedience to your Commands, I herewith send you a Copy of Mr. L—'s Paper. The last Paragraph, which you will find writ in my Hand, is a Transcript of part of a Letter, writ lately to his Correspondent here, one Mr. Burnet, who sent it me lately, with a Copy of Mr. L——'s Paper. Mr. Burnet has had it this Year or two, but never communicated it to me, till about a Fortnight ago. Indeed Mr. Cunningham procured me a Sight of it last Summer, and he and I read it Paragraph by Paragraph over together, and he confessed to me, that some Parts of it he did not understand; and I shew'd him in others, that Mr. L——'s Opinion would not hold, who was perfectly of my Mind. I mention Mr. Cunningham to you, in the Case, because I think him an extraordinary Man of Parts and Learning, and he is one that is known to Mr. L——. To answer your Freedom with the like, I must confess to you, that Mr. L——'s great Name had rais'd in me an Expectation which the Sight of his Paper did not answer, nor that Discourse of his in the *Acta Eruditorum*, which he quotes, and I have since read, and had just the same Thoughts of it, when I read it, as I find you have. From whence I only draw this Inference, That even great Parts will not master any Subject without great Thinking, and even the largest Minds have but narrow Swallows. Upon this Occasion I cannot but again regret the Loss of your Company and Assistance, by this great Distance.

I have lately got a little Leisure to think of some Additions to my Book, against the next Edition, and within these few Days have fallen upon a Subject, that I know not how far it will lead me. I have written several Pages on it, but the Matter, the farther I go, opens the more upon me, and I cannot yet get sight of any End of it. The Title of the Chapter will be, *Of the Conduct of the Understanding*, which, if I shall pursue, as far as I imagine it will reach, and as it deserves, will, I conclude, make the largest Chapter of my Essay. 'Tis well for you, you are not near me; I should be always pestering you with my Notions, and Papers, and Reveries. It would be a great Happiness to have a Man of Thought to lay them before, and a Friend that would deal candidly and freely.

I hope, e'er this, you and your Brother have received printed Copies of what the Dr. communicated to the Royal Society. I presume it is publish'd before this time, though I have not seen it; for Dr. Sloane writ me Word, some time since, that it would be speedily, and told me he would send it to you. And, if Mr. Churchill has taken that Care he promised me, I hope you have also received my Letter to the Bishop of Worcester, and that I shall soon receive your Thoughts of it.

The Business you propos'd to Dr. S—— is generously design'd, and well managed, and I very much wish it Success. But will not Dr. S—— be persuaded to communicate to the World the Observations he made in *Turky*? The Discourse I had with him satisfies me, they well deserve not to be lost, as all Papers laid up in a Study are. Methinks you should prevail with him to oblige his Country.

Though my Paper be done, yet I cannot close my Letter till I have made some Acknowledgments to you, for the many great Marks you give me of a sincere Affection, and an Esteem extremely above what I can deserve, in your's of the 16th of March. Such a Friend, procur'd me by my Essay, makes me more than amends for the many Adversaries it has rais'd me. But, I think, no body will be able to find any thing Mischievous in it, but what you say, which I suspect, troubles some Men; and I am not sorry for it, nor
like

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like my Book the worse. He that follows Truth impartially, seldom pleases any Set of Men; and I know not how a great many of those, who pretend to be Spreaders of Light and Teachers of Truth, would yet have Men depend upon them for it, and take it rather upon their Words than their own Knowledge, just cook'd and season'd as they think fit. But 'tis time to release you after so long a trouble. I am perfectly,

Dear SIR,

Your most humble, and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Réflexions de Mr. L—— sur l' *Essay de l' Entendement Humain* de Monsieur LOCKE.

JE trouve tant de marques d' une penetration peu ordinaire dans ce que Mons. Locke nous a donné sur l' *Entendement de l' Homme*, & sur l' *Education*, & je juge la matiere si importante que j'ay cru ne pas mal employer le temps que je donnerois à une lecture si profitable; d' autant que j'ay fort medité moi même sur ce qui regarde les fondemens de nos connoissances. C'est ce qui m'a fait mettre sur cette feuille quelques unes des remarques qui me sont venues en lisant son *Essay de l' Entendement*. De toutes les recherches il n'y a point de plus importante, puis que c' est la clef de toutes les autres.

Le premier livre regarde principalement les principes qu'on dit estre nés avec nous. Mons. Locke ne les admet pas, non plus que les idées innées. Il a eu sans doute de grandes raisons de s'opposer en cela aux prejugez ordinaires, car on abuse extrêmement du nom d'idées, & de principes. Les philosophes vulgaires se font des principes à leur phantasie, & les Cartesiens, qui font profession de plus d' exactitude, ne laissent pas de faire leur retrenchement des idées pretendues, de l' *etendue de la matiere*, & de l' *ame*; voulant s'exempter par là de la necessité de prouver ce qu'ils avancent; sous pretexte que ceux qui mediteront les idées, y trouveront la meme chose qu'eux, c'est à dire, que ceux qui s'accoutumeront à leur jargon & à leur maniere de penser, auront les memes preven-tions, ce qui est très veritable. Mon opinion est donc qu'on ne doit rien prendre pour principe primitif, si non les experiences & l'axiome de l'identité ou (ce qui est la même chose) de la contradiction, qui est primitif, puis qu'autrement il n'y auroit point de difference entre la verité & la fausseté; & toutes les recherches cesseroient d'abord, s'il estoit indifferent de dire oui ou non. On ne s'auroit donc s'empêcher de supposer ce principe, dès qu'on veut raisonner. Toutes les autres verités sont prouvables, & j'estime extrêmement la methode d' Euclide qui sans s'arreter à ce qu'on croiroit estre assez prouvé par les pretendues idées, a démontré (par exemple) que dans une triangle un côté est toujours moindre que les deux autres ensemble. Cependant Euclide a eu raison de prendre quelques axiomes pour accordés, non pas comme s'ils estoient veritablement primitifs & indémonstrables, mais par ce qu'il se seroit trop arrêté, s'il n'avoit voulu venir aux conclusions qu'après une discussion exacte des principes: Ainsi il a jugé à propos de se contenter d'avoir poussé les preuves jusqu'à ce petit nombre de propositions, en sorte qu'on peut dire que si elles sont vraies, tout ce qu'il dit l'est aussi. Il a laissé à d'autres le soin de démontrer ces principes memes qui d'ailleurs sont déjà justifiés par les experiences. Mais c'est dequoy on ne se contente point en ces matieres: C'est pourquoy Apollonius, Proclus, & autres, ont pris la peine de démontrer quelques uns des axiomes d' Euclide. Cette maniere doit être imitée des philosophes, pour venir enfin à quelques établissemens, quand ils ne seroient que provisionels; de la maniere que je viens de dire. Quant aux idées j'en ay donné quelque éclaircissement dans un petit Ecrit imprimé dans les *Actes de Sçavans de Leipzig* au mois de Novembre, 1684. pag. 537. qui est intitulé, *Meditationes de cognitione, veritate, & ideis*, & j'aurois souhaité que Mr. Locke l'eût vu & examiné, car je suis desplus dociles, & rien n'est plus propre à avancer nos pensées que les considerations & les remarques des personnes de merite, lors qu'elles sont faites avec attention & avec sincerité. Je diray seulement ici, que les idées vraies ou reelles sont celles dont on est assuré que l'execution est possible, les autres sont douteuses ou (en cas de preuve de l'impossibilité) chimeriques. Or la possibilité des idées se prouve

prouve tant à priori par des demonstrations, en se servant de la possibilité d'autres idées plus simples, qu'à posteriori par les experiences, car ce qui est ne sauroit manquer d'être possible. Mais les idées primitives sont celles dont la possibilité est indémonstrable, & qui en effet ne sont autre chose que les attributs de Dieu. Pour ce qui est de la question, s'il y a des idées & des verités créées avec nous, Je ne trouve point absolument nécessaire pour les commencemens, ni pour la pratique de l'art de penser, de la décider : soit qu'elles nous viennent toutes de dehors, ou qu'elles viennent de nous, on raisonnera juste pourvu qu'on garde ce que j'ay dit cy dessus & qu'on procede avec ordre & sans prevention. La question de l'origine de nos idées & de nos maximes n'est pas préliminaire en philosophie, & il faut avoir fait de grands progrès pour la bien résoudre. Je crois cependant pouvoir dire que nos idées (même celles de choses sensibles) viennent de notre propre fonds, dont on pourra mieux juger par ce que j'ay publié touchant la nature & la communication des substances & ce qu'on appelle l'union de l'ame avec le corps. Car j'ay trouvé que ces choses n'avoient pas esté bien prises. Je ne suis nullement pour la tabularasa d'Aristote, & il y a quelque chose de solide dans ce que Platon appelloit la reminiscence. Il y a même quelque chose de plus, car nous n'avons pas seulement une reminiscence de toutes nos pensées passées, mais encore un pressentiment de toutes nos pensées futures. Il est vray que c'est confusement & sans les distinguer, à peu près comme lorsque j'entends le bruit de la mer, j'entends celui de toutes les vagues en particulier qui composent le bruit total; quoique ce soit sans discerner une vague de l'autre : Et il est vray dans un certain sens que j'ay expliqué, que non seulement nos idées, mais encore nos sentimens naissent de nostre propre fonds, & que l'ame est plus independante qu'on ne pense, quoi qu'il soit toujours vrai que rien ne se passe en elle qui ne soit déterminé.

Dans le livre ii. qui vient au detail des idées, j'avoue que les raisons de Mons. Locke pour prouver que l'ame est quelquefois sans penser à rien, ne me paroissent pas convaincantes; si ce n'est qu'il donne le nom de pensées aux seules perceptions assez notables pour estre distinguées & retenues. Je tiens que l'ame & même le corps n'est jamais sans action, & que l'ame n'est jamais sans quelque perception. Même en dormant on a quelque sentimens confus & sombre du lieu où l'on est & d'autres choses. Mais quand l'experience ne le confirmeroit pas je crois qu'il y en a demonstration. C'est à peu près comme on ne sauroit prouver absolument par les experiences s'il n'y a point de vuide dans l'espace & s'il n'y a point de repos dans la matiere. Et cependant ces sortes de questions me paroissent décidées démonstrativement, aussi bien qu'à Mr. Locke. Je demeure d'accord de la difference qu'il met avec beaucoup de raison entre la matiere & l'espace. Mais pour ce qui est du vuide plusieurs personnes habiles l'ont crû. Monsieur Locke est de ce nombre, j'en étois presque persuadé moy même, mais j'en suis revenu depuis long temps. Et l'incomparable Monsieur Huygens qui étoit aussi pour le vuide, & pour les atomes, commença à faire reflexion sur mes raisons, comme ses lettres le peuvent temoigner. La preuve du vuide prise du mouvement, dont Mr. Locke se sert, suppose que le corps est originairement dur, & qu'il est composé d'un certain nombre de parties inflexibles. Car en ce cas il seroit vray, quelque nombre fini d'atomes, qu'on pourroit pendre, que le mouvement ne sauroit avoir lieu sans vuide; mais toutes les parties de la matiere sont divisibles & pliables. Il y a encore quelques autres choses dans ce second livre qui m'arretent, par exemple lors qu'il est dit chap. 17. que l'infinité ne se doit attribuer qu'à l'espace, au tems, & aux nombres. Je crois avec Mr. Locke qu'à proprement parler on peut dire qu'il n'y a point d'espace, de tems, ni de nombre, qui soit infini, mais qu'il est seulement vrai que plus grand que soit un espace, ou tems, ou bien un nombre, il y a toujours un autre plus grand que luy sans fin, & qu'ainsi le véritable infini ne se trouve point dans un tout composé de parties. Cependant il ne laisse pas de se trouver ailleurs, sçavoir dans l'absolu, qui est sans parties & qui a influencia sur les choses composées, parce qu'elles resultent de la limitation de l'absolu. Donc l'infini positif n'étant autre chose que l'absolu, on peut dire qu'il y a en ce sens un idée positive de l'infini, & qu'elle est antérieure à celle du fini. Auresste en rejetant un infini composé on ne nie point ce que les Geometres demonstrent de seriebus infinitis, & particulièrement l'excellent Mr. Newton. Quant à ce qui est dit chap. 30. de ideis adæquatis, il est permis de donner aux termes la signification qu'on trouve à propos. Cependant sans blâmer le sens de Mr. Locke je mets un degré dans les idées selon lequel l'appelle adequate celle où il n'y a plus rien à expliquer. Or toutes les idées des qualités sensibles, comme de la lumiere, couleur, chaleur, n'étant point de cette nature, je ne les compte point parmis les adéquates, aussi n'est ce point par elles memes, ni à priori, mais par l'experience que nous en savons la realité, ou la possibilité.

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Il y a encore bien de bonnes choses dans le livre iii. où il est traité des mots ou termes. Il est très vray qu'on ne sauroit tout définir, & que les qualités sensibles n'ont point de définition nominale, & on les peut appeller primitives en ce sens là. Mais elles ne laissent pas de pouvoir recevoir une Définition réelle. J'ay montré la différence de ses deux sortes de Définitions dans la Méditation citée cy dessus. La définition nominale explique le nom par les marques de la chose; mais la Définition réelle fait connoître à priori la possibilité du défini. Au reste j'approuve fort à la Doctrine de Mons. Locke touchant la démonstrabilité des vérités morales.

Le iv ou dernier livre, où il s'agit de la connoissance de la vérité, montre l'usage de ce qui vient d'estre dit. J'y trouve (aussi bien que dans les livres precedens) une infinité de belles reflexions. De faire là dessus les remarques convenables, ce seroit faire un livre aussi grand que l'ouvrage même. Il me semble que les axiomes y sont un peu moins considérés qu'ils ne meritent de l'estre. C'est apparemment parce qu'excepté ceux des Mathématiciens on n'en trouve guere ordinairement, qui soient importants & solides: j'ay tâché de remédier à ce défaut. Je ne méprise pas les propositions identiques, & j'ay trouvé qu'elles ont un grand usage même dans l'analyse. Il est très vray, que nous connoissons notre existence par une intuition immediate & celle de Dieu par démonstration, & qu'une masse de matiere, dont les parties sont sans perception, ne sauroit faire un tout qui pense. Je ne méprise point l'argument inventé, il y a quelques siècles, par Anselme, qui prouve que l'être parfait doit exister; quoique je trouve qu'il manque quelque chose à cet Argument, parce qu'il suppose que l'être parfait est possible. Car si ce seul point se démontre encore, la démonstration toute entiere sera entierement achevée. Quant à la connoissance des autres choses, il est fort bien dit, que la seule experience ne suffit pas pour avancer assez en Physique. Un esprit penetrant tirera plus de consequences des quelques experiences assez ordinaires qu'un autre ne sauroit tirer des plus choisies, outre qu'il y a un art d'expérimenter & d'interroger, pour ainsi dire, la nature. Cependant il est toujours vray qu'on ne sauroit avancer dans le detail de la physique qu'à mesure qu'on a des experiences. Mons. Locke est de l'opinion de plusieurs habiles hommes, qui tiennent que la forme des Logiciens est de peu d'usage. Je serois quasi d'un autre sentiment; & j'ay trouvé souvent que les paralogismes même dans les Mathématiques sont des manquemens de la forme. M. Huygens a fait la même remarque. Il y auroit bien à dire là dessus; & plusieurs choses excellentes sont méprisées parce qu'on n'en fait pas l'usage dont elles sont capables. Nous sommes portés à mépriser ce que nous avons appris dans les écoles. Il est vray que nous y apprenons bien des inutilités, mais il est bon de faire la fonction della crusca, c'est à dire de separer le bon du mauvais. Mr. Locke le peut faire autant que qui que ce soit; & de plus il nous donne des pensées considerables de son propre crû. Il n'est pas seulement Essayeur, mais il est encore Transmutateur par l'augmentation, qu'il donne du bon metal. S'il continuoit d'en faire present au public, nous luy en serions fort redevables.

Je voudrois que Mons. Locke eut dit son sentiment à Mons. Cunningham sur mes Remarques, ou que Mons. Cunningham voulut nous le dire librement. Car je ne suis pas de ceux qui sont entestées, & la raison peut tout sur moy. Mais les Affaires de negoce detournent Mons. Locke de ces pensées, car cette matiere de negoce est de très grande etendue & meme fort subtile & demimatématique, &c.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR,

Oates, 3. May 1697.

THOUGH the Honour you do me in the Value you put upon my Shadow, be a fresh Mark of that Friendship which is so great an Happiness to me; yet I shall never consider my Picture in the same House with you, without Regret at my so far Distance from you my self. But I will not continue to importune you with my Complaints of that Kind; 'tis an Advantage greater than I could have hoped, to have the Conversation of such a Friend, though with the Sea between; and the remaining little Scantling of my Life would be too happy, if I had you in my Neighbourhood.

I am

I am glad to hear, that the Gentleman you mention in your's of the 6th of the last Month, does me the Favour to speak well of me on that Side the Water, I never deserved other of him, but that he should always have done so on this. If his exceeding great Value of himself do not deprive the World of that Usefulness, that his Parts, if rightly conducted, might be of, I shall be very glad. He went from London, as I heard afterwards, soon after I left it the last time. But he did me not the Favour to give me a Visit whilst I was there, nor to let me know of his intended Journey to you; if he had, 'tis possible I might have writ by him to you, which I am now not sorry I did not. I always value Men of Parts and Learning, and think I cannot do too much in procuring them Friends and Assistance. But there may happen Occasions that may make one stop one's hand. And 'tis the Hopes young Men give, of what Use they will make of their Parts, which is to me the Encouragement of being concern'd for them. But, if Vanity increases with Age, I always fear whither it will lead a Man. I say this to you, because you are my Friend, for whom I have no Reserves, and think I ought to talk freely where you enquire, and possibly may be concerned; but I say it to you alone, and desire it may go no farther. For the Man I wish very well, and could give you, if it needed, Proofs that I do so. And therefore I desire you to be kind to him; but I must leave it to your Prudence, in what way, and how far. If his Carriage with you gives you the Promises of a steady useful Man, I know you will be forward enough of your self, and I shall be very glad of it. For it will be his Fault alone, if he prove not a very valuable Man, and have not you for his Friend.

But I have something to say to you of another Man. *Monf. Le Clerc*, in a Letter I lately received from him, writes thus:

Monf. C — me disoit dernièrement que s'il trouvoit occasion d'entrer dans une maison de condition en qualité de percepteur il seroit ravi d'en profiter. C'est un fort bonhôte homme, & qui seroit bien capable de s'acquiter de cet emploi. Il ne sait l'Anglois que par les livres, c'est à dire, qu'il l'entend lors qu'il le lit, mais qu'il ne le scauroit parler non plus que moi, faute d'habitude. Si quelque un de vos amis auroit besoin de percepteur, & qu'il lui donnât de quoi s'entretenir, il ne sauroit trouver d'homme plus sage & plus réglé, outre qu'il sait beaucoup de choses utiles pour un emploi comme celui là, les belles lettres, l'histoire, &c.

This *Mr. C* — is he that translated my Book of *Education*, upon which Occasion I came to have some Acquaintance with him by Letters, and he seems a very ingenious Man; and *Mr. Le Clerc* has often, before any thing of this, spoke of him to me with Commendation and Esteem. He has since translated *The Lady's Religion*, and *The Reasonableness of Christianity* into French. You may easily guess, why I put this into my Letter to you, after what you said concerning *Mr. Le Clerc* in your last Letter but one.

You are willing, I see, to make my little Presents to you more and greater than they are. Amongst the Books that *Mr. Churchill* sent you, you are beholden to me (since you will call it so) but for one; and to that the Bishop of *Worcester*, I hear, has an Answer in the Press, which will be out this Week. So that I perceive this Controversie is a Matter of serious Moment beyond what I could have thought. This Benefit I shall be sure to get by it, either to be confirmed in my Opinion, or be convinced of some Errors, which I shall presently reform, in my *Essay*, and so make it the better for it. For I have no Opinions that I am fond of. Truth, I hope, I always shall be fond of, and so ready to embrace, and with so much Joy, that I shall own it to the World, and thank him that does me the Favour. So that I am never afraid of any thing writ against me, unless it be the wasting of my Time, when it is not writ closely in pursuit of Truth, and Truth only.

In my last to you, I sent you a Copy of *Mr. L* — 's Paper, I have this writ me out of Holland concerning it:

Mr. L — Mathématicien de Hannover aiant oui dire, qu'on traduisoit votre ouvrage, & qu'on l'alloit imprimer, a envoyé ici à un de mes amis ce jugement qu'il en fait, comme pour la mettre à la tête. Cependant il a été bien aise qu'on vous le communiquât. Il m'a été remis entre les mains pour cela. On m'a dit mille biens de ce

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Mathématicien. Il y a long temps que magna & præclara minatur, sans rien produire que quelques Demonstrations détachées. Je croi néanmoins qu'il ne vous entend pas, & je doute, qu'il s'entende bien lui même.

I see you and I, and this Gentleman, agree pretty well concerning the Man; and this sort of Fidling makes me hardly avoid thinking, that he is not that very great Man as has been talked of him. His Paper was in *England* a Year, or more, before it was communicated to me, and I imagin you will think he need not make such a great Stir with it.

My *Essay*, you see is translating into *French*, and it is by the same Mr. *Cofte* above-mentioned. But this need not hinder Mr. *Burridge* in what he design'd, for Mr. *Cofte* goes on exceeding slowly, as I am told.

You see how forward I am to importune you with all my little Concerns. But this would be nothing to what I should do, if I were nearer you. I should then be talking to you *De quolibet ente*, and consulting you about a thousand Whimsies that come sometimes into my Thoughts. But with all this I unfeignedly am,

Dear S I R,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

The Poem that was sent you by Mr. *Churchill*, amongst the other Books, I believe will please you, there are some noble Parts in it.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

My most honoured Friend,

Dublin, May 15. 1697.

Nothing could excuse my keeping your kind Letter of *April 10.* so long by me unanswer'd, but an unexpected and melancholly Accident that has lately befallen a dear Sister of mine, who, on the 24th of the last Month, lost her Husband, the Lord Bishop of *Meath*, a Learned and Worthy Prelate. Our whole Family has so deeply partaken in this Trouble, that we have been All under a great Concern: but more particularly my self, who am intrusted by the good Bishop with the Disposal of some of his Affairs. This has of late so taken me up, that I had not time to take the Satisfaction of writing to you; but the Hurry of that Business being somewhat abated, I resume the Pleasure of kissing your Hands, and of assuring you, with what a deep Sense of Gratitude I receive the Kindness you have done me with my Lord Chancellor *Methwin*. I hope we shall see his Lordship soon here, for we understand he parts from *London* the 18th Instant.

I am extremely obliged to you for the Trouble you have been at in communicating to me *Monf. L——*'s Paper, and I am now sorry I ever put the Task on you; for to speak freely to you, as I formerly did, I find nothing in this Paper to make me alter the Opinion I had of *Monf. L——*'s Performances this way. He is either very unhappy in Expressing, or I am very dull in Apprehending his Thoughts. I do not know but some of the Doubts he raises concerning your *Essay*, may proceed from his Unacquaintance with our Language; and this makes me yet more earnest to procure the Translation of your *Essay*; but Mr. *Burridge*, since he last arrived here, has been wholly employ'd in overtaking his Business in the Countrey, to which he is run much in Arrear. He is Chaplain to my Lord Chancellor *Methwin*, and, on that account, I hope he will keep much in Town, and then I shall ply him hard.

I will give you a thousand Thanks for the Present of your Letter to the Bishop of *Worcester*; but I need not give you my Opinion of it, otherwise than as you find it in the following Paragraph of a Letter which I received concerning it, from a Reverend Prelate of this Kingdom. (The present Bishop of between ourselves.)

"I read Mr. *Locke's* Letter to the Bishop of *Worcester* with great Satisfaction, and am wholly of your Opinion, That he has fairly laid the great Bishop on his Back; but 'tis with so much Gentleness, as if he were afraid not
" only

“ only of hurting him, but even of spoiling or tumbling his Cloaths. Indeed
 “ I cannot tell which I most admire, the great Civility and good Manners
 “ in his Book, or the Force and Clearness of his Reasonings. And I fancy
 “ the Bishop will thank him privately, and trouble the World no more with
 “ this Dispute.

You see thereby my Friend's, and my own Opinion of your Book ; and I can tell you farther, that all those whom I have yet conversed with in this place, concerning it, agree in the same Judgment. And another (Bishop too) told me, that *though your Words were as smooth as Oyl, yet cut they like a two-edg'd sword.*

At the same time that Mr. Churchill sent me your *Letter to the Bishop*, he sent me likewise the *Second Vindication of the Reasonableness of Christianity*. If you know the Author thereof (as I am apt to surmise you may) be pleased to let him know, that I think he has done *Edwards* too much Honour in thinking him worth his notice ; for so vile a poor Wretch, certainly, never appear'd in Print. But, at the same time, tell him, that as this *Vindication* contains a farther Illustration of the Divine Truths in the *Reasonableness of Christianity*, he has the Thanks of me, and of all fair candid Men, that I converse with about it.

In giving you the Opinion we have here of your *Letter to the Bishop of Worcester*, I have rather chosen to let you know particularly that of some of our Bishops with whom I converse ; for this Rank, if any, might seem inclinable to favour their Brother, could they do it with any shew of Justice. And yet, after all, I am told from *London*, that the Bishop is hammering out an Answer to you. Certainly some Men think, or hope the World will think, that Truth always goes with the last Word.

You never write to me, that you do not raise new Expectations in my long-ing Mind of partaking your Thoughts, on those noble Subjects you are upon. Your Chapter concerning the *Conduct of the Understanding*, must needs be very Sublime and Spacious. Oh Sir ! never more mention to me our Distance as your Loss : 'Tis my Disadvantage ! 'tis my Unhappiness ! I never before had such Reason to deplore my hard Fate, in being condemned to this Prison of an Island : But one day or other I will get loose, in spite of all the Fetters and Clogs that incumber me at present. But if you did but know, in what a Wood of Business I am engaged, (by the greatest part whereof I reap no other Advantage than the Satisfaction of being Serviceable to my Friends) you would pity me. But I hope soon to rid my Hands of a great part of this Trouble, and then I shall be at more Liberty. 'Till which happy time, and for ever, I remain

Your most faithful Friend,

and most humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured dear SIR,

Dublin, May 27. 1697.

THE Hints you are pleased so Friendly to communicate to me, in your's of the 3d instant, concerning Mr. T——, are fresh Marks of your Kindness and Confidence in me, and they perfectly agree with the Apprehensions I had conceived of that Gentleman. Truly, to be free, and without Reserve to you, I do not think his Management, since he came into this City, has been so prudent. He has raised against him the Clamours of all Parties ; and this, not so much by his Difference in Opinion, as by his un-reasonable Way of Discoursing, Propagating, and Maintaining it. Coffee-Houses, and publick Tables, are not proper Places for serious Discourses relating to the most important Truths. But when also a Tincture of Vanity appears in the whole Course of a Man's Conversation, it disgusts many that

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may otherwise have a due Value for his Parts and Learning. I have known a Gentleman in this Town, that was a most strict *Socinian*, and thought as much out of the common Road as any Man, and was also known so to do; but then his Behaviour and Discourse was attended with so much Modesty, Goodness, and Prudence, that I never heard him publicly censur'd or clamour'd against, neither was any Man in danger of Censure, by receiving his Visits, or keeping him Company. I am very loth to tell you how far 'tis otherwise with Mr. T—— in this place; but, I am persuaded it may be for his Advantage that you know it, and that you friendly admonish him of it, for his Conduct hereafter. I do not think that any Man can be dispensed with to dissemble the Truth, and full Persuasion of his Mind in Religious Truths, when duly called to it, and upon fitting Occasions: But I think, Prudence may guide us in the Choice of proper Opportunities, that we may not run our selves against Rocks to no purpose, and inflame Men against us unnecessarily. Mr. T—— also takes here a great Liberty, on all occasions, to vouch your Patronage and Friendship, which makes many that rail at him, rail also at you. I believe you will not approve of this, as far as I am able to judge, by your shaking him off in your *Letter to the Bishop of Worcester*. But after all this, I look upon Mr. T—— as a very ingenious Man, and I should be very glad of any Opportunity of doing him Service, to which I think my self indispensibly bound by your Recommendation. One thing more I had almost forgot to intimate to you; That all here are mightily at a Loss in guessing what might be the occasion of Mr. T——'s coming, at this time, into *Ireland*. He is known to be of no Fortune or Employ, and yet is observed to have a Subsistence, but from whence it comes, no one can tell certainly. These Things, joyn'd with his great Forwardness in appearing publick, makes People surmise a thousand Fancies. If you could give me Light into these Matters, as far as it may help me in my own Conduct, I should be much obliged to you.

By the Books which Mr. *Cofte* has translated, I perceive his Inclinations would be extremely agreeable to mine, and I should be very happy, could I give him, at present, any Encouragement to come into my poor Family. But I have a Gentleman with me, in the House, whose Dependance is wholly upon me; and I cannot find Fault with my little Boy's Progress under him. When I formerly made Enquiry from you about Mons. *Le Clerc*, I was in some Prospect of providing for this Gentleman whom I now have, by the favour of a good Friend, who is since dead. So that, at present, having no Opportunity of disposing of him to his Advantage, I cannot conveniently part with him. However, I do not know how soon it may be otherwise; and therefore be pleas'd, in the mean time, to let me know something farther of Mons. *Cofte*; as whether he be a complete Master of the *Latin* Tongue, or other Language; whether a Mathematician, or given to experimental Philosophy; what his Age, and where Educated? As to the *Belles Lettres* &c. Mons. *Le Clerc* has mentioned them already in his Character.

I am mightily pleas'd to find that some others have the same Thoughts of Mons. L—— as you and I. His Performances in Mathematicks have made all the World mistaken in him. But certainly in other Attempts I am of your Opinion, he no more understands himself, than others understand him.

Mr. *Churchill* favoured me with the Present of Sir *R. Blackmore's K. Arthur*. I had *Pr. Arthur* before, and read it with Admiration, which is not at all lessened by this second Piece. All our *English* Poets (except *Milton*) have been meer Ballad-makers, in comparison to him. Upon the Publication of his first Poem, I intimated to him, through Mr. *Churchill's* Hands, how excellently I thought he might perform a Philosophick Poem, from many Touches he gave in his *Pr. Arthur*, particularly from *Mopas's* Song. And, I perceive by his Preface to *K. Arthur*, he has had the like Intimations from others, but rejects them, as being an Enemy to all Philosophick Hypotheses. Were I acquainted with Sir *R. Blackmore*, I could assure him, (and if you be so, I beseech you to tell him) that I am as little an Admirer of Hypotheses, as any Man, and never propos'd that Thought to him, with a Design that a Philosophick Poem should run on such a Strain. *A natural History of the great*
and

and admirable Phenomena of the Universe, is a Subject, I think, may afford sublime Thoughts in a Poem; and so far, and no farther, would I desire a Poem to extend.

You see I am carried beyond my designed Bounds, by the Mark on t'other side this Leaf. But as I am never weary of Reading Letters from you, so, I think, I am never tired of Writing to you. However, 'tis time I relieve you, by Subscribing my self intirely

Your most affectionate, and devoted Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR,

Oates, 15. Jan. 1697.

I Have the Honour of your two obliging Letters of the 15th and 27th of May, wherein I find the same Mind, the same Affection, and the same Friendship, which you have so frankly, and so long, made me happy in. And, if I may guess, by the Paragraph which you transcribed out of your Friend's Letter into your's of the 15th of May, I shall have reason to think your Kindness to me is grown infectious, and that by it you fascinate your Friends Understanding, and corrupt their Judgments in my favour. 'Tis enough for me, in so unequal a Match, if mighty Truth can keep me from a shameful Overthrow. If I can maintain my Ground, 'tis enough, against so redoubtable an Adversary, but Victory I must not think of. I doubt not but you are convinced of that by this time, and you will see how silly a thing it is for an unskill'd Pigmy to enter the Lists with a Man at Arms, versed in the use of his Weapons.

My Health, and Busineses that I like as little as you do those you complain of, make me know what it is to want Time. I often resolve not to trouble you any more with my Complaints of the Distance between us, and as often impertinently break that Resolution. I never have any Thoughts working in my Head, or any new Project start in my Mind, but my Wishes carry me immediately to you, and I desire to lay them before you. You may justly think this carries a pretty severe Reflection on my Countrey, or my self, that in it I have not a Friend to communicate my Thoughts with. I cannot much complain of want of Friends to other Purposes. But a Man with whom one can freely seek Truth, without any regard to old or new, fashionable or not fashionable, but Truth merely for Truth's sake, is what is scarce to be found in an Age; and such an one I take you to be. Do but think then what a Pleasure, what an Advantage it would be to me to have you by me, who have so much Thought, so much Clearness, so much Penetration, all directed to the same Aim which I propose to my self, in all the Ramblings of my Mind. I, on this Occasion, mention only the Wants that I daily feel, which makes me not so often speak of the other Advantages I should receive from the Communication of your own Notions, as well as from the Correction of mine. But, with this Repining, I trouble you too much, and, for the Favours I receive from you, thank you too little, and rejoyce not enough in having such a Friend, though at a distance.

As to the Gentleman, to whom you think my friendly Admonishments may be of Advantage for his Conduct hereafter, I must tell you, that he is a Man to whom I never writ in my Life, and, I think, I shall not now begin. And, as to his Conduct, 'tis what I never so much as spoke to him of. That is a Liberty to be only taken with Friends and Intimates, for whose Conduct one is mightily concern'd, and in whose Affairs one interests himself. I cannot but wish well to all Men of Parts and Learning, and be ready to afford them all the Civilities, and good Offices in my Power. But there must be other Qualities to bring me to a Friendship, and unite me in those stricter Ties of Concern. For I put a great deal of Difference between those whom I thus receive into my Heart and Affection, and those whom I re-

ceive

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ceive into my Chamber, and do not treat there with a perfect Strangeness. I perceive you think your self under some Obligation of peculiar Respect to that Person, upon the Account of my Recommendation to you; but certainly, this comes from nothing but your over-great Tenderneſs to oblige me. For if I did recommend him, you will find it was only as a Man of Parts and Learning for his Age, but without any intention that that ſhould be of any other Conſequence, or lead you any farther, than the other Qualities you ſhould find in him, ſhould recommend him to you. And therefore, whatſoever you ſhall, or ſhall not do for him, I ſhall no way intereſt my ſelf in. I know, of your own ſelf, you are a good Friend to thoſe who deſerve it of you; and for thoſe that do not, I ſhall never blame your Neglect of them. The Occaſion of his coming into *Ireland* now, I gueſs to be the Hopes of ſome Employment, now upon this Change of Hands there. I tell you, *I gueſs*, for he himſelf never told me any thing of it, nor ſo much as acquainted me with his Intentions of going to *Ireland*, how much ſoever he vouches my Patronage and Friendſhip, as you are pleaſed to phraſe it. And as to his Subſiſtence, from whence that comes, I cannot tell. I ſhould not have waſted ſo much of my Converſation with you, on this Subject, had you not told me it would oblige you to give you Light in theſe Matters, which I have done, as a Friend to a Friend, with a greater Freedom than I ſhould allow my ſelf to talk to another.

I ſhall, when I ſee Sir *Rich. Blackmore*, diſcourſe him as you deſire. There is, I with Pleaſure find, a ſtrange Harmony throughout, between your Thoughts and mine. I have always thought, that laying down, and building upon Hypotheſes, has been one of the great Hindrances of Natural Knowledge; and I ſee your Notions agree with mine in it. And, though I have a great Value for Sir *R. Blackmore*, on ſeveral Accounts, yet there is nothing has given me a greater Eſteem of him, than what he ſays about Hypotheſes in Medicine, in his Preface to *King Arthur*, which is an Argument to me, that he underſtands the right Method of Praſtiſing Phyſick; and it gives me great hopes he will improve it, ſince he keeps in the only Way it is capable to be improved in; and has ſo publickly declared againſt the more eaſie, fashionable, and pleaſing way of an Hypotheſis, which, I think, has done more to hinder the true Art of Phyſick, which is the Curing of Diſeaſes, than all other Things put together; by making it learned, ſpecious, and talkative, but ineffectual to its great End, the Health of Mankind; as was viſible in the Practice of Phyſick, in the Hands of the illiterate *Americans*, and the learned Phyſicians, that went thither out of *Europe*, ſtored with their Hypotheſes, borrowed from Natural Philoſophy, which made them indeed great Men, and admired in the Schools, but, in Curing Diſeaſes, the poor *Americans*, who had eſcaped thoſe ſplendid Clogs, clearly out-went them. You cannot imagin how far a little Obſervation, carefully made, by a Man not tyed up to the four Humours; or *Sal*, *Sulphur* and *Mercury*; or to *Acid* and *Alkali*, which has of late prevailed, will carry a Man in the Curing of Diſeaſes, though very Stubborn and Dangerous, and that with very little and common Things, and almoſt no Medicines at all. Of this I could, from my own Experience, convince you, were we together but a little while. But my Letter is too long already. When I am Writing to you, the Pleaſure of Talking to you makes me forget you are a Man of Buſineſs, and have your Hands full. I beg your Pardon for it. 'Tis time to diſmiſs you. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your moſt affectionate, and

moſt faithful humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dublin, July 20. 1697.

THE latest Favour I received from my ever honoured Friend, was of the 15th of June, and I have it before me, to acknowledge with all due Gratitude. I was mightily surprized to see the Bishop of Worcester's Answer to your Letter; I thought he would have let that Matter fall, and have privately thanked you, and have said no more. This was the least I expected from him; for I think indeed, he might have gone farther, and made his publick Acknowledgments to you. This had been like a Man of Ingenuity and Candor; and by this he had been more valuable, in the Opinion of all I converse with here, than by the Shiftings, Windings, and Turnings he uses in his last Piece. You well observe the Bishop has shewn himself a Man at his Weapon; but I think him *Andabatarum more pugnare*, he winks as he fights. However, in the Postscript he shews a Sample of the old Leven, and must not let you go without coupling his Observations on a Socinian Book, with his Confutation of your's; as if there were something so agreeable between them, that they cannot be well separated. This is such an indirect Practice, and seems such an invidious Insinuation, that I cannot but give it the Name of Malice.

I am obliged to you for the Confidence you put in me, by communicating your Thoughts concerning Mr. T——, more freely than you would do to every one. He has had his Opposers here, as you will find by a Book which I have sent to you by a Gentleman's Servant, to be left for you at your Lodging; wherein you will meet with a Passage relating to your self, which, though with Decency, yet I fear will not redound much to the Author's Advantage; for, with very great Assurance, (an usual Companion of Ignorance) he undertakes to demonstrate the Immateriality of the Soul, and to shew the Falsity of your Argumentation, wherein you assert, *That we have no Proof, but that God may communicate a Power of Thinking to a certain System of Matter*. But this is all but Assertion and Promise; we are so unhappy as yet to want this Demonstration from this Author, and I fear we shall ever want it from him; and, I believe, you will be of my Opinion when you read his Book. The Author is my Acquaintance; but two Things I shall never forgive in his Book; the one is the foul Language, and opprobrious Names he gives Mr. T——; the other is, upon several Occasions, calling in the Aid of the Civil Magistrate, and delivering Mr. T—— up to Secular Punishment. This, indeed, is a killing Argument; but some will be apt to say, That where the Strength of his Reason fail'd him, there he flies to the Strength of the Sword. And this minds me of a Business that was very surprizing to many, even several Prelates in this Place, the Presentment of some pernicious Books, and their Authors, by the Grand Jury of Middlesex. This is look'd upon as a Matter of dangerous Consequence, to make our Civil Courts Judges of Religious Doctrines; and no one knows, upon a Change of Affairs, whose Turn it may be next to be condemn'd. But the Example has been follow'd in our Countrey; and Mr. T——, and his Book have been presented here, by a Grand Jury, not one of which (I am persuaded) ever read one Leaf in *Christianity not mysterious*. Let the Sorbone for ever now be silent; a learned Grand Jury, directed by as learned a Judge, does the Business much better. The Dissenters here were the chief Promoters of this Matter; but, when I asked one of them, What if a violent Church of England Jury should present Mr. Baxter's Books, as Pernicious, and condemn them to the Flames by the common Executioner? He was sensible of the Error, and said, He wish'd it had never been done.

I must not forget to thank you for the Countenance I have received from my Lord Chancellor Methwin, since his coming into Ireland. I know 'tis all owing to your, and your Friends Endeavours. My Lord is a Person from whom the Kingdom expects very well, for hitherto his Management has been very promising. Mr. Burridge is his Chaplain, and expects very soon to

be

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be settled in a Parish here in *Dublin*, and then he promises me to prosecute the *Essay* with Vigour.

My Brother gives you his most humble Service. He is told by Mr. *Burridge*, that you had sent him a Book in Medicine, but by what Hand, he could not inform him. He has such a Value for every Thing that comes from you, that he desired me to let you know, that no such Book came to his Hands, or else he had not all this while defer'd his Acknowledgements.

I perceive you are so happy as to be acquainted with Sir *Richard Blackmore*; he is an extraordinary Person, and I admire his two Prefaces as much as I do any Parts of his Books; the first, wherein he exposes the *Licentiousness and Immorality of our late Poetry*, is incomparable; and the second, wherein he prosecutes the *same Subject*, and delivers his Thoughts concerning *Hypotheses*, is no less judicious. And I am wholly of his Opinion, relating to the latter. However, the *History and Phenomena of Nature* we may venture at; and this is what I propose to be the Subject of a Philosophick Poem. Sir *Richard Blackmore* has exquisite Touches of this Kind, dispers'd in many Places of his Books; (to pass over *Mopas's Son*) I'll instance one Particular, in the most profound Speculations of Mr. *Newton's* Philosophy, thus curiously touch'd in *King Arthur*, Book ix. pag. 243.

*The Constellations shine at his Command,
He form'd their radiant Orbs, and with his Hand
He weigh'd, and put them off with such a Force,
As might preserve an everlasting Course.*

I doubt not but Sir *R. Blackmore*, in these Lines, had a Regard to the Proportionment of the projective Motion to the *Vis centripeta*, that keeps the Planets in their continued Courses.

I have by me some Observations made by a judicious Friend of mine, on both Sir *R. Blackmore's* Poems; if they may be any ways acceptable to Sir *R.* I shall send them to you; they are in the Compass of a Sheet of Paper. And, were it proper, I should humbly desire you to procure for me from Sir *R.* the Key to the Person's Names, in both his Poems; most of the first I have already, and a great many in the second, but many I also want, which I should be very glad to understand. But if herein I desire any thing disagreeable, I beg Sir *Richard's* Pardon, and desist.

Ever since you first mentioned to me, that *Monf. Le Clerc* might be inticed into *Ireland* by a moderate Encouragement, it has sat grievous on my Spirit, that it lay not in my Power to procure for him what might be worth his Acceptance. I should reckon it (next to your Friendship) one of the greatest Glories of my Life, that I could be able any ways to contribute to transplanting him hither. T'other Day I ventured to mention it to a great Prelate here, the Bishop of ——. He was pleas'd to favour the Proposal immediately, and gave me Directions, that I should enquire whether *Monf. Le Clerc* would be willing to take Orders in our Church, and to submit to the Oaths and Injunctions thereof; and how far he is Master of the *English* Language. He told me, he doubted not but he might procure for him 150 or 200 *l. per Ann.* in some Place of Ease and Retirement. Be pleas'd therefore, dear Sir, to let me be informed in these Particulars, and in whatever else you think requisite in managing this Affair.

I have protracted this Letter as if I had a Design to kill you, by tiring you to Death. I beg your Excuse for it. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR,

London, 11 Sept. 1697.

IF you have received my Reply to the Bishop, before this comes to your Hand, I shall need say no more to the first Paragraph of your obliging Letter of the 20th of July. Mr. Churchill tells me, he has taken Care you should have it with speed. I have order'd another to Mr. Burridge, who has, by his Undertaking, some Concernment now in my *Essay*. I am not delighted at all in Controversie, and think I could spend my Time to greater Advantage to my self. But, being attack'd, as I am, and in a way that sufficiently justifies your Remarks on it, I think every Body will judge I had Reason to defend my self; whether I have or no, so far as I have gone, the World must judge.

I think, with you, the Dissenters were best consider, *That what is Sauce for a Goose, is Sauce for a Gander*. But they are a sort of Men that will always be the same.

You thank me for what is owing to your own Worth. Every one who knows you, will think (if he judges right) that he receives as much Advantage as he gives by the Countenance he shews you. However, I am obliged by your Thanks to me, for, if I do not procure you as much Good as you are capable of receiving from any one that comes to you from hence, 'tis my Want of Ability, and not Want of Will. My Heart and Inclination, wherein the Friendship lies, will always be such, as I can presume, will not displease you, in a Man whom I am very sensible you love.

Here was, the last Year, a Book in Physick published by a young Lad not Twenty, who had never seen the University. It was about the Motion of the Muscles, with as good an Explication of it as any I have yet seen. I believe I might have spoke to Mr. Churchill to send your Brother one of them, for the sake of the Author; (for as to the Subject itself, I fear I shall never see it explained to my Satisfaction) whether he did it or no, I have not yet asked; but the Book itself is not worth your Brother's Enquiry or Acknowledgment; though being written by such an Author, made it a kind of Curiosity: I should be very glad if I could do him here any Service of greater Importance. But I having now wholly laid by the Study of Physick, I know not what comes out new, or worth the Reading, in that Faculty. Pray give my humble Service to your Brother, and let me know whether he hath any Children, for then I shall think my self obliged to send him one of the next Edition of my Book of *Education*, which, my Bookseller tells me, is, out of Print; and I had much rather be at Leisure to make some Additions to that, and my *Essay of Human Understanding*, than be employed to defend myself against the groundless, and, as others think, trifling Quarrel of the Bishop. But his Lordship is pleased to have it otherwise, and I must answer for myself as well as I can, till I have the good luck to be convinced.

I was not a little pleased to find what Thoughts you had concerning Hypotheses in Physick. Though Sir R. B's Vein in Poetry be what every Body must allow him to have an extraordinary Talent in, and though with you I exceedingly valued his first Preface; yet I must own to you, there was nothing that I so much admired him for, as for what he says of Hypotheses in his last. It seems to me so right, and is yet so much out of the way of the ordinary Writers, and Practitioners in that Faculty, that it shews as great a Strength and Penetration of Judgment, as his Poetry has shewn Flights of Fancy; and therefore I was very glad to find in you the same Thoughts of it. And when he comes luckily in my way, I shall not forget your Wishes, and shall acquaint him with the Observations you mention. And the Key you desire I shall send you, if it be fit to be asked of him, which I am at present in some Doubt of.

Though I could myself answer many of your Questions concerning Mons. Le Clerc; yet I have sent them to him himself, with the Reason of them. I have not yet received his Answer, the Expectation whereof has delayed my

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writing

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writing to you for some time. In the mean time, till I hear from him, I thank you in his Name and my own.

I shall be very glad to hear from you how the Linnen Manufacture goes on, on that side the Water, and what Assistance the Parliament there is like to give to it, for I wish Prosperity to your Country, and, very particularly all manner of Happiness to you. I am unfeignedly,

SIR,

Your most affectionate, humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

What I told you formerly of a Storm coming against my Book, proves no Fiction. Besides what you will see I have taken notice of in my Reply, Mr. Serjeant, a Popish Priest, whom you must needs have heard of, has bestowed a thick 8^{vo} upon my *Essay*, and Mr. Norris, as I hear, is writing hard against it. Shall I not be quite slain, think you, amongst so many notable Combats, and the Lord knows how many more to come?

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR,

Dublin, Sept. 11. 1697.

MY last to you was of July 20. since which time I have not had the Happiness of a Line from you. But I am satisfied you are better employ'd; and indeed, when I see daily what Swarms of angry Wasps do arise against you (besides many which reach not our View in this place) I wonder not that you should be so far engaged as to have little time to throw away on me. T'other day I met with the last Effort of Mr. Edwards's Malice; I do now heartily pity the poor Wretch; he is certainly mad, and no more to be taken notice of hereafter, than the Railings of Oliver's Porter in *Bethlem*. I have seen also a Philosophical Writer against you, of another Strain, one J. S. that writes against all Ideists; this Gentleman, though civil, yet to me is absolutely unintelligible, so unfortunate I am. Who he is I know not, but should be glad to learn from you; and what you think, in general, of his Book.

Mr. T—— is, at last, driven out of our Kingdom; the poor Gentleman, by his imprudent Management, had raised such an universal Outcry, that 'twas even dangerous for a Man to have been known once to converse with him. This made all wary Men of Reputation decline seeing him; insomuch that at last he wanted a Meal's-Meat (as I am told) and none would admit him to their Tables. The little Stock of Money which he brought into this Country being exhausted, he fell to borrowing from any one that would lend him half a Crown, and run in Debt for his Wigs, Cloaths, and Lodging, (as I am inform'd;) and last of all, to compleat his Hardships, the Parliament fell on his Book, voted it to be burnt by the common Hangman, and ordered the Author to be taken into Custody of the Serjeant at Arms, and to be prosecuted by the Attorney-General at Law. Hereupon he is fled out of this Kingdom, and none here knows where he has directed his course. I did believe you might be a Stranger to these Proceedings a great while, unless I had intimated them to you; and that is one of my Designs in writing this to you.

I am here very happy in the Friendship of an honourable Person, Mr. Moleſworth, who is an hearty Admirer and Acquaintance of your's. We never meet but we remember you; he sometimes comes into my House, and tells me, 'tis not to pay a Visit to me, but to pay his Devotion to your Image that is in my Dining-Room.

I should be glad to hear farther from you concerning Mons. Le Clerc and Mons. Cofſe, in relation to what I formerly writ to you concerning those Gentlemen. I am,

SIR,

Your most obliged, humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured SIR,

Dublin, Oct. 4. 1697.

I Percieve we were each of us mindful of t'other on the 11th of the last Month, for of that Date was your last to me, as you will find mine likewise to you bore the same.

You have already answer'd some of my impertinent Enquiries in that Letter: You tell me therein, who J. S. is that writes against you. I do not now wonder at the Confusedness of his Notions, or that they should be unintelligible to me. I should have much more admired, had they been otherwise. I expect nothing from Mr. *Sejeant* but what is abstruse in the highest degree.

I look for nothing else from Mr. *Norris*; I thought that Gentleman had enough on't, in his first Attempt on your *Essay*; but he's so over-run with Father *Malebranche*, and *Plato*, that 'tis in vain to endeavour to set him right, and I give him up as an invincible Enemy.

But above all these, I should wonder at the Bishop of *Worcester's* Obstinacy, did I not think that I partly know the Reason thereof. He has been an old Soldier in Controversies, and has hitherto had the good Luck of Victory; but now, in the latter end of his Wars, to be laid on his back (as he thinks the World would certainly say, unless he has the last Word) would wither all his former Laurels, and lose his Glory. Your Reply to him is not yet come to hand; but I can wait with the more Patience, because I am pretty well satisfied in the Matter already.

I am very glad to understand that we are to expect another Edition of your *Education*, with Additions. I never thought you writ too much on any Subject whatever.

I have formerly written to you, to know farther concerning Monf. *Coste*, who translated some of your Books into *French*. I fancy, by that Gentleman's Inclinations to your Works, he and I should agree very well. Pray let me know, whether to his *Belles Lettres* he has any Skill in the Mathematicks, Natural History, &c. As also what his Circumstances are, as to his Education, Parentage, &c. For, according to these, I may judge whether I can give him any Encouragement to come hither.

You had been troubled with this Letter sooner, but that I waited for the inclosed, to satisfy your Enquiry concerning our Linnen Manufacture. You will find thereby, that we have framed a Bill to be Enacted for the Encouragement thereof. This Bill is now before the Council of *England*, pursuant to our Constitution of Parliament. What Alterations, Additions, and Amendments it may receive there, we know not; but I am apt to think you will have the Consideration and Modelling thereof at your Committee of Trade. We are very sensible, that the Act we have drawn up, (whereof the inclosed are the Heads) is not so perfect and compleat as it may be, but this we thought a fair Beginning to so great an Attempt, and that Time must be given for a farther Progress, and carrying it higher, by additional Laws, as Occasion may require. The Woollen Manufacture of *England* was not Established at that high Pitch (to which now 'tis raised) by any one Law, or any one Generation. It must be so with us in Relation to our Linnen; but this, we hope, may be a fair Step towards it: *Est quoddam prodire tenuis, &c.*

James Hamilton of *Tullymore*, Esq; is an indefatigable Promoter of this Design, and I may say indeed the whole Scheme is owing to his Contrivance. He is an hearty Admirer of your's, and communicated to me the inclosed Abstract purposely for your Satisfaction; desiring me with it to give you his most humble Service, and to request of you your Thoughts concerning this Matter, by the first Leisure you can spare.

Whilst our House of Commons were framing this Bill, our Lords Justices communicated to us some Papers which they had received from the Lords Justices of *England*, laid before them by your Board. But these Papers coming in a little too late, when we had just closed the Bill, and a very little time before our last Adjournment for three Weeks; all we did with them

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was to remit them again to our Lords Justices and Council, with the House's desire, that if their Lordships should think fit to excerpt any Thing out of those Papers, and add it to our Act, whilst they had it before them, in order to be transmitted into *England*, their Lordships might do therein as they pleased, and the House would agree to any such Additions, when the Act came before us transmitted in due Form under the Seal of *England*. Whether the Lords Justices will make any such Additions out of those Papers, I cannot yet tell; but I am sure there were many Things in those Papers that highly deserved to be put in Execution.

My Brother gives you his most humble Service, and should be very proud of the Present of your *Education*. For though he has yet only two Daughters, yet he is in hopes of many Sons; and the Girls Minds require as much framing, as the Boys, and by the same Rules: And that I take to be the chief Part of Education. I am,

Your's most sincerely,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

My most honoured Friend,

Dublin, Oct. 28. 1697.

IF Men could destroy by a Quill, as they say Porcupines do, I should think your Death not very far off. But whatever Venom they mix'd with their Ink against you, I hope it is not mortal; I am sure in my Opinion 'tis not the least harmful or dangerous. Your *Reply to the Bishop of Worcester* shews how vainly the mightiest Champion spends his Darts at you, and with what Force and Strength of Reason you return them on his own Head. But notwithstanding this, I verily believe he will offer again at his weak Efforts; for he that was so fully possess'd of his own Sufficiency, as to think he could deal with your first Letter to him, will certainly never lay down the Cudgels till his Blood be about his Ears: And if he thought himself obliged in Honour to justify his first Blunders, much more will he think himself so now, when he is thrown over Head and Ears in the Mire. To pass by all the rest of your *Reply* (wherein you have given him many a severe Wound) I think he is no where so clearly and disgracefully foil'd, as by the Conversation between you and your Friend concerning his Notions of *Nature* and *Person*. But above all, the Consequence you draw from thence, of his being obliged to write against his own *Vindication of the Trinity*, must needs wound him to the Heart; and indeed I do not see how 'tis possible for him to avoid the Force of that Blow, by all his Art and Cunning. Yet write he will, I am sure on't, and pour fourth an abundance of Words; but so he may for ever. I envy not the Place of his *Amanuensis*.

But all this while I have forgot to return you my Acknowledgments for the Favour of your Book. I am extremely obliged to you for remembering me amongst your other Friends, whenever you are pleas'd to oblige the learned World with any of your happy Thoughts. I had no sooner perus'd them, but they were snatch'd out of my Hands by my Lord Chancellor, (so covetous are all Men of whatever comes from you) and he has them yet.

Amongst the other small Craft that appears against you, I met with one *J. H's State of England, in Relation to Coin and Trade*. I hear the Author's Name is *Hodges*. He is much of a Class in this Particular, with Mr. *Serjeant*, in Relation to your *Essay*, that is, both to me unintelligible.

The inclosed is a Sample of what this Place produces against you: I wish you may not say, that it resembles our Mountains and Bogs, in being barren and useless. I have ventur'd to send you my short Answer thereto; for a longer I think it did not deserve. I have not seen the Bishop since this has pass'd; but we are so good Friends, that this Business will cause no Anger between us. I am

Your most obliged humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX:
Mr.

Bishop of —'s Letter to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

Johnstown, Oct. 26. 1697.

I Have met with Mr. Locke's Reply to the Bishop of Worcester, and have had Leisure to look it over here. I meddle not with the Controversie between them, but confess I am a little surpriz'd at what I find p. 95, and 96. where we have these Words: *To talk of the Certainty of Faith, seems all one to me, as to talk of the Knowledge of Believing: And, when it is brought to Certainty, Faith is destroy'd: And, bring it to Certainty, and it ceases to be Faith.* And he in Terms owns, p. 39. *With me to know and to be certain, is the same Thing; what I know, that I am certain of, and what I am certain of, that I know.* And, p. 92. *Knowledge I find in my self, and I conceive in others, consists in the Perception of the Agreement or Disagreement of the immediate Objects of the Mind in Thinking, which I call Ideas.* And, p. 38. *Certainty consists in the Perception of the Agreement or Disagreement of two Ideas.* Now to me it seems, that according to Mr. Locke I cannot be said to know any thing except there be two Ideas in my Mind, and all the Knowledge I have must be concerning the Relation these two Ideas have to one another, and that I can be certain of nothing else; which, in my Opinion, excludes all Certainty of Sense, and of single Ideas, all Certainty of Consciousness, such as Willing, Believing, Knowing, &c. and, as he confesses, all Certainty of Faith, and lastly, all Certainty of Remembrance, of which I have formerly demonstrated, as soon as I have forgot, or do not actually think of the Demonstration. For I suppose you are well aware, that in demonstrating Mathematical Propositions, 'tis not always from actual Perception of the Agreement of Ideas, that we assume other Propositions formerly demonstrated to infer the Conclusion, but from Memory: and yet we do not think our selves less certain on that Account. If this be the Importance of Mr. L's Words, as it seems to me to be, then we are not certain of the Acts of our Mind; we are not certain of any thing that remains in our Minds merely by the strength of our Memory; and lastly, we are not certain of any Proposition, though God and Man witness the Truth of it to us: And then judge how little Certainty is left in the World, and how near this last comes to Mr. Toland's Proposition, That Authority or Testimony is only a Means of Information, not a Ground of Persuasion: For I must own, that I think I am only persuaded of the Truth of a Thing, in Proportion to the Certainty I have of it: And if Knowledge and Certainty be reciprocally the same, and consist in the Perception of the Agreement or Disagreement of two Ideas; where I do not perceive these, though God and Man, nay the whole World should testify to me that they do agree or disagree, I cannot be certain of it. I must profess my self of another Opinion; and I think I am as certain there was such a Man as Mr. L. from the Testimony of you, and other Circumstances, tho' I perceive no Agreement or Disagreement in this Case between the two Ideas, to convince me of his Being; as that the three Angles of a straight-lin'd Triangle are equal to two right Angles, where I actually perceive the Agreement, or rather Equality: Or, that the Area of a Cyclois is equal to triple the generating Circle, of which I am certain by Memory, tho' I do not at present perceive the Demonstration, or any Agreement between the Ideas of the three Circles and a Cyclois, only remember that I once perceived it.

Let me farther add, That *Agreement* and *Disagreement* are Metaphorical Terms when applied to Ideas; for *Agreement* properly, I think, either signifies, *first*, a Compact between two Persons; or, *secondly*, two Things fitting one another, as the two Parts of a Tally; or, *thirdly*, the Likeness of two Things, as of a Pair of Coach-horses; or, *fourthly*, the Aptitude of two Things to support or preserve one another. So several Meats agree with the Stomach; but I do not find, that in a Proposition, the Ideas have an Agreement in any of these Senses; and I rather think the old way of expressing this Matter ought to be retained. I learned in *Smiglecius*, that when the *Species Intelligibilis* of the Predicate was the same with the *Species* of the Subject, the one might be affirmed of the other: And when the *Medius terminus*

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minus was the same with the one extreme Term in one of the Premises, and the other extreme the same with it in the other of the Premises, the one might be affirmed of the other in the Conclusion, because of the old Axiom. *Quæ sunt idem uni tertio, sunt idem inter se.* You may use the Metaphorical Term of Agreement here instead of Identity; but Mr. L. has told us, p. 153. That *Metaphorical Expressions (which seldom terminate in Truth) shou'd be as much as possible avoided, when Men undertake to deliver clear and distinct Apprehensions, and exact Notions of Things.*

I do find that Men's Thoughts do not differ so much as their Words, and that most Men are of one Mind, when they come to understand one another, and have the same Views; and hence many Controversies are only Verbal. I doubt not but my Difference from Mr. L. in this Matter may be of the same Nature, and perhaps, if I had carefully read his Book of *Human Understanding*, I might perceive it; but I have neither Opportunity, Leisure, or Inclination to do so, and believe a great Part of the World to be in the same Circumstances with me; and I verily believe, that the Expressions I have noted in his *Reply*, will seem unwary to them as well as to me.

I do find he claims a Liberty that will not be allow'd him by all, p. 92. to *please himself in his Terms*, so they be used constantly *in the same and a known Sense*. I remember others have claimed the same Liberty under the Notion of making their own Dictionary; but I reckon the changing a Term, tho' I declare my Sense, and forewarn the Reader of it, to be a very great Injury to the World; and to introduce a new one, where there is one altogether to signify the same Thing, equally injurious; and that a Man has only this Liberty where he introduces a new Thing, that has yet no Name. And I believe you see my Reasons for being of this Opinion, and therefore shall not mention them. Let me only observe, that the want of this Caution seems to me to have brought most of Mr. L's Trouble on him. Words were indeed Arbitrary Signs of Things in those that first imposed them, but they are not to us. When we use the best Caution we can, we are apt to transgress in changing them; and when we do so out of Weakness, we must ask Pardon, but must not claim it as a Liberty, it being really a Fault. A few Minutes lying on my Hands, has given you this Trouble; and I know your Kindness to Mr. L. will not make it ungrateful to you, whilst it assures you that I am,

Your most affectionate humble Servant.

I could never comprehend any necessity for a Criterion of Certainty to the Understanding, any more than of one to the Eye, to teach it when it sees. Let the Eye be rightly disposed, and apply an Object to it, if duly apply'd, it will force it to see: And so apply an Object to an Understanding duly qualified, and if the Arguments or Object be as they ought to be, they will force the Understanding to assent, and remove all Doubts. And I can no more tell, what is in the Object, or Arguments, that ascertains my Understanding, than I can tell what it is in Light, that makes me see. I must say then, the same God that ordered Light to make me see, ordered Truth, or rather certain Objects, to ascertain my Understanding; and I believe Mr. L. can hardly give any other Reason why his Agreement, &c. of Ideas should cause Certainty.

Mr. MOLYNEUX's Answer to the BISHOP.

My LORD,

Dublin, October 27. 1697.

I Am extremely obliged to your Lordship, that having a few Minutes lying on your Hands in your Retirement from this Town, you are pleased to bestow them on my Friend and me. I should have acknowledged the Favour more early, had your Servant staid for an Answer when he delivered your's to me; but he was gone out of my Reach before I was aware of it.

And

And now, my Lord, all the Answer I shall trouble your Lordship with at present, is this; that your Lordship is much in the right on't, that had you read Mr. Locke's *Essay of Human Understanding* more carefully and throughout, you had never made the Objections you raise against him in your Letter to me; for your Lordship would have found his fourth Book abundantly satisfactory in the Difficulties you propose, and particularly the 2d and 18th Chapters of the fourth Book, are a full Answer to your Lordship's Letter.

But your Lordship says, you have neither *Opportunity*, *Leisure*, or *Inclination* to read the *Essay*. My LORD, I would not then have *Leisure* or *Inclination* to animadvert on a Book, that I had not (if not *Inclination*) at least *Leisure* to read. This, with Submission, I cannot but say is great Partiality. If your Lordship says, your Letter relates to his *Reply* to the Bishop of Worcester; neither will this do, in my humble Opinion; seeing your Lordship seems to surmise (as indeed you guess rightly) that the *Essay* might have set you right in this Matter. I am,

My LORD,

Your Lordship's most humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dear SIR,

Dublin, Decemb. 18. 1697.

TIS now above three Months since I heard from you, your last being of Sept. 11. You will therefore excuse my Impatience, if I can forbear no longer, and send this merely to know how you do. 'Tis an anguishing Thought to me, that you should be subject to the common Frailties and Fate of Mankind; but it would be some Alleviation to my Trouble, that, if you are ill, I should know the worst of it. This has so wholly taken up my Mind at present, that I have no Inclination to write one Word more to you in this; but again, to repeat my Request to you, that you would let me know how you are; for till I know this, I am dissatisfied, I am extremely uneasy; but for ever shall be

Your most affectionate Admirer,

and devoted Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR,

Oates, 10. Jan. 1697.

YOUR gentle and kind Reproof of my Silence, has greater Marks of true Friendship in it, than can be express'd in the most elaborate Professions, or be sufficiently acknowledg'd by a Man, who has not the Opportunity nor Ability to make those Returns he would. Though I have had less Health, and more Business since I writ to you last than ever I had for so long together in my Life; yet neither the one nor the other had kept me so long a Truant, had not the Concurrence of other Causes, drill'd me on from Day to Day, in a Neglect of what I frequently purposed, and always thought my self obliged to do. Perhaps the Listlessness my Indisposition constantly kept me in, made me too easily hearken to such Excuses; but the Expectation of hearing every Day from Mons. Le Clerc, that I might send you his Answer, and the Thoughts that I should be able to send your Brother an Account, that his curious Treatise concerning the Chafers in Ireland was printed, were at least the Pretences that served to humour my Laziness. Business kept me

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me in Town longer than was convenient for my Health: All the Day from my rising was commonly spent in that, and when I came home at Night, my Shortness of Breath, and Panting for want of it, made me ordinarily so uneasy, that I had no Heart to do any thing; so that the usual Diversion of my vacant Hours forsook me, and Reading it self was a Burthen to me. In this Estate I linger'd along in Town to *December*, till I betook my self to my wonted Refuge, in the more favourable Air and Retirement of this Place. That gave me presently Relief against the constant Oppression of my Lungs, whilst I sit still: But I find such a Weakness of them still remain, that if I stir ever so little, I am immediately out of Breath, and the very dressing or undressing me is a Labour that I am fain to rest after to recover my Breath; and I have not been once out of my House since I came last hither. I wish nevertheless that you were here with me to see how well I am: For you would find, that, sitting by the Fire's side, I could bear my Part in discoursing, laughing, and being merry with you, as well as ever I could in my Life. If you were here (and if Wishes of more than one could bring you, you would be here to Day) you would find three or four in the Pariour after Dinner, whom you would say, pass'd their Afternoons as agreeably and as jocundly as any People you have this good while met with. Do not therefore figure to your self, that I am languishing away my last Hours under an unfociable Despondency and the Weight of my Infirmary. 'Tis true, I do not count upon Years of Life to come, but I thank God I have not many uneasy Hours here in the four and twenty; and if I can have the Wit to keep my self out of the stifling Air of *London*, I see no Reason, but by the Grace of God, I may get over this Winter, and that terrible Enemy of mine may use me no worse than the last did, which as severe, and as long as it was, let me yet see another Summer.

What you say to me in your's of the 4th of *October*, concerning the Bishop of *W.....*, you will, I believe, be confirm'd in, if his *Answer to my Second Letter*, of which I shall say nothing to you yet, be got to you.

Mr. *Cofte* is now in the House with me here, and is Tutor to my Lady *Masbam's* Son. I need not, I think, answer your Questions about his Skill in *Mathematicks* and *Natural History*: I think it is not much; but he is an ingenious Man, and we like him very well for our Purpose; and I have a particular Obligation to you, for the Reason why you enquired concerning him.

I come now to your's of the 28th of *Octob.* wherein you have found by this time, that you prophesied right concerning the Bp. of *W.....*, and if you can remember what you said therein, concerning Abundance of Words, you will not, I suppose, forbear smiling, when you read the first Leaf of his last *Answer*.

If there be not an Evidence of Sense and Truth, which is apt and fitted to prevail on every human Understanding, as far as it is open and unprejudiced; there is at least a Harmony of Understandings in some Men, to whom Sense and Nonsense, Truth and Falshood, appears equally in the respective Discourses they meet with. This I find perfectly so between you and me, and it serves me to no small Purpose to keep me in Countenance. When I see a Man disinterested as you are, a Lover of Truth as I know you to be, and one that has Clearness and Coherence enough of Thought to make long Mathematical, *i. e.* sure Deductions, pronounce of *J. H.* and *J. S.'s* Books, that they are unintelligible to you; I do not presently condemn my self of Pride, Prejudice, or a perfect Want of Understanding, for laying aside those Authors, because I can find neither Sense nor Coherence in them. If I could think that Discourses and Arguments to the Understanding, were like the several Sorts of Cates to different Palates and Stomachs, some nauseous and destructive to one, which are pleasant and restorative to another; I should no more think of Books and Study, and should think my Time better employ'd at Push-pin than in Reading or Writing. But I am convinced of the contrary: I know there is Truth opposite to Falshood, that it may be found if People will, and is worth the seeking, and is not only the most valuable, but the pleasantest Thing in the World. And therefore I am no more troubled

troubled and disturb'd with all the Dust that is raised against it, than I should be to see from the Top of an high Steeple, where I had clear Air and Sunshine, a Company of great Boys or little Boys (for 'tis all one) throw up Dust in the Air, which reach'd not me, but fell down in their own Eyes.

Your Answer to your Friend the Bishop was certainly a very fit and full one to what he had said, and I am obliged to you for it: But he nevertheless thought his Objections so good, that I imagine he communicated them to my Antagonist; for you will find the very same in his Answer, and almost in the same Words. But they will receive an Answer at large in due Time.

It will not be at all necessary to say any thing to you concerning the Linnen Bill, which made so great a Part of your Letter of Oct. 4th, and was the whole Business of that of Oct. 16th. You know (I believe) as well as I what became of that Bill. Pray return my humble Thanks to Mr. Hamilton for his kind Expressions concerning me, and for the Favour he did me in thinking me any ways able to serve his Country in that Matter. I am so concern'd for it, and zealous in it, that I desire you to assure him, and to believe your self, that I will neglect no Pains or Interest of mine to promote it as far as I am able; and I think it a Shame, that whilst Ireland is so capable to produce Flax and Hemp, and able to nourish the Poor at so cheap a Rate, and consequently to have their Labour upon so easie Terms, that so much Money should go Yearly out of the King's Dominions, to enrich Foreigners, for those Materials, and the Manufactures made out of them, when his People of Ireland, by the Advantage of their Soil, Situation, and Plenty, might have every Penny of it, if that Business were but once put into a right Way. I perceive by one of your Letters, that you have seen the Proposals for an Act sent from hence. I would be very glad that you and Mr. Hamilton, or any other Man, whom you knew able, and a disinterested well-wisher of his Country, would consider them together, and tell me whether you think that Project will do, or wherein it is either impracticable or will fail, and what may be added or alter'd in it to make it effectual to that End. I know, to a Man a Stranger to your Country, as I am, many Things may be overseen, which by Reason of the Circumstances of the Place, or State of the People, may in Practice have real Difficulties. If there be any such in regard of that Project, you will do me a Favour to inform me of them. The short is, I mightily have it upon my Heart to get the Linnen Manufacture established in a flourishing way in your Country. I am sufficiently sensible of the Advantages it will be to you, and shall be doubly rejoiced in the Success of it, if I should be so happy that you and I could be instrumental in it, and have the chief Hand in forming any thing that might conduce to it. Employ your Thoughts therefore I beseech you about it, and be assured, what Help I can give to it here shall be as readily and as carefully employ'd, as if you and I alone were to reap all the Profit of it.

I have not yet heard a Word from Mons. Le Clerc, in Answer to my Enquiries, and the Questions you ask'd, or else you had heard sooner from me. I must beg you to return my Acknowledgments to Mr. Moleworth in the civiliest Language you can find, for the great Complement you sent me from him. If he could see my Confusion as often as I read that Part of your Letter, that would express my Sense of it better than any Words I am Master of. I can only say that I am his most humble Servant, and I have been not a little troubled, that I could not meet with the Opportunities I sought to improve the Advantages I propos'd to my self, in an Acquaintance with so ingenious and extraordinary a Man as he is.

I read your Brother's Treatise, which he did me the Honour to put into my Hands, with great Pleasure, and thought it so unreasonable to rob the Publick of so grateful a Present by any Delay of mine, that I forthwith put it into Dr. Sloane's Hand to be published, and I expected to have seen it in Print long e'er this Time. What has retarded it I have not yet heard from Dr. Sloane, who has not writ to me since I came into the Country: But I make no Doubt but he takes Care of so curious a Piece, and the World will have it speedily. I must depend on you, not only for excusing my Silence to your self, but I must be obliged to you to excuse me to your Brother for

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not having written to him my self to thank him for the Favour he did me. I hope e'er long to find an Opportunity to testifie my Respects to him more in Form, which he would find I have in Reality for him, if any Occasion of that Kind should come in my Way. In the mean time I believe, if he saw the Length of this Letter, he would think it enough for one of a Family to be persecuted by so voluminous a Scribler, and would be glad that I spared him. I am both his, and,

Dear SIR,

Your most affectionate, and

most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Dear SIR,

Dublin, March 15. 169².

IN the midst of my Trouble for your long Silence, soon after I had writ to two or three Friends to enquire after your Health, I was happily reliev'd by your's of last *January* the 10th from *Oates*. I am heartily concern'd that you pass'd over the last Winter with so much Indisposition; but I rejoice with you that you have 'scaped it, and hope you will yet pass over many more. I could make to you great Complaints likewise of my own late Illness; but they are all drown'd in this One, that I am hinder'd for a while in seeking a Remedy for them. I fully propos'd to be at the *Bath* this Spring early, but I am disappointed at present, and cannot stir from hence till my Lord Chancellor *Methwin* return to this Kingdom. It has pleas'd the young Lord *Woodstock*, by Directions from his Majesty, to chuse my Lord Chancellor *Methwin*, Mr. *Van Homrigh* present Lord Mayor of this City, and my self, to be his Guardians, and Managers of his Affairs in this Kingdom. Nothing can be done without two of us; so I am ty'd by the Leg. Were it only in my Health that I am disappointed, I could the easier bear it; but I am delay'd from embracing my dear Friend, which is most grievous of all. Yet I hope it will be so but for a time; for if my Lord Chancellor comes over in any convenient Season, I will certainly get loose. But this I cannot hope for till the Parliament in *England* rises. I should be glad to know from you when that is expected; for indeed they bear very hard upon us in *Ireland*. How justly they can bind us without our Consent and Representatives, I leave the Author of the two *Treatises of Government* to consider. But of this I shall trouble you farther another time, for you will here more hereafter.

I have seen the Bishop of *Worcester's* Answer to your *second Letter*. 'Tis of a Piece with the rest, and you know my Thoughts of them already. I begin to be almost of old *Hobb's* Opinion, That were it Men's Interest, they would question the Truth of *Euclid's Elements*, as now they contest almost as full Evidences.

I am very glad *Monf. Coste* is so well settled as you tell me: I design'd fully to invite him over hither; and if you know any other ingenious *Frenchman* of that Sort, or any such hereafter comes to your Knowledge, I should be very glad you would give me Intimation thereof.

I had certainly answer'd that Part of your Letter relating to the Linnen Manufacture, but that I daily expected to do it more effectually by Mr. *Hamilton* himself, who gave me Hopes of his going into *England*, and was resolv'd personally to wait on you about it. He is Master of the whole Mystery (and that I cannot pretend to be) and would have discours'd you most satisfactorily concerning it. I promis'd him a Letter to you whenever he goes over, which will now be very speedily, and then I doubt not but you will concert Matters together much for the Good of this poor Kingdom.

My

My Brother gives you his most humble Service, and thanks you for the Care you took about his Discourse concerning *Chafers*. We hear from Dr. *Sloan* that it is printed. I am

Your most humble Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR,

Oates, 6. April 1698.

THERE is none of the Letters that ever I received from you gave me so much Trouble as your last of *March 15*. I was told that you resolved to come into *England* early in the Spring, and lived in the Hopes of it more than you can imagine. I do not mean that I had greater Hopes of it than you can imagine; but it enliven'd me; and contributed to the Support of my Spirits more than you can think. But your Letter has quite dejected me again. The Thing I above all Things long for, is to see, and embrace, and have some Discourse with you before I go out of this World. I meet with so few capable of Truth, or worthy of a free Conversation, such as becomes Lovers of Truth, that you cannot think it strange if I wish for some time with you, for the exposing, sifting, and rectifying of my Thoughts. If they have gone any thing farther in the Discovery of Truth than what I have already published, it must be by your Encouragement that I must go on to finish some Things that I have already begun, and with you I hoped to discourse my other yet crude and imperfect Thoughts, in which, if there were any Thing useful to Mankind, if they were opened and deposited with you, I know them safe lodg'd for the Advantage of Truth some time or other. For I am in Doubt whether it be fit for me to trouble the Press with any new Matter; or if I did, I look on my Life as so near worn out, that it would be Folly to hope to finish any Thing of Moment in the small Remainder of it. I hop'd therefore, as I said, to have seen you, and unravel'd to you that which lying in the Lump unexplicated in my Mind, I scarce yet know what it is my self; for I have often had Experience, that a Man cannot well judge of his own Notions, till either by setting them down in Paper, or in discoursing them to a Friend, he has drawn them out, and as it were spread them fairly before himself. As for Writing, my ill Health gives me little Heart or Opportunity for it; and of seeing you I begin now to despair: And that which very much adds to my Affliction in the Case is, that you neglect your own Health on Considerations, I am sure, that are not worth your Health; for nothing, if Expectations were Certainties, can be worth it. I see no likelihood of the Parliament's rising yet this good while; and when they are up, who knows whether the Man, you expect to relieve you, will come to you presently, or at all. You must therefore lay by that Business for a while which detains you, or get some other Body into it, if you will take that Care of your Health this Summer which you designed, and it seems to require: And if you defer it till the next, who knows but your Care of it may then come too late. There is nothing that we are such Spendthrifts of as of Health; we spare every thing sooner than that, though whatever we sacrifice it to is worth nothing without it. Pardon me the Liberty I take with you: You have given me an Interest in you: and it is a Thing of too much Value to me, to look coldly on whilst you are running into any Inconvenience or Danger, and say nothing. If that could be any Spur to you to hasten your Journey hither, I would tell you I have an Answer ready for the Press, which I should be glad you should see first. It is too long: The Plenty of Matter of all sorts, which the Gentleman affords me, is the Cause of its too great Length, though I have passed by many Things worthy of Remarks: But what may be spared of what there is, I would be glad should be blotted out by your Hand. But this between us.

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Amongst other Things I would be glad to talk with you about before I die, is that which you suggest at the bottom of the first Page of your Letter. I am mightily concern'd for the place meant in the Question, you say you will ask the Author of the Treatise you mention, and wish extremely well to it; and would be very glad to be inform'd by you what would be best for it, and debate with you the Ways to compose it. But this cannot be done by Letters, the Subject is of too great Extent, the Views too large, and the Particulars too many to be so managed. Come therefore yourself, and come as well prepar'd in that matter as you can. But if you talk with others on that Point there, mention not me to any body on that Subject; only let you and I try what Good we can do for those whom we wish well to. Great Things have sometimes been brought about from small Beginnings well laid together.

Pray present my most humble Service to your Brother; I should be glad of an Opportunity to do him some Service. That which he thanks me for in my Care about his Discourse concerning the *Chafers*, was a Service to the Publick, and he owes me no Thanks for it. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your faithful, and most humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Most honoured dear SIR,

Dublin, April 19. 1698.

I Have formerly had Thoughts of coming into *England*, as I have told you, on occasion of my Health. But since the Receipt of your's of *April 6.* which came to my Hands but this Morning, that Consideration weighs but little with me. The Desire of seeing and conversing with you, has drowned all other Expectations from my Journey, and now I am resolved to accomplish it, let what will come on't. Your Perswasions and Arguments, I think, have Something in them of Incantation: I am sure their Charms are so powerful on me on all Occasions, I can never resist them. I shall therefore embrace you, God willing, as soon as ever the Parliament of *England* rises. I fix this Period now, not so much in Expectation of our Chancellor's Arrival, as on another Account. My dear Friend must therefore know, that the Consideration of what I mention'd in my last, from the incomparable Author of the *Treatise*, &c. has moved me to put Pen to Paper, and commit some Thoughts of mine on that Subject to the Press in a small 8vo, entituled, *The Case of Ireland's being bound by Acts of Parliament in England, stated.* This you'll say is a nice Subject, but I think I have treated it with that Caution and Submission, that it cannot justly give any Offence; insomuch that I scruple not to put my Name to it, and, by Advice of some good Friends here, have presum'd to dedicate it to his Majesty. I have ordered some of them to Mr. *Churchill* to be presented to you, and some of your Friends; and they are now upon the Road towards you. I have been very free in giving you my Thoughts on your Pieces; I should be extreamly obliged to you for the like Freedom on your Side upon mine. I cannot pretend this to be an accomplish'd Performance, it was done in Haste, and intended to overtake the Proceedings at *Westminster*; but it comes too late for that: What Effect it may possibly have in Time to come, God and the wise Council of *England* only knows; but were it again under my Hands, I could considerably amend and add to it. But till I either see how the Parliament at *Westminster* is pleased to take it, or till I see them risen, I do not think it adviseable for me to go on t'other side the Water. Tho' I am not apprehensive of any Mischief from them, yet God only knows what Resentments captious Men may take on such Occasions.

My

My Brother gives you his most respectful Service. He has now ready a Discourse on our *Giant's Causeway*, which indeed is a stupendous natural Rarity: He has addressed it to Dr. Lister; but you will soon see it in the *Transactions*.

Mr. Burridge goes on now with some Speed: I had lately an Occasion of writing to Mr. Churchill, and I gave him an Account of his Progress. I hope the whole will be finished soon after Midsummer; and indeed in my Opinion he performs it incomparably. I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

WILL. MOLINEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR,

London, 9 July, 1698.

I Am just come to London, where your former Promise, and what Mr. Churchill since tells me, makes me hope to see you speedily. I long mightily to welcome you hither, and do remit to that happy Time, abundance that I have to say to you. For I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most affectionate humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

Honoured dear SIR,

Dublin, Sept. 20. 1698.

I Arrived here safely the 15th Instant, and now that the Ruffling and Fatigue of my Journey is a little over, I sit down to a Task, which I must confess is the hardest I was ever under in my Life; I mean, expressing my Thanks to you suitable to the Favours I received from you, and suitable to the inward Sense I have of them in my Mind. Were it possible for me to do either, I should in some measure be satisfied; but my Inability of paying my Debts, makes me ashamed to appear before my Creditor. However, thus much with the strictest Sincerity I will venture to assert to you, that I cannot recollect through the whole Course of my Life, such signal Instances of real Friendship, as when I had the Happiness of your Company for five Weeks together in London. 'Tis with the greatest Satisfaction imaginable, that I recollect what then passed between us, and I reckon it the happiest Scene of my whole Life. That Part thereof especially, which I pass'd at Oates, has made such an agreeable Impression on my Mind, that nothing can be more pleasing. To all in that excellent Family, I beseech you, give my most humble Respects. 'Tis my Duty to make my acknowledgements there in a particular Letter; but I beg of you to make my Excuse for omitting it at this time, because I am a little press'd by some Business that is thrown upon me since my Arrival. To which also you are obliged for not being troubled at present with a more tedious Letter from,

SIR,

Your most obliged,

and entirely affectionate Friend and Servant,

WILL. MOLYNEUX.

Mr.

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Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

Dear SIR,

London, Sept. 29. 1698.

YOur's of the 20th has now discharged me from my daily Employment of looking upon the Weathercock, and hearkening how loud the Wind blow'd. Though I do not like this Distance, and such a Ditch betwixt us, yet I am glad to hear that you are safe and sound on t'other side the Water. But pray you speak not in so magnificent and courtly a Style of what you received from me here. I lived with you, and treated you as my Friend, and therefore used no Ceremony, nor can receive any Thanks but what I owe you doubly, both for your Company, and the Pains you were at to bestow that Happiness on me. If you keep your Word, and do me the same Kindness again next Year, I shall have Reason to think you value me more than you say, though you say more than I can with Modesty read.

I find you were beset with Business when you writ your Letter to me, and do not wonder at it; but yet for all that, I cannot forgive your Silence concerning your Health and your Son. My Service to him, your Brother, and Mr. Burrige, and do me the Justice to believe, that I am with a perfect Affection,

Dear SIR,

Your most humble and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. BURRIDGE.

SIR,

Oates, October 27. 1698.

YOU guessed not amiss, when you said in the beginning of your's of the 13th Instant, that you gave me the Trouble of a Letter: for I have received few Letters in my Life, the Contents whereof have so much troubled and afflicted me, as that of your's. I parted with my excellent Friend when he went from *England*, with all the Hopes and Promises to my self of seeing him again, and enjoying him longer in the next Spring. This was a Satisfaction that helped me to bear our Separation; and the short Taste I had of him here, in this our first Interview, I hoped would be made up in a longer Conversation, which he promised me the next Time: But it has served only to give me a greater Sense of my Loss, in an eternal Farewel in this World. Your earlier Acquaintance may have given you a longer Knowledge of his Virtue and excellent Endowments, a fuller Sight or greater Esteem of them, you could not have than I. His Worth and his Friendship to me, made him an inestimable Treasure, which I must regret the Loss of, the little Remainder of my Life, without any Hopes of repairing it any Way. I should be glad if what I owed the Father could enable me to do any Service to his Son. He deserves it for his own Sake (his Father has more than once talked to me of him) as well as for his Father's. I desire you therefore to assure those who have the Care of him, that if there be any Thing wherein I at this Distance may be any way serviceable to young Mr. Molyneux, they cannot do me a greater Pleasure than to give me the Opportunity to shew, that my Friendship died not with him.

Pray give my most humble Service to Dr. Molyneux and to his Nephew.

I am

SIR,

Your most faithful and humble Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr.

Dr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, Aug. 27. 1692.

I'M very sensible of your great Civility in remembering me upon so short an Acquaintance as I had with you in *Holland* so long time since; and I assure you without any Complement, I reckon it amongst the most fortunate Accidents of my Life, my so luckily falling into your Conversation, which was so candid, diverting and instructive, that I still reap the Benefit and Satisfaction of it. Some Years after I left you in *Holland*, upon my Return for *England* I contracted no small Intimacy with Dr. Sydenham, on the Account of having been known to you his much esteemed Friend, and I found him so accurate an Observer of Diseases, so thoroughly skill'd in all useful Knowledge of his Profession, and withal so communicative, that his Acquaintance was a very great Advantage to me: And all this I chiefly owe to you, Sir, besides the Information of many useful Truths, and a great deal of very pleasing Entertainment I have met with, in the Perusal of your lately publish'd Writings: So that on many Accounts I must needs say, there are very few Men in the World, to whom I can with the like Sincerity profess my self to be, as I am,

Dear SIR,

Your most real Friend, and

very humble and obliged Servant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Dr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

Oates, Nov. 1. 1692.

THE Indisposition of my Health, which drove me out of *London*, and keeps me still in the Country, must be an Excuse for my so long Silence. The very great Civility you express to me in your Letter, makes me hope your Pardon for the Slowness of my Answer, whereby I hope you will not measure the Esteem and Respect I have for you. That your own distinguishing Merit, amongst the rest of my Countrymen I met with at *Leyden*, has so settled in me, that before the Occasion your Brother's Favour lately gave me to inquire after you, I often remember'd you; and 'twas not without Regret I considered you at a Distance that allow'd me not the Hopes of renewing and improving my Acquaintance with you. There being nothing of value so much, as ingenious knowing Men, think it not strange that I laid hold on the first Opportunity, to bring myself again into your Thoughts. You must take it as an Exercise of your Goodness drawn on you by your own Merit: For whatever Satisfaction I gain to myself in having recovered you again, I can propose no Advantage to you, in the Offer of a very useless and infirm Acquaintance, who can only boast that he very much esteems you.

That which I always thought of Dr. Sydenham living, I find the World allows him now he is dead, and that he deserved all that you say of him. I hope the Age has many who will follow his Example, and by the way of accurate practical Observation, as he has so happily begun, enlarge the History of Diseases, and improve the Art of Physick, and not by speculative Hypotheses fill the World with useless, though pleasing Visions. Something of this Kind permit me to promise my self one Day from your Judicious Pen. I know nothing that has so great an Encouragement from the good of Mankind as this.

I beg you to present my most humble Service to your Brother, whom I forbear now to interrupt, in the midst of his Parliamentary Affairs, whereof I know a great Part must fall to his Share, with my Thanks for the Favour
of

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of his of the 15th of Octob. which lately found me out safe here. Let him know that I am exceedingly sensible of the Obligation, and shall at large make my Acknowledgments to him as soon as good Manners will allow it. I am,

SIR,

Your most humble, and most faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, Dec. 20. 1692.

I'M much concerned to hear you have your Health no better, and on this Occasion cannot but deplore the great Losses the intellectual World in all Ages has suffer'd by the strongest and soundest Minds possessing the most infirm and sickly Bodies. Certainly there must be some very powerful Cause for this in Nature, or else we could not have so many Instances, where the Knife cuts the Sheath, as the *French* materially express it: And if so, this must be reckon'd among the many other inseparable Miseries that attend human Affairs.

I could wish the Physician's Art were so powerful and perfect, as in some Measure to prevent so great an Evil; but we find where once Nature, or the *OEconomia Animalis* of the Body is so depraved, as not to co-operate with Medicine, all Remedies, and the Courses of them prove wholly ineffectual, or to very little Purpose. But still the more imperfect Physick is, so much the more is owing to those, who the least improve so difficult a Province, which certainly has been considerably advanced by some late *English* Authors; and that puts me in Mind to desire of you your Thoughts, or what other learned Physicians you converse with say, concerning Dr. Morton and his late *Exercitationes on Fevers*. As for his *General Theory* of them, I esteem it, as all others of this Kind, a sort of mere waking Dream, that Men are strangely apt to fall into, when they think long of a Subject, beginning quite at the wrong End; for by framing such Conceits in their Fancies, they vainly think to give their Understandings Light, whilst the Things themselves are still, and perhaps ever must remain in Darknes.

In his first Exercitation that treats of *Agues*, I don't find he has said any Thing very material or worth Notice, that the World did not sufficiently know before, unless it were some Histories of the irregular Shapes and Symptoms this Distemper appears under, which I think may be very instructive to the Physician, and of great Ease and Advantage to the Sick.

But his practical Remarks in his second Exercitation about *continuing and remitting Fevers*, if they be judiciously founded upon many and steady Observations, so that they may safely pass into a Rule, must certainly be of great Moment in directing the Management and Cure of Fevers. I confess my Experience in this Distemper, as yet falls something too short for to determine positively, whether all his Observations be real and well grounded; but as far as I can judge at present, several of them do hold good.

I remember to have heard Dr. Morton was once a *Presbyterian* Preacher; and though he were, this does not make him a jot the less capable in above 20 Years Practice to have carefully observed the Accidents that naturally occur in the Progress of a Disease; and if he be but a true and judicious Register, 'tis all I desire from him.

You see I have taken great Freedom in giving a Character according to my Apprehensions of this Author, but 'tis only to encourage you to use the same Liberty; for if at your Leisure you would let me know your own Thoughts, or what other candid Men say concerning him and his Methods of Cure, or any other useful Tract that comes Abroad, you will extremely oblige,

SIR,

Your very obedient humble Servant,

T. MOLYNEUX.
Mr.

Mr. LOCKE to Mr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

Oates, Jan. 20. 1693.

I Must acknowledge the Care you take of my Health, in a Way wherein you so kindly apply to my Mind; and if I could persuade my self that my weak Constitution was owing to that Strength of Mind you ascribe to me, or accompanied with it, I should find therein, if not a Remedy, yet a great Relief against the Infirmities of my Body. However, I am not the less obliged to you for so friendly an Application; and if the Cordial you prescribe be not to be had (for I know none equal to a judicious and capacious Mind) your Kindness is not to be blamed, who I am confident wish me that Satisfaction, or any Thing else that could contribute to my Health.

The Doctor, concerning whom you enquire of me, had, I remember, when I liv'd in Town and convers'd among the Physicians there, a good Reputation amongst those of his own Faculty. I can say nothing of his late Book of *Fevers*, having not read it my self, nor heard it spoke of by others: But I perfectly agree with you concerning general Theories, that they are for the most part but a sort of waking Dreams, with which, when Men have warm'd their own Heads, they pass into unquestionable Truths, and then the ignorant World must be set right by them. Tho' this be, as you rightly observe, beginning at the wrong End, when Men lay the Foundation in their own Fancies, and then endeavour to suit the *Phænomena* of Diseases, and the Cure of them, to those Fancies. I wonder that, after the Pattern Dr. Sydenham has set them of a better Way, Men should return again to that Romance Way of Physick. But I see it is easier and more natural for Men to build Castles in the Air of their own, than to survey well those that are to be found standing. Nicely to observe the History of Diseases in all their Changes and Circumstances, is a Work of Time, Accurateness, Attention and Judgment, and wherein if Men, through Prepossession or Oscitancy, mistake, they may be convinced of their Error, by unerring Nature and Matter of Fact, which leaves less Room for the Subtlety and Dispute of Words, which serves very much instead of Knowledge in the learned World, where methinks Wit and Invention has much the Preference to Truth. Upon such Grounds as are the establish'd History of Diseases, *Hypotheses* might with less Danger be erected, which I think are so far useful, as they serve as an Art of Memory to direct the Physician in particular Cases, but not to be rely'd on as Foundations of Reasoning, or Verities to be contended for; they being, I think I may say all of them, Suppositions taken up *gratis*, and will so remain, till we can discover how the natural Functions of the Body are performed, and by what Alteration of the Humours or Defects in the Parts they are hinder'd or disorder'd. To which purpose I fear the *Galenists* four Humours, or the Chymists *Sal*, *Sulphur*, and *Mercury*, or the late prevailing Invention of Acid and Alkali, or whatever hereafter shall be substituted to these with new Applause, will upon Examination be found to be but so many learned empty Sounds, with no precise determinate Signification. What we know of the Works of Nature, especially in the Constitution of Health, and the Operations of our own Bodies, is only by the sensible Effects, but not by any Certainty we can have of the Tools she uses, or the Ways she works by. So that there is nothing left for a Physician to do, but to observe well, and so by Analogy argue to like Cases, and thence make to himself Rules of Practice: And he that is this way most sagacious, will, I imagine, make the best Physician, though he should entertain distinct Hypotheses concerning distinct Species of Diseases, subservient to this End, that were inconsistent one with another, they being made use of in those several sorts of Diseases, but as distinct Arts of Memory in those Cases. And I the rather say this, that they might be rely'd on only as artificial Helps to a Physician, and not as Philosophical Truths to a Naturalist. But, Sir, I run too far, and must beg your Pardon for talking so freely on a Subject you understand so much better than I do. I hope the Way of Treating of Diseases, which with so much Approbation Dr. Sydenham had introduced into the World, would

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have

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have beaten the other out, and turned Men from Visions and Wrangling to Observation, and endeavouring after settled Practices in more Diseases, such as I think he has given us in some. If my Zeal for the saving Men's Lives, and preserving their Health (which is infinitely to be prefer'd to any Speculations ever so fine in Physick) has carried me too far, you will excuse it in one who wishes well to the Practice of Physick, though he meddles not with it. I wish you, and your Brother, and all yours, a very happy New-Year, and am,

S I R,

Your most humble and faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

S I R,

Dublin, Nov. 4. 1693.

FOR a While I defer'd making any Return for the Favour of your last Letter, on the Account I understood by one of your's to my Brother, that I was suddenly to expect another Obligation from you, by the Receipt of your Treatise of *Education*, which Yesterday first came to my Hands; and now I return you my hearty Thanks for both your Kindnesses together, of which should I express the real Thoughts I have, I should seem to run either into extravagant Complement, or gross Flattery: But thus much I must needs say, that as your Letter certainly contains in short, the only true Method for the prosecuting the curing Part of the Practice of Physick, and the sure Way of improving it; a Matter of the chiefest Good in relation to Men's Bodies: So your Book of *Education* lays down such Rules for the breeding of Youth, as if followed, must necessarily prove of the greatest Advantage to the better Part of Man, the Mind; by insensibly disposing it to an habitual Exercise of what is virtuous and laudable, and the Acquisition of all such Knowledge as is necessary for one's own Good, or that of others whom we are to converse with. Whence I can't but think, had those of our own Countries but a thorough Persuasion, and a right Sense of the great Benefit that redounds from a careful Education, so as universally to put it in Practice, without Question we should soon become a Nation as remarkably different from the rest of the World for the inward Endowments of our Minds, and the Rectitude of our Manners, as the Negro's are from the rest of Mankind for their outward Shape and Colour of Body. But this I fear is a Happiness only to be wished for; however, he that makes it his Endeavour to promote so great a Good, by shewing the certain Way to it, if they will follow him, justly deserves the high Esteem of all that know how to value a truly Publick Spirit.

I hope, Sir, you have your Health better, and that we may suddenly have Abroad your *Essay of Human Understanding*, with those farther Additions and Alterations you have some while since designed for the Press: I'm confident 'tis impatiently expected by all that are acquainted with your Writings, and that peculiar clear Manner of delivering Truth you are so much Master of; but by none more than,

S I R,

Your most faithful humble Servant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Dr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, Octob. 25. 1697.

I Should oftener make Acknowledgments to you for your Favours, and express the great Esteem I bear you, but that this barren Place affords little else to say; and this I can't think Reason enough to trouble one so busy and usefully engaged as you always are. Yet I would not omit thanking you, by this worthy Gentleman Mr. Berrisford your Acquaintance, for a Present of a Book, I understand by my Brother you designed for me, tho' I was so unlucky as to miss of it; and also communicate to you the inclosed Letter, which the Bishop of Clogher was pleased (perhaps out of his too Partial Friendship) to tell me deserved to be made Publick, and desired me accordingly to transmit it to Dr. Sloane: But this I would not do, unless it have your Approbation also; so that 'tis wholly at your Disposal to do with it as you please, as is likewise

SIR,

Your very affectionate Friend,

and humble Servant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Dr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

Oates, 27. Oct. 1698.

Death has with a violent Hand hastily snatch'd from you a dear Brother. I doubt not but on this Occasion you need all the Consolation can be given to one unexpectedly bereft of so worthy and near a Relation. Whatever Inclination I may have to alleviate your Sorrow, I bear too great a Share in the Loss, and am too sensibly touch'd with it myself, to be in a Condition to discourse you on this Subject, or do any thing but mingle my Tears with your's. I have lost in your Brother, not only an ingenious and learned Acquaintance, that all the World esteemed; but an intimate and sincere Friend, whom I truly loved, and by whom I was truly loved: And what a Loss that is, those only can be sensible who know how valuable and how scarce a true Friend is, and how far to be preferred to all other sorts of Treasure. He has left a Son who I know was dear to him, and deserved to be so as much as was possible for one of his Age. I cannot think my self wholly incapacitated from paying some of the Affection and Service was due from me to my dear Friend, as long as he has a Child or a Brother in the World. If therefore there be any Thing at this distance wherein I in my little Sphere may be able to serve your Nephew or you, I beg you by the Memory of our deceased Friend to let me know it, that you may see, that one who loved him so well cannot but be tenderly concerned for his Son, nor be otherwise than I am,

SIR,

Your most humble,

and most affectionate Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

Dr. MOLYNEUX to Mr. LOCKE.

SIR,

Dublin, Nov. 26. 1698.

AS you have a true Sense of every thing, so you were very much in the right, when you tell me in the Letter you favour'd me with of the 27th of last Month, that I needed all the Consolation could be given one that had lost so unexpectedly a dear and only Brother. His Death indeed has been a severe Affliction to me, and though I have you, and many more, that bear a great Share with me in my Sorrow; yet this does no way alleviate it, but makes it fall the heavier upon me; for it doubles my Grief to think what an unspeakable Loss he must be to so near a Relation, that is so much lamented by those that were only acquainted with him. I could not believe that Mortality could have made so deep an Impression on me, whose Profession leads into so thorough a Familiarity with it; but I find a passionate Affection surmounts all this, and the *tecum obeam lubens*, though it was the Expression of a Poet, yet I am sensible was a very Natural one where we love extremely, and the *Indians* prove it no less in Fact. Could any outward Circumstance of his Life have increased that brotherly Affection I had for him, it must have been that he had so great a Part in your Friendship, who must be allowed to have a nice Judgment in discerning the true Characters and Worth of Men. He frequently in his Life-time has expressed to me with great Complacency of Mind, how happy he thought himself in your Acquaintance, and he spoke of you several times, during his short Sickness, with great Respect. With his own Hand he has writ this Clause in his Will: *I give and bequeath to my excellent Friend John Locke Esq; Author of the Essay concerning Human Understanding, the Sum of five Pounds to buy him a Ring, in Memory of the Value and Esteem I had for him.* This I shall take care to send you in a Bill by Mr. Churchill's Hands, when he states the Account as it stands between him and my Brother. The only Child he has left behind him, is under my Care and Management. I shall endeavour to discharge this Trust, with all the Regard to my Brother's Memory, and the Advantage of his Child, I can: But it grieves me to think, that I must surely fall very much short of that extraordinary Application and Prudence his Father would have shewn in his Education; for he made it the chiefest, and indeed the only Business of his Life. I have made his little Son as sensible as his tender Age would allow, how much he is obliged to you, his Father's Friend, for your earnest Desire to serve him: I wish you may both prolong your Lives so, as he may one Day be more thankful and capable of your Kindness, by profiting much from your good Instructions and Advice. And since you so earnestly press me by the Memory of your deceased Friend, to let you know wherein you might oblige me, I'll venture to break the Bounds of Modesty so far, as to tell you I should be extremely pleased to receive from yourself the last Edition of your incomparable *Essay of Human Understanding*, and such other Pieces of your Works as you shall think fit; for all which, as I have a great Esteem; so I should have a more particular Regard coming from your self, as a private Memorial of my dear Brother's Friend, and of a Person for whom I have such an extraordinary Value, as I shall ever be proud of owning myself,

SIR,

Your truly affectionate and humble Servant,

THO. MOLYNEUX.

Mr. LOCKE to Dr. MOLYNEUX.

SIR,

Oates, 25. Jan. 1699.

I Have been slower in returning you my Thanks for the Favour of your Letter of the 26th of Nov. and the Civilities you express to me in it, than perhaps I should have been. But the Truth is, my Thoughts never look

look towards *Dublin* now, without casting such a Cloud upon my Mind, and laying such a Load of fresh Sorrow on me for the Loss of my dear Friend, your Brother, that I cannot without Displeasure turn them that Way; and when I do it I find my self very unfit for Conversation and the Entertainment of a Friend. 'Tis therefore not without Pain that I bring my self to write you a scurvy Letter. What there wants in it of Expression, you must make up out of the Esteem I have for the Memory of our common Friend; and I desire you not to think my Respects to you the less, because the Loss of your Brother makes me not able to speak them as I would.

Since you are pleased to put such a Value on my Trifles, I have given Order to Mr. *Churchill* to send you my last *Reply to the Bishop of Worcester*, and the last Edition of my Treatise of *Education*, which came forth since Mr. *Molyneux's* Death. I send this with the more Confidence to you, because your Brother told me more than once, that he followed the Method I therein offer to the World, in the breeding of his Son. I wish you may find it fit to be continued to him, and useful to you in his Education; for I cannot but be mightily concerned for the Son of such a Father, and wish that he may grow up into that Esteem and Character, which his Father left behind him amongst all good Men who knew him. As for my *Essay concerning Human Understanding*, it is now out of Print, and if it were not, I think I should make you but an ill Complement in sending it you less perfect than I design it should be in the next Edition, in which I shall make many Additions to it: And when it is as perfect as I can make it, I know not whether in sending it you I shall not load you with a troublesome and useless Present. But since by desiring it you seem to promise me your Acceptance, I shall as soon as it is re-printed take the Liberty to thrust it into your Study. I am,

SIR,

Your most humble, and faithful Servant,

JOHN LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

CUM ante dies decem ad amicum nostrum D^m Guenellonem scripsi, facile credes quod te, V. C. non insalutatum prateriverim: Verum mei officii tuorumque beneficiorum ratio postulat à me aliam & salutandi & gratias agendi Methodum, ne aut obiter aut negligenter id quod mihi maxime incumbit agere videar. Præsertim cum Guenellonis nostri silentium me incertum reddat an meæ ad ipsum pervenerint literæ, quas sane minime vellem intercidisse; ne vobis omnibus, quibus tot nominibus obstrictus sum, aut parum memor aut parum gratus appaream, credatisque paucarum horarum intervallum ex animo meo tot tantorumque beneficiorum delevisse memoriam, quam nulla temporis diuturnitas unquam delere valebit. In iis etiam significavi quam humaniter tuus Vander Key me excepit, quam officiose adjuvit, quo nomine hic tibi gratias iterum agendas suadet Viri istius summa humanitas, quanquam illud parum est, si cum maximo beneficiorum tuorum cumulo conferatur. D^m Veenium & optimam illius fœminam, quibus salutem verbis non facile reperio, cum nulla sint quæ aut illorum beneficia, aut eas quas habeo & semper habebō gratias æquare possint, tuis tamen rogo quibus potes verbis maxime ornes. Ut me hic ulterius pergentem detinuit valetudinis ratio ad D^m Guenellonem scripsi. Amœnitas loci, & si non desidia, saltem quietis amor, & molesti quam in itinere perpeffus sum averfatio adhuc detinet. Deambulationes hic, quibus quotidie prægressum ulciscor otium, valde jucundæ sunt; sed longe jucundiores forent si aliquot vestrum expatiandi haberem socios, quod tam mei quam vestri causa continuo opto, præsertim sic favente cœlo: Nec enim credo sanitati incommodum esset præsertim

tim

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tim D^r Guenelloni, cujus infirmis pulmonibus & valetudini parum robustæ prodesse maxime credo hic serenitas & liber aer. Quid agatur apud vos, præsertim nostrorum respectu, ad me perscribas rogo; præsertim me de tua amicorumque nostrorum valetudine certiorē facias. Sum,

Cleve, 28. Sept.
1685.

Tui observantissimus,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Duas à te, Vir amplissime, officii & benevolentiae plenas hic accepi literas, nec ingratus tibi videbor spero, si ad singula, prout oportet, non tuse respondeam, temporis angustia impeditus. Hoc unum enixe rogo, ut des operam, ut de adventu Comitissae Pembrokiæ per aliquem tuorum amicorum Hagæ degentium certior fiam, transmissio ea de re vel ad me vel ad te nuntio. Dux copiarum Britannicarum futurus huc adventat, & si jam non adest, quotidie expectatur. Mea multum interest, ut quam fieri potest, mature illius accessum cognoscam. Hoc cum dixero, satis scio te omnem curam operamque in eo locaturum, ut quam celerrime id mihi innotescat. De aliis alias, nam tabellarius discedit. Amicos meos meo nomine quam officiosissime quaeso salutes. Vale, & me ut facis ama

Cleve, 3. Octob.
1685.

Tui observantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir Clarissime,

Si duabus tuis amicissimis epistolis parum vel nihil à me responsum est, id instanti tabellarii discessui imputes rogo, nec credas me tam rebus meis intentum, tuæ vero consuetudinis & jucundissimi juxta ac doctissimi sermonis negligentem, ut omnia de meis negotiis, de tuis gratissimis literis nihil dicerem, nisi gravis aliqua subesset causa cur de adventu Comitissae Pembrokiæ quam fieri potuit citissime certior fierem. Sed jam, quo maxime propendit animus, ad te, Vir optime, & scripta tua redeo, in quibus primo accuso amicitiam tuam de me & meritis meis tam magnifice, de vestris erga me officiis & beneficiis tam exiliter loquentem. Hi sunt fateor magnæ & non fictæ amicitiae aliquando errores de quibus ideo queror, ut mihi aliter de iisdem rebus sentienti ignoscas, & me credas amicitiae & gratitudinis dictata sequi cum in ea persistam sententia, aliqua me apud vos accepisse beneficia quibus respondere verbis nec possim nec debeam. Et nisi vos omnes in re, contra quam par est, voluntati meæ obstare viderem, tuam ego hic opem implorarem ut hanc mihi velles eximere ægritudinem, & tua autoritate, qua plurimum apud præstantissimum Veenium polles, huic querelæ tam justæ finem imponeres. Si, quod videris promittere, sed heu! longum abest, his in collibus & sylvarum umbra, tua frui daretur & amicorum nostrorum consuetudine, crederem ego specimen aliquod aurei rediisse sæculi. Nam virtus, benignitas, pax & fides in sylvis solum degebant, quibus in urbanorum hominum frequentia vix datur locus. Sic cecinerunt Poetæ: An aliquid aliud nos docent Historici, hoc tempore non est mihi inquirendi animus. Gaudeo fratrem tuum convaluisse & sine graviore aliquo symptomate. Locum illum Epistolæ tuæ ubi scriptorum tuorum memineris non sine mœrore legi, sentio quantam ex discessu meo fecerim jacturam & voluptatis & eruditionis, quod non legerim reliqua tua scripta, ex quibus non minorem mihi lucem promitterem quam ex jam lectis multo cum fructu percepissem. Si vis ut sincere & aperte dicam, nullibi reperi opiniones magis delucide propositas, argumentorum

rum rationibus melius subnixas, à partium studiis longius remotas, & veritati per omnia magis conformes. Hoc me ex animo proferre dubitare non potes, cum me tam importune, tam dedita opera, criticum tam paucis potuisse dentem malignum imprimere patet. Sed me miserum! magnam partem fructus, quem ex ista mea critica severitate mihi proposui, perdi. Plurima enim quæ inter legendum notaveram non tam tui corrigendi quam mei informandi feci animo, de quibus tecum ulterius inquirendum statueram. Non est igitur quod mihi tanto ardelioni gratias agas, satis est si vehementi nimis inquisitori & culpandi anfas studiose quærenti ignoscas. Quanquam non male pictæ tabulæ indicium est si quis cogatur in ea quærere nævos. Utinam quæ ego meditor eo essent scripta idiomate ut tu poteris vices rependere, reperires te ulciscendi copiosam materiam. Quod scribis de critici critico * facile credo; quamprimum enim attrigi istum undecimæ epistolæ locum, videbar mihi audire obstrepentium exclamationes quasi de religione omnino actum esset, nōsti hujusmodi hominum mores, quominus heterodoxum aliquid possint refellere, ne nihil in causa Dei agere videantur, tanto magis clamoribus, inculpationibus, calumniis insurgunt. Fateor argumentum istud modeste proponendum fuisse, & caute tractandum, sed tamen ejusmodi est ut mereatur tandem summa cum acribia discuti. Si omnia quæ in sacris libris continentur pro theopneustis pariter habenda sine omni discretionē, magna sane præbatur philosophis de fide & sinceritate nostra dubitandi ansa. Si è contrario quædam pro scriptis pure humanis habenda: ubi constabit scripturarum divina autoritas, sine qua corrueat religio christiana? quodnam erit criterium? quis modus? adeo ut in hac questione, si qua alia, maxime fundamentali, summa cum cautione, prudentia, modestia agendum, præfertim ab eo cui uti credo jam non nimium favent ecclesiasticæ potestates & theologorum classes. Sed signa cecinerunt, & expectandus est conflictus. Ego qui ubique solam quæro veritatem, eamque quantum capere possum, five inter orthodoxos reperio five heterodoxos, pariter amplector. Fateor aliqua esse in eo scripto quæ mihi plene non satisfaciunt, alia quibus respondere non possum, de illis ab autore libenter responsum acciperem, si commodum existimas, de his tuum quæro judicium.

I. Nī fallor, author sapius utitur contra apostolorum continuam inspirationem hoc argumento, quod sc. multa ab illis dicta invenimus, quæ sine auxilio Spiritus Sancti dici poterant; quod tamen concessum, contra divinam S. scripturæ auctoritatem & *Θεοπνευστων* nihil concludit. Afferitur in S. scriptura constans per omnia & infallibilis veritas. Si quid autem dicit S. Paulus Act. xxiii. (V. p. 241.) quod cœlitus ipsi revelatum non erat, id nihil detrahit cœtitudini scripturæ, quandoquidem ejusmodi res esset, quam certo & infallibiliter cognoscere potuit sine revelatione divina. Quæ sensibus & certa cognitione apostolis constabant, non opus erat revelatione ut earum historia ab apostolis tradita pro indubitata haberetur. Itaque metuo ne homines suspicentur hoc argumentum potius quæsitum quam è re natum.

II. Explicatio illius promissi Joan. xvi. 13. quam fusc tradit p. 256. nequaquam mihi videtur posse accommodari apostolo Paulo, si quis attente legat illius historiam Act. ix. & seq. Unde enim ille evangelii hostis, & ut ipse alicubi fatetur, ignarus, poterat tam cito devenire mysteriorum evangelii interpretes & præco sine inspiratione supernaturali & divina? V. Act. ix. 19, 20. Hæc aliqua eorum quæ mihi inter legendum parum satisfecerunt, alia fuerunt quorum oblitus sum: sed quid ad hæc dicat author libenter scirem. Verum cum plurima alia sunt quæ videntur omnimodam S. Scripturæ infallibilitatem & inspirationem in dubium vocare, quibus fateor me non posse respondere, enixe rogo ut quid ea de re sentias mihi explicare non graveris: multa enim quæ in libris canonicis occurrebant jamdiu ante tractatus hujus lectionem dubium me & anxium tenuerunt, & gratissimum mihi facies si hunc mihi adimas scrupulum. Cum summa quæso amicitia, gratitudinis & estimationis significatione hanc inclusam hospiti meo optimo tradas. Illiusque & tuam

* *Sentimens de quelques Theologiens d' Hollande sur l' Histoire critique du P. Simon.*

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& tuam & Guenellonis fœminam meo nomine salutes, reliquosque nostros omnes. Vale, & longas epistolas scribenti ignoscas, nam tecum loqui haud facile desisto.

Cleve, 6 Oct.
1685.

Tibi devotissimus,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S.P. D.

Quamquam longo usu ad alia hujus vitæ incommoda occaluit aliquatenus mens mea, à consuetudine tamen tua, Vir doctissime & amicorum optime, me divelli sine magna animi ægritudine pati non possum. Tu enim me eruditione tua instruere; judicio confirmare; consilio dirigere; & amicitia & comitate solari solebas, quotidianum curarum mearum perfugium: sed ita plerumque mecum agi solet, ut ubi & quibuscum esse maxime cupio refragante fortuna raro permissum sit. Devorandum igitur ut potero hujus absentiae tedium, quod frequentibus tuis literis levare debes, jam præsertim dum tempus & otium tibi permittunt adversarii illi, qui domi suæ prælia tibi meditantur. Hoc te in quo jam sumus sæculo expectasse non dubito. Si candide, & ut veritatis amici argumentorum pondere tecum agant, tibi scio non displicebunt, qui veritatem amplecteris undecunque venientem. Sin iracunde, veteratorie, maligne, paucis placebunt, nisi sui similibus; quicquid demum acciderit hoc certum est, quod tu illasus, victorque abibis, quia veritatem quæris non victoriam. Sed ut verum fatear, ego à rixosis hujusmodi disputatoribus non multum expecto, qui in alienis convellendis, non suis adstruendis quærun't gloriam: Artificis & laudem merentis est ædificare. Sed pugnaces hosce sibi & curis suis relinquamus. Si quid in B—— placidius & liberalius reperisti, gaudeo; pacificorum vellem quotidie augeri numerum, præsertim inter reformatos, inter quos nimium quotidie seruntur lites. Inimicus homo facit hoc. Alterius sunt indolis amici quibus hic te favente familiariter utor. Uterque Grævius salutem plurimam tibi dicit. Verrynium sapius quæsitum nondum domi reperi; hujus septimanæ dies aliquot extra urbem transegit, cum domum redierit non diu insalutatum permittam. Vale cum tua tuisque, & me ama

Utrecht, 11 Oct.
1686.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S.P. D.

Vir reverendissime, amicissime, colendissime,

Sine fati & ineluctabili prædestinationis vi experior in me ipso, quomodo peccandi initia quandam sensim afferunt secum peccandi necessitatem. Literis tuis amicissimis 9. & 14. Febr. datis respondendi quamprimum eas acceperam ansam mihi eripuit rei alicujus agendæ importuna tum festinatio. Sed cum, peracto cum eo quocum mihi res erat negotio, jam decessus illius in Angliam mihi fecerit otium, fatis ad literas scribendas vacare mihi videor, nondum tamen nactus sum eam, qua alias usus sum, scribendi libertatem. In hoc silentii crimen rebus aliis impeditus quasi inscius incidi miser, quod jam tempore auctum pene confirmat pudor. Sic delicta delictis cumulamur semel irretiti, & modesti pariter & pervicaces in vitiis suis indurescunt. Vides quo in statu jam sum, & nisi credere me vis omnia certa & immutabili necessitate evenire, negligentia huic meæ ignoscere debes, ut redeat mihi antiqua mea apud te parrhesia. De Germana patrum theologia idem tecum plane sentio. Maxima semper fuit semperque erit Germanorum natio, & pauci sunt in tanta scriptorum multitudine, qui non videntur eo sub aere nati.

Sed

Sed mē hac de re à tua opinione non esse alienum non multum miraberis: Aliquid amplius fateor est, quod ego numeros tuos secretos notaverim, & quod tu hoc observaveris. Cave tibi & ignosce quamprimum silentio meo, ne loquacitate tibi magis sim molestus, vides me in secretiora tua penetrare. *Scire volunt secreta domus*,—& nōsti quod sequitur,—*atq; inde timeri*. Magicæ hæ metuendæ sunt artes nimis perspicaces, quibus ego non parum mihi placeo, quandoquidem ex tam jucundo tam laudabili enascuntur fonte, & id mihi testatum faciunt quod ante omnia cupio. Scio jam mentem meam à tua harmonica quadam sympathia regi plane & gubernari. Sic me orthodoxum semper fore certum est, O! utinam eodem modo & sciens fieri possem. Ut enim verum fatear inscius tuis numeris usus sum, sed gaudeo me prodiisse tenus; vellem & in aliis rebus hoc mihi accideret. Agnosco genium tuum, cui me ducendum totum libenter traderem. Gratias ago quam maximas pro omni tua cura & opera, in literis, in libris, & aliis meis rebus locata. Utinam daretur & vices rependere. Vale & me ama

Tui amantiſſimum,

Rotterdam, Mar. 8. 16¹⁸) (87
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J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S.P.D.

Quid illo facies homine, qui nec cantare par est, nec respondere paratus? Quid juvat libertate à te ipso concessa uti sine viribus ad ea quæ decent præstanda necessariis? Jucundissima tua & floribus undique referta epistola ad ea quæ scribis iterum iterumque legenda maxime invitat, ut vero calamum sumam, & aliquid meo more rescribam valde dehortatur & deterret. Etsi enim grati sit animi, argutis & facetis amici sermonibus aliquid respondere, imprudentis tamen est & parum pudici, ornatis incondita, urbanis agrestia, pretiosis vilia, vel in ipso literarum commercio reponere. Frustra igitur à te libertate donatus sum, munus sane in specie magnificum, sed nisi aliquid de tuo etiam impertire possis ingenio, plane inutile, frustra enim accusabis me tanquam in libertate tardum, cui tam parata & iusta sit defensio hebetem non debere esse loquacem, nec decere *χαλκία χρυσίδιον*, ut ut enim eo modo liber sim, parum certe videbor liberalis. Novi animum tuum, novi ingenium, & quam paratus sis omnia ab amica voluntate profecta in bonam partem interpretari, hoc boni omnia consulentis non parva laus est, sed male interim scribentis pessima excusatio. Ea tamen fiducia fretus en te iterum compellare ausim melioribus studiis vacantem, si quid in eo pecco, nolo incusare vim à fati illatam, causam sane, si qua sit, omnium maxime improbam, sed te ipsum, qui ab omni vi & coactione longissime abes, tua humanitas, tua benevolentia, tui lepores cogunt ut agnoscam & ut fatear me tibi gratias habere, etiamsi referre non possim. Si his conditionibus mecum agere velis, en tibi ad legendas tuas epistolas paratissimum & cupidissimum: Ad meas rescribendas etiamsi cupiam tardum, & sane tam necessitate quam officio tardum. Tu cum ista excusatione uti non potes, & mature scribas rogo & abunde. Id ni facias audies me graviter querentem, te non præstare & amico & egenti id quod potes, & id quod debes quia potes. Si jam inciperem iniquo jure communem inter nos colere amicitiam, hæc jam proponere vix animum inducerem; sed cum hac lege à primordiis amicitie semper viximus, ut tu propere & cumulate omnia officia benevolentie præstares, ego vel in agnoscendo parcus & lentus essem, pati jam debes mores meos quantumvis malos vetustate jam confirmatos, in quibus nihil novum, nihil insolens reperies. Vides quocum tibi res est; in hac tamen culpa non prorsus ingratus videri vellem, si id in se aliquid gratitudinis habet, ut qui eam qua se destitutum fatetur, in te miratur & amplectitur virtutem: in ea quæro mihi patrociniū quod mihimet præstare non possum. Sed de me satis, ad majora nunc venio tua, scil. typographo haud parum irascor

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cor quod tuum, tam utile, tam doctum opus adeo procrastinet, spero jam accedente sole operarum diligentia incalescet. De Episcopi etiam tractatu gaudeo: de alio quod postulas tecum coram agam, ut enim quod res est fatear, scripseram prius ad te nisi speraveram antehac me Amstelodamum accessurum, ut jucundissima illic amicorum consuetudine fruerer, imprimis tua, sine qua hi ipsi veris non amene transeunt dies. Vale, Vir præstantissime, & ut facis me ama

Rotterdam, 16 Maij
1687.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Nonne satis tibi est, Vir clarissime, Judæum † vicisse, nisi eodem opere inter Christianos, tui amantissimum tibi etiam prorsus subjuges? Diversis fateor armis nos aggredieris, illum argumentis, me beneficiis obstrictum tenes, è quibus ille se vix credo expediet; ego certo de me pronuntiare possum, me tibi semper obnoxium futurum. Quid enim rependam viro cui non sufficit me suis cumulare beneficiis, nisi insuper me dignum reddere conetur, dum suas sibi laudes ipse detrahit, quibus me ornatum velit, & in earum partem mihi non debitam venire? Tu fateor amica tua urbanitate facilius me quocunque velis circumducere possis, quam ille alter sua quemquam metaphysica: Sed ne expectes tamen ut unquam eo usque me deducas, ut concedam istam festinationem, qua exemplar ad me primum omnium misisti, mihi quovis jure deberi. Totum hoc beneficium & festinationis & muneris tuæ benevolentia & amicitia acceptum refero. Tu forsitan prout tua est humanitas, aliquo modo æquum putasti ei primo omnium donare, quem noveras debere ex jam degustato opere vehementissime omnium expetere hanc differtationem, & desiderare redintegratam sibi denuo legendi voluptatem. Hujusmodi meritum facile agnosco, nec cuiquam donare poteras hoc volumen, cui æque exoptatum, æque acceptum esse potuit ac mihi. Triduum illud & amplius, uti mones, nemo videbit. Laudo ego istam tuam erga Judæum comitatem; quanquam, ni fallor, quando perlegerit vix crederet ille, sibi hoc munere tantum factum esse beneficium, ut gaudeat tam mature hunc librum in manus suas pervenisse. De eo quod in calce epistolæ adjicis brevi plura. Dolui te per triduum mihi tam prope tam proculque fuisse. Sed patientius ferendum quod amicum habeam, quem plures amant. Optimam tuam uxorem, collegas, reliquosque amicos nostros, officiosissime quaeso meo nomine salutes. Vale, & me ama

Rotterd. 11 Sept.
1687.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Nimis severus profecto es, Vir clarissime, tuorum erga amicos officiorum exactor, alienæ vero negligentia valde immemor, dum te cunctationis insimulas, apud hominem uti nostri omnium mortalium maxime cunctatorem. Nolo igitur apud te obtinere axioma illud, quo ultimas tuas male auspicatus es, *Nihil deterius amico cunctatore*, sive de te ipso cogites, sive (uti aliquando meliore jure evenire possit) de me. Ego enim lentus admodum, & tamen inter eos qui amicitiam cum fide colunt non ultimum mihi locum vendico.

† *De Veritate Religionis Christianæ Amica Collatio cum erudito Judæo.* (H. Orobio.)

Si hoc aliquanto arrogantius dictum sit tu ipse videas. Tu alienas laudes mihi tribuis, & si illis semel mihimet placeo, ubi tandem me sistam? Istud synagogæ decretum satis ut mihi videtur à Judæis astute promulgatum, ut eorum hic hyperaspites aliquid habeat quod aliis dicat, etiamsi nihil habeat quod tibi respondeat: è consulto hoc factum credo, ut salvo honore & quantum fieri possit causa, possit ex arena decedere: tua enim argumentandi methodus an nasutulis quibusdam Christianis, & nihil nisi sua probantibus, placebit, nescio; vix credo placebit Judæis, qui ea se magis implicatos sentient, quam fieri solet ab iis qui Christianam religionem ad suum modulum exigentes, vix in ea reperirent quod solide Judæis opponere possent. Ego à quo librum tuum primum accepi (nam ita me cumulas ut distinctione opus sit) tam incommoda usus sum valetudine, ut illius lectioni vacare adhuc non potuerim. Sed jam indies convalescens, spero me non diu cariturum ea voluptate. Interim gratias tibi ago quam maximas, & jam spero credes mihi satisfactum duplici hoc tributo, quod illud Judæi scriptum, sive characteres respicias sive latinatatem, plane barbarum, olim perlegerim; nam de tuo si quid dicas, cogitare debes & profiteri quantum ego per te profecerim. Ita enim, si verum dicere liceat, se res habet. Sed nolo ulterius ea de re tecum contendere, ne tertium mihi librum mittas. Literas D. Clerici quas tuis inclusas memoras nuspiam reperio, spero eas Amstelodami repertum iri & brevi me accepturas. Illum, tuam, tuos, nostros, quæso meo nomine salutes, & me ames, Vir amplissime,

Rotterd. 23 Sept.
1687.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

INter cardiaca, & uti nostri vocant, restaurantia, nihil tam efficax reperio quam amicorum benevolentiam. Tuis ultimis literis me maxime recreatum sentio. Jam diu prioribus tuis humanitatis plenius respondissem, si quid certum de valetudine mea pronunciare ausus fuisssem; subinde enim cum me jam sanum salvumque credideram, recidivam passus inter spem morbumque diu versatus distuli ad te literas dare, donec certo aliquot dierum experimento me prorsus convaluisse considerem. Hæc cunctatio ultimas tuas amicitia: plenas tibi expressit literas, & mihi attulit remedium utilius eo & jucundius, quod mihi à D^{no} Veenio per Helmontium misisti summa cum cura & festinatione: quanquam frustra, famula enim per negligentiam everfa phiala inclusum effudit liquorem. Sed jam spero non amplius opus erit remediis, quamvis subinde lævia quædam sentio symptomata, quæ spero non recrudescantis mali esse minas, sed abeuntis reliquias. Hæc ad te sigillatim scribere non vereor, quia de valetudine mea ita sollicitus es, ut alio modo tuæ humanitati magis grate respondere non possim. Gaudeo vehementer te paucis sanguine redemisse quod tibi impendebat malum. Spero te ea cautione & mature semper usurum: quamprimum aliquam sentis gravitatem corporis, præsertim capitis vel ventriculi, ad venæ sectionem tibi statim confugiendum. Hoc ni facias de te sano magis metuendum erit quam de me ægroto. Nos valetudinarii quoddam genus sumus hypocritarum, qui eo non proficiscimur quo sapius videmur tendere. Multum tibi, collegis cæterisque amicis Amstelodamensibus debeo quibus mea sanitas ita cordi est; nec sperare possum vitam mihi satis diuturnam fore ut tantam benevolentiam, tuam vero imprimis, prout res meretur, possim agnoscere, hoc velim tibi persuasum habeas me quantulus quantulus sum totum tuum esse. Salutes quæso quam humillime meo nomine Veeniosque Guenellosque & collegas omnes, illisque dicas mihi eos tam eximios esse medicos, ut magis mihi prosint illorum vota quam aliorum remedia. Lectissimam tuam sceminam quam officiosissime etiam salutes. Vale, & ego ut valeam, uti facis, me amando pergefacerem.

Rotterd. 20 Oct.
1687.

Tui cum amore observantissimus,

J. LOCKE.

Vol. III.

Q q q q 2

PHI-

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

CUM nihil adeo corporis sanitatem foveat & restauret ac animi tranquillitas, non dubitare potes quin jucundissimæ tuæ literæ amoris & benevolentia tuæ testes, in hac, in qua diu versatus sum, infirma mutabilique valetudine, mihi maximo fuerint solatio. Aliorum medicamentorum me sæpe pertæsum, reficiebant illa tua semper grata semper suavissima: & cum alia nauseabundus respuerem, salutifera illa sale tuo Attico condita appetentius semper desideravi. Cave igitur ut credas te mihi epistolis tuis creasse molestiam, nisi simul credere velis ingratam fore convalescentiam, cujus tu amore, cura, studio tuo maximus fuisti fautor, nec destiterunt tantæ amicitia indicia decumbentem me aliquando erigere. Si aliquanto tardius hæc cum gratiarum actione agnosco, nōsti hominem, nec expectare debes morbum me expeditiorem reddidisse. Quanquam, si hæc tibi iusta satis videri possit causa, aliquantulum procrastinavi, ut confirmatæ sanitatis nuncium tibi possem mittere, & mihi tecum gratulari convalescentiam, quæ tibi adeo curæ & cordi fuit. Doleo Orobiū nobis tam cito ereptum, non quod in eo amiseris triumphī ornamentum, scio enim te, modo veritas vincat, de vincendi gloria parum esse sollicitum, quamvis in illo vivente aliqua veritatis confessio non displicuisset: sed destinaveram in proximis ad te literis petere exactam eorum quæ in inquisitione passus est historiam. Ad hoc me impulit narratio cujusdam Galli quæ nuper prodiit de iis quæ ipse etsi Catholicus passus est ab inquisitoribus Lusitanis in Goa Indiæ. Quæ à Judæo nostro confirmari omnia vel superari posse facile crediderim. Quandoquidem vero ille jam ad silentes migraverit, rogo ut tu quicquid istius rei tenes memoria velis chartis consignare, ne intercidat quantum nobis restat methodi istius evangelicæ testimonium. Doleo me non interfuisse collegarum convivio, non quod ostreis caruerim, in hujusmodi enim conventibus nihil mihi minus placet quam pars taciturna, & ejusmodi convivarum sermo aliquid magis sapidum & jucundius salum habet, quam ipsa ostrea Gaurana. Salutes eos quæso meo nomine, uti & optimam tuam scēminam, totamque Veenii & Guenellonis familiam. Ante duas vel tres septimanas ad D^m le Clerc scripsi, unaque chartas aliquas misi, an recte acceperit aveo scire, jam enim istis rebus vacare incipio: ipsum meo etiam nomine salutes.

Vale, & ut ipse valeam, amando & scribendo effice

Rotterd. 30 Nov.
1687.

Tui studiosissimus,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir spectatissime,

QUANTUMVIS obfirmato animo minas meas non expavescis, senties tamen aliquando data occasione quid sit irritasse crabronem, in eo enim genere merito numerari possit provocatusque iratusque amicus. Nondum vidi Acta illa Lipsiensia ubi tu coram siteris, sed euge! jam salva res est, incepti de istius operis merito pretioque aliquomodo dubitare, quod nemo ex systematicis illis reperiret in eo tractatu quod displiceret, nihil enim argumenti aut boni aut novi deberet continere, nec quod supra vulgus saperet, si vulgo placeret. Sed jam vapulas laudo, nec vibices metuo. Benignior his pædagogis si non voluntas, saltem vis est, quam ut eorum virgæ vulnera vel cicatrices relinquant. Conditiones subscriptionum plus semel in Angliam misi, sed hætenus responsi nihil accepi: ego data occasione iterum & ad alios mittam, quo successu nescio, hæc enim & hujusmodi, nisi præsto adfis & hæsitantes impellas, immemores moneas, plerumque negliguntur. Quod de Judæo narras valde placet: brevi habebitis spero quæ sufficient ad justum volumen,

lumen, in quo sanctitas Officii ad plenum depicta, omnium oculos animosque in sui admirationem arripiat. Dolendum plene esset tot & tanta sanctitatis exempla in tenebris latere, prodeant tandem in lucem, ut quibus fundamentis stabilitur & propagatur fides tandem innotescat. De MS. codice ego nihil dico, ante biduum ea de re scripsit ad te Furleius noster. Inde conjicio te aliquando Wetstenium convenire, eaque occasione has inclusas illi tradendas ad te mittere ausim. Scripsi ad illum ante quindecim dies aliquosque misi ad illum libros, aliosque postulavi & festinato ad me mittendos, sed nihil audio, nihil responder. Eoque magis silentium ejus me sollicitum habet quod simul miseram duo volumina *Garcillassi de la Vega* D^o Veenio (cum epistola quam ad eum scripsi) reddenda quæ olim ab eo mutuo acceperam. Salutes illum rogo meo nomine reliquosque collegas. Vale, Vir amicissime, & me ama ut facis

Rotterd. 22 Jun.
1688.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir spectatissime,

Sive iratum me sive gratum existimari vellem, sentio me jam nimis diu tacuisse. Amicum amico respondisse crabronem irritanti vindictam retulisse citius oportuit. Sed ego nescio qua ingenii tarditate nec amici nec inimici partes recte ago. An tibi hoc modo placere possim nescio, me Slado nostro (si cum eo ita agerem) valde displiciturum sat scio, qui hujusmodi Lentulos æquo animo ferre non potest. Editionem MS. * de quo cum Wetstenio transigebas dolendum plane est non procedere, & metuo si jam non procedat illius impressio, ne intereat tam luculentum historię monumentum; quod sane multis quæ jam omnium manibus versatur libris longe antefereendum existimo. Multa cum voluptate legi Clerici nostri Tentamen, ut ipse vocat, de antiqua Hebræorum poesi: non parum lucis inde affulsurum psalmis, reliquisque quæ in S. S. exstant, scriptis metricis, minime dubito. Totum psalmorum librum sibi ita restitutum edi optarem: incites illum rogo ut quantum per alia negotia liceat hoc opus festinet. Cuidam meo amico in literis hebræis versatissimo cum hoc dixissem, credere non potuit, exemplo persuasus jam crederet. Plura habui dicenda, sed adventus amici ex Anglia hic me interpellat, adeo ut in aliud tempus sint rejicienda. Vale & me ama

Rotterd. 30 Julij,
1688.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Famulus meus Amstelodamum res suas agens profecturus meam non prius rogavit veniam quam instaret decessus, adeo ut ad te scribendi tempus non dabatur. Doleo profecto adeo labefactatam in familia tua valetudinem. De morbo & curatione illius absens nihil audeo pronunciare, nec quidem opus est, cum tam amicos doctosque paratos tibi habeas medicos. Unum tamen permitte ut moneam, si, uti sperare videris, erumpant tandem variolæ, velim ut in medicamentis assumendis, & stragulorum operimentis caveatur regimen calidius, unde in sanguine excitatur fervor non sine magno ægroti malo & discrimine. Hoc vel invito extorsit mihi meus in te tuosque amor, & ex-

* *Historia Inquisitionis.*

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& expertus loquor. Tuorum valetudo eo spero in statu est, ut de aliis loqui liceat, præsertim tibi haud ingratum. Furleius noster Principi ante decessum adfuit & coram allocutus est, ut illius opem contra persecutionem hac in provincia, si unquam alias, certe jam intempestive cœptam, effligeret. Rem ita urfit, ut placuerit Principi epistolam scribere Bailivio de Kenmerland, qui Foecke Floris ministrum ecclesiæ Mennonitarum jusserat ex autoritate synodi intra octiduum solum vertere, & ea ex ditione exire, ni mallet carcere includi. Historiam istius Foecke Floris ex aliis quam ex me melius cognosces. Furleio enim nostro ante hanc causam ne de facie quidem notus. Sed communem christianorum rem in ejus libertate ageratus, causam illius prono animo suscepit & strenue egit; si enim abfuisset ~~ex appropria~~ nihil promovisset. Hujus epistolæ sufflamine repressum audio in præsens persecutorum fervorem. Si quid de hac re amplius inter Mennonitas vestros tibi innotuerit, fac nos certiores. Vale, Vir optime, cum integra tua familia, sic animitus opto,

Rotterd. 24 Nov.
1688.

Tui studiosissimus,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO & LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

QUOD imprimis hinc decedens desideravi ut scil. te, Vir amplissime, reliquosque amicos Amstelodamenses amplecti daretur, in eo omnia quasi dedita opera mihi maxime adversari videntur. Primo glacies & festinatio, deinde in ipso itinere pluvia interceptit. Die enim sabbati ultimo hinc Hagam profecturum, ut tibi nobilem scēminam ad Amstelodamum etiam cogitantem compellarem, imber satis violentus me Delphos transeuntem perfudit, quod incommodum Hagæ etiam passus sum. Ita totus madidus accessi ad illam quæ nocturnum illud iter, quo ad vos ea nocte perrecturus eram, tanquam sanitati meæ nimis periculosum non dissuasit solum sed & prohibuit. Sic pluvia illa quæ jam à duobus mensibus pene unica quasi designato unius dieculæ vobiscum spem, qua hinc gestiens decessi prorsus abstulit. In aula omnia tam parata ab abitum, tam moræ impatientia inveni, ut primo favente vento Principem classem conscensurum nemo dubitet. Istud destinatum iter ad vos incœpi non tam vento quam Principis religioni confisus, quam vix credidi die dominica velle iter ingredi, etiamsi ventus orientalis invitaret; sed jam nihil aliud expectatur quam ventus navigationi idoneus, quo simul ad naves convolandum erit. Heri vesperi huc redii, & quamdiu hic languescendum sit nescio; hoc certo scio, nihil molestius esse quam ad fastidium usque laborare otio, & tamen ad id quod maxime velles tempus non suppetere. Quam vellem mihi dare apud vos horam unam vel alteram, vultus, sermo, amplexus amicorum nescio quid habent, quo se explere anima mea anxie desiderat. Quo vos in me sitis animo, quo ego in vos nullum credo est dubium, nec augeri posset mutua nostrum amicitia valedicentium alloquio; opto tamen videre, dexteras jungere, ac me iterum vobis totum tradere cujus totus sum. Hoc si mihi jam non concessum fuerit, alias spero futurum: non enim de me tam male ominor, ut nullam credam fore diem quæ nos iterum conjungat. Multa sunt quæ hanc navigandi occasionem non mihi omittendam suadent: amicorum expectatio, res meæ privatae jam per aliquot annos neglectæ, piratarum frequentia, & parum tutus alias transitus, & nobilissimæ scēminæ sive cura sive amicitia qua cum iturus sum. Velim hoc tibi persuadeas, me hic aliam patriam reperisse & pene dixeram parentes, quod enim in illo nomine carissimum est, benevolentiam, amorem, charitatem, quæ ad conciliandos homines conjungendosque fortiora sanguine habent vincula, apud vos abunde expertus sum. Habeo hic amicos semper mihi colendos, imo & invisendos si res & dies patiatur. Hoc certo scio, quod decedo cum animo revertendi ut cum illis solidum aliquando & illibatum capiam gaudium, quorum humanitate effectum est, ut à meis absens & in communi omnium mœrore nullam sentirem animi ægritudinem. Te quod

attinet

attinet (Vir omnium optime, amicissime, dilectissime) cum tuam cogito doctrinam, animum, mores, candorem, suavitatem, amicitiam, satis in te uno reperi (ut ceteros taceam) quo mihi semper gratulari potero optime locatam & fructuosissimam aliquot annorum apud vos moram: nec scio an aliquod mea vita tempus æque jucundum habitura sit, certe magis proficuum nondum habuit. Deus O. M. te omni felicitatum genere cumulatam, familiam patriam incolumes conservet & custodiat, ut diu sis ecclesiæ & omnibus bonis utilis. De meo erga te animo qualis jam sit, qualis futurus sit, nihil addam, cum meum spero amorem non magis mihi notum & certum esse quam tibi, cujus in me amicitiam tot beneficiis testatum habeo, ut quicquid de ea literis tuis jucundissimis dicas, jam jam penitus persuaso facile persuadebis. Optimæ tuæ uxori liberisque, Veeniis, Guenellonisque omnibus plurimam salutem dicas; te mihi apud illos advocatum & patronum relinquo, ne quid gravius statuant in hominem tot beneficiis devinctum, si non fugientem, minus urbane certe quam oportuit valedicentem. Sed ita sunt fere res humanæ, ut nil præter voluntatem in nostra sit potestate, ea totus ad eos feror, ea singulos amplector, quæ mihi nunquam ad beneficiorum memoriam, ad grati animi confessionem defutura est. Vale, Vir colendissime, & me ut facis ama

Rotterd. 16 Feb.
1689.

Tui in perpetuum amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Vereor ne nomine negligentia tibi suspectus sim, quod tam diuturno utor silentio, quod nec tuis meritis, nec meæ voluntati, nec nostræ denique amicitia omnino convenit. Scias velim me cum solo non animum mutasse, qui tibi idem qui olim est, & ubicunque terrarum fuero idem futurus est amoris & reverentiæ plenus. Sed à meo in patriam reditu amicorum vel invisentium vel visendorum consuetudo, vel rerum mearum hinc inde dispersarum ad præsentem usum quærendi & colligendi labor, vel aliqualis ad remp. (absit verbo invidia) si non accessio, saltem ne privatum otium publicis negotiis commutarem, cura & excusatio, & quod gravissimum omnium est, maligno hujus urbis fumo labefactata valetudo ita me occupatum tenuit, ut vix momentum mihi vacui temporis relictum fuerit ex quo primum huc appulerim. Prima qua in terram descendi hora ad D^m Guenellonem festinante calamo & vernacula lingua inter salutantium turbam scripsi, ut per eum te ceteros amicos meos Amstelodamenses salutarem. Quicquid enim latum jucundumque hic reperi me monuit aliquid illic relictum esse, quod non cum minore voluptate recorderer, quam quod hic oculis usurparem. Burnetus Episcopus Salisburiensis designatur. In parlamento de tolerantia jam agi cœptum est sub duplici titulo, *Comprehensio* scil. & *Indulgentia*. Prima ecclesiæ pomœria extendenda significat, ut ablata cæremoniarum parte plures comprehendat. Altera tolerantiam significat eorum qui, oblatis conditionibus ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, se unire vel nolunt vel non possunt. Quam laxa vel stricta hæc futura sint, vix dum scio, hoc saltem sentio, clerum episcopalem his aliisque rebus quæ hic aguntur non multum favere, an cum suo vel reip. commodo ipsi videant. De solutione, de qua ad te ante discessum scripsi, expecto à te aliquid quotidie. Vale, & me ut facis ama

Lond. 12. Mar.
1689.

Tui amantiſſimum,

LOCKE.

PHI-

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir doctissime,

Tolerantiam apud nos jam tandem lege stabilitam te ante hæc audisse nullus dubito. Non ea forsan latitudine qua tu & tui similes veri & sine ambitione vel invidia christiani optarent. Sed aliquid est prodire tenus. His initiis jacta spero sunt libertatis & pacis fundamenta quibus stabilienda olim erit Christi ecclesia. Nulli à cultu suo penitus excluduntur, nec pœnis objiciuntur, nisi Romani, si modo juramentum fidelitatis præstare velint, & renuntiare transubstantiationi & quibusdam dogmatibus ecclesiæ Romanæ. De juramento autem Quakeris dispensatum est; nec illis obtrusa fuisset malo exemplo, illa quam in lege videbis confessio fidei, si aliqui eorum istam fidei confessionem non obtulissent, quod imprudens factum multi inter illos & cordatiores valde dolent. Gratiastibi ago pro exemplaribus tractatus *de Tolerantia* & pace ecclesiastica quæ mihi misisti, compacta recte accepi, incompacta nondum ad manus meas pervenerunt. In vertendo de tolerantia libello aliquem Anglum jam jam occupatum intelligo. Opinionem illam pacis & probitatis fœtricem ubique obtinere optarem. Acta inquisitionis jam pene descripta gaudeo, uti spero brevi proditura, opus utile & expectatum. Legem de tolerantia sancitam ad D^m le Clerc misi, quo interprete intelliges quousque extenditur hæc libertas. Vale, & me ama

*Lond. 6 Jun.
 1689.*

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Priores tuas intercidisse valde doleo, nihil enim à te proficisci potest quod mihi, uti convenit, non sit valde carum. Novissimas tuas 29 Maij datas amore & benevolentia usitata plenas accepisse lætor, quod tuæ tuorumque valetudinis me certiorum faciunt. S^{ci} Officii historiam oscitantia bibliopola in ipso partu ita hæere doleo. Prolegomena tua D^a Cudwortha & ego valde probamus, & capitum Indicem quem tam amice promittis avide expectamus, ut ista sciagraphia operis tui structuram prælibemus, interim optantes ut quam citissime integrum volumen Christiano orbi maxime proficuum, & pene dixeram hoc tempore necessarium, prodeat. Illic enim fons omnis persecutionis sub prætextu religionis, illic fundamentum tyrannidis ecclesiasticæ, quam minores sectæ eo exemplo animatæ prædicant affectantque. Sed quo tendat, quas tragedias ubique, quando parum adoleverit, editura sit eo in speculo, qui sibi oculos non eruunt, facile videbunt. Ejus lectionem sibi & utilissimam & jucundissimam fore spondet D^a Cudwortha, quæ paternæ benignitatis hæres omnem de rebus religionis persecutionem maxime averfatur. Gratulatur sibi se in partem amicitiae qua patrem amplexus es successisse, te officiosissime salutat, plurimum æstimat & veneratur, unumque hoc dolet, quod non utatur lingua utrique communi, ut ex commercio literarum amicitiae & eruditionis tuæ, quem optaret, fructum perciperet.

Historiam tuam de surda loquente duplici exemplo hic apud nos confirmare possum. Duo juvenes, utrique surdi, quorum alter à Doctore Wallis, celebri illo Oxonii matheseos professore, alter à Doctore Holder theologo edoctus, loquelæ usum didicit. Utrumque juvenem novi, & verba proferentem audivi, distincte satis & articulate, tonus solum vocis parum erat ingratus & inharmonicus. De altero quid factum sit nescio, alter adhuc vivit legendi scribendique peritus, & à quo illum primo loquentem audivi (viginti enim & plures sunt anni) uxorem duxit paterfamilias. Vir est ex generosa pro-

profapia, nec diu est à quo illum viderim. Uxori liberisque tuis, Veeniis Guenellonisque & collegis nostris plurimam salutem meo nomine dicas. Vale, Vir amplissime, & me ut facis ama

Oates, 18 Jun.
1691.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Q UOD grandem tibi jamdiu destinaveram epistolam ideo accepisti nullam. Quæsi vacuum aliquod mihi tempus dari, ut tecum liberius & fusius colloqui possem, & gratias agere pro ultima tua & amicissima epistola cui jamdudum responsum oportuit. Sed nescio quam rerum etiam non mearum importunitate ita mihi omne otium sublatum est, ut ne propriis quidem & domesticis negotiis vacare licuerit. Cave autem credas me publicis negotiis implicitum; nec valetudo, nec vires, nec rerum agendarum imperitia id patiuntur. Et cum mecum repetam quid à tribus jam mensibus adeo impeditus egerim, incantamenti instar videtur, ut quisque dies afferret negotiorum onus aliorum ex aliis nascentium, quæ nec sciens prævideram, nec cupiens evitare poteram.

Indicem librorum & capitum historiæ Sc^{ti} Officii Domina Cudwortha & ego legimus simul magna cum voluptate. Hæc prælibatio magnum excitavit in utroque integri operis desiderium, quod jam sub prælo esse cum gaudio à quodam Scoto non ita pridem ex vestra Batavia redeunte accepi. Bonis cum avibus procedat opus christiano orbi imprimis utile. Hospes mea tyrannidi ecclesiasticæ inimicissima sæpe mihi laudat ingenium & concilium tuum, laboremque huic operi tam opportune impensum; creditque frustra de religionis reformatione & evangelii propagatione tantum undique strepitum moveri, dum tyrannis in ecclesia, vis in rebus religionis (uti passim mos est) aliis sub nominibus utcunque speciosis obtinet & laudatur. Quid tandem factum est cum Dr^e isto theologo qui tam mira docuit de angelis in libro suo de spirituum existentia †? an non expertus est fratrum suorum pro religione, pro veritate, pro orthodoxia zelum? mirum si impune evadat. Apud nos prælum quod video nihil pene parturit, quod alieni cives scire aut legere multum desiderabunt. Ita obstreperunt undique arma, ut Musarum voces vix audiantur. Imo lis ipsa theologica jam consopita magnam in partem conquiescit, utinam cum animarum & partium concordia. Sed ea spes vana est, nec tam facile componuntur theologorum controversiæ. Bene est si incertas aliquando ferant inducias; ut mutua charitate sanentur penitus quis expectabit? magna mihi apud te excusatione opus est ut tam diuturno silentio ignoscas. Id tibi persuadeas velim, hoc non alicui voluntatis alienationi, non decrefcenti & minus fervidæ amicitiae tribuendum: te ut semper maxime æstimo, amo, amplector, semperque amabo. Fac itidem ut facis & me ama

Lond. 14 Nov.
1691.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

S I ex literarum tarditate de amicitia mea judicaveris, metuo ne me suspiceris ad officia nimis ignavum, à quo me profiteor cum res postulat longe alienum. In hoc literarum commercio si qua utor libertate, id plerumque

evenit cum ad eos scribendum sit, quibus benevolentiam amicitiæque meam re potius quam verbis testatam fore mihi in animo est. Hoc an tu probaveris nescio, ita ego tibi persuasum velim. Nemo enim omnium qui te magis suspicit, æstimat, diligit quam ego: id nunc facio & semper faciam.

Non placet Wetstenii in edenda Sancti Officii historia cunctatio, hoc unicum in ea mora placet, quod te identidem relegente & sub incudem sæpius revocante, limatiorem perfectioremque habebimus. Hoc unum ut te moneam jam occurrit, scil. alterum hujusmodi volumen duodecim circiter ab hinc annis Monspessulis extitisse ab hoc distinctum; duo enim illic tunc erant hujusmodi volumina.

Zelus theologicus, uti video, semper & ubique idem est, eodemque modo procedit: quid tandem devenit paradoxorum ille de angelis auctor scire cupio, si evasit mirum est, quanquam eò res inclinare videbatur quo tempore scripsisti, favente etiam Amstelodamensium prædicatorum desidia, vix tamen veniam ei datam credo. Hujusmodi orthodoxæ propugnatores non solent errantibus ignoscere. Presbyteriani in Scotia quid agant mallet ex aliis quam ex me scires. Zelus illic in frigido isto aere per antiperistasin incallescere videtur. Satis fervide disciplinæ suæ operam dant, an satis prudenter, an satis modeste, ipsi videant. Sed ubi causa Dei agitur, ut nōsti, & ejus Ecclesiæ, quid sibi theologi non putant licere, auctoritatem suam soli Deo acceptam referentes. D^m le Cene semel vidi Londini, sed semel tantum, idque obiter apud nobilissimum Boyleum, adeo ut fermocinandi locus non esset de rebus illius vel amicis Amstelodamensibus; ab eo tempore parum Londini commoratus sum valetudini rure vacans, pulmones enim non ferunt fumum urbis. Episcopum illum cui D^m le Cene commendasti credo pacis ecclesiasticæ sincere studiosum. Sollicitus sum de valetudine Veenii nostri, angusto est pectore, & metuo pulmonibus ejus, metuo etiam ne praxi continuæ jam à multis annis assuetus rure otio intabescat. Opto illi diuturnam & validam, jucundamque senectam, multum illi debeo quod semper gratus agnoscam. Recte facis quod persecutionem religionis ergò in pontificiis solum damnas. Si quam inter christianos sectam feligas cujus crudelitatem insecteris à reliquis, laudaberis, quanquam persecutio ubique eadem est & plane pontificia. Quælibet enim ecclesia sibi verbis arrogat Orthodoxiam, re Infallibilitatem. D^a Cudwortha te omni humanitate & æstimatione resalutat. Saluta quæso uxorem, familiamque tuam, Veenium, Gue-nellonem, omnemque istam stirpem officiosissime meo nomine. Vale, Vir colendissime, & me ut facis ama,

Ostii, 29 Feb.
1692.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

De miraculis post apostolorum tempora certiore fieri cupio. Non ego satis versatus in historia ecclesiastica, ut quid de iis statuam nōrim. Rogo igitur obnixè, nam mea interest scire, an post apostolorum tempora edita fuerint in ecclesia christiana miracula, quibus auctoribus & qua fide memoriarum tradita, quam frequentia, & an ad Constantini imperium vel diutius duraverint, & quis fuit ille Thaumaturgus, & quid ab eo actum est cujus tam speciosa appellatio ad nos pervenit. Non quæro miraculorum quæ in scriptoribus ecclesiasticis memorantur catalogum, sed an constet ex fide dignis historicis fuisse vera miracula, an raro vel sæpius edita, & quamdiu donum illud ecclesiæ concessum.

PHILIPPO

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

AB acceptis tuis 27 Junii datis ad urbem accedens hodie primum Archiepiscopum conveni. Quamprimum tuum audivit nomen, agnovit acceptam à te contra Judæum disputationem, excusavit silentium quod ob valetudinem, oculorum debilitatem, & alia quæ intervenerunt impedimenta, integram nondum perlegerat. Laudavit maxime illud opus una cum autore, & gratias quas nondum egit se habere agnovit. Historiam Sancti Officii jam valde opportunam judicavit. Caput indicem summa cum voluptate & approbatione perlegit, & cum tuum de dedicatione consilium aperuisses, ea verborum urbanitate & honore, eo vultu accepit, ut si adfuisses hoc sibi non ingratum fore certus esses. Mitte igitur quamprimum dedicationem, novi viri modestiam, & laudo consilium tuum, quod prælectam ab eo prius velis quam editam. Illi monstrabo, quod scio honori ducet, & si quid mutandum videtur indicabo. Interim dixit se habere librum Lusitanæ editum de quodam actu Inquisitionis in Lusitania, in cujus exordio occurrunt Paparum bullæ aliaque diplomata quibus potestas Sancti Officii concessa & stabilita est, accuratius collecta. Nomen authoris non retinebat memoria, & liber ipse, illius bibliotheca nondum in ordinem redacta, ab ipso quæsitus non repertus est. Volumen est, ut aiunt, in 8^{vo}. Brevi ipsum iterum revisam, eam curam cuidam domesticorum mandabit, ut ante reditum meum præsto sit liber. Tunc tibi nomen authoris præscribam, & si nondum videris ipsum librum tibi mutuo commodabit reverendissimus archiepiscopus. Grævium, Guenellonem, Veeniosque omnes meo nomine saluta. Clerico nostro, quem officiosissime saluto, ante aliquot septimanas an menses dicam scripsi, an pervenerint ad illum literæ meæ ignoro, nam ab isto tempore nihil ab eo accepi. Hoc quæso illi indices, ne me tarditatis, si mea interciderit epistola, suspicetur. Fœminam tuam dilectissimam liberosque summo cum affectu saluto. Vale, Vir dignissime, & ut facis me ama,

Lond. 30 Jun.
1692.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

DE adventu librorum tuorum certior factus, qua potui festinatione Londinum me contuli, ut quæ tu de iis jusseras præsens curarem. Archiepiscopus quamprimum accefferam, maximas se tibi gratias habere professus est, opus sibi perplacere, seque à libri tui lectione hoc etiam tempore negotiis maximis occupatissimo abstinere non posse: sed magnam ejus partem summa cum voluptate ex quo accepit percurrisse. Verum quo animo accepit, legit, laudavit tunc demum rectius intelliges ex ipsius verbis cum ad te destinatas literas scribere vacaverit. Episcopus Salisburienfis multa & his similia mihi dixit, & se adeo detentum immersumque esse argumento libri tui (quo historiam inquisitionis ultra quam expectari poterat delucidam accuratamque tradidisti) ut ad te scribere donec totum pervolverit non potuerit; se interim gratias tibi amplissimas reddere. Comes Pembrokiensis multa de te cum laude, & pro munere tuo per me gratias agi jussit, donec ipse sua manu agnoscat acceptissimum à te beneficium. Bathoniensem & Wellensem episcopum in domo procerum quæsi sed non aderat: cumque extra urbem habitet hora una vel altera à meo hospitio eum in tam brevi mora convenire non poteram. Tuum autem librum illi traditum uti reliquis omnibus certo scio. Cæterum curavi ut D^{us} Clarke communis noster amicus eum adeat, ut excuset librum incompactum à te missum,

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R r r r 2

quod

quod ego reliquis quibus opus fuit feci, quanquam non omnino opus fuit. Mireris jam merito cur ego, qui non minus meo quam horum virorum nomine gratias agere deberem, tantus cessator essem, ubi festinandum potius esset, ut neglecta propioris loci commoditate, rus huc commigrarem antequam ad te darem literas. Dicam quod res est; sanus urbem adii, sed unius dieculæ mora adeo mihi mutata est valetudo, ut respirare vix potuerim. Ingravescerebat quotidie malum, & tam cito me urbe expulit, ut neglecta maxima rerum illic agendarum parte aufugere necesse esset.

Librum tuum huc mecum attuli, ut tuo beneficio D^{na} Cudwortha & ego habeamus hac hyeme noctes Atticas, quas nihil tam augere poterat quam authoris præsentia, & quos secum semper adfert sales Attici. Ego huc die Saturni reversus sum; hodie libri tui lectionem inchoandam qua spe qua voluptate facile dijudicare potes, sed credas velim quas tibi habeo gratias non esse minores. Ex tuis 10 Octob. datis quamprimum mihi innotuit quot & quibus huc destinaveras exemplaria, egi cum hospitio meo & bibliopola Smith, ut singula singulis quam ocissime traderentur antequam liber uspiam apud nos prosteret venalis, quod diligentissime factum est; nec ea in parte interiit aliqua tam eximii & tam oportuni operis gratia. Sed quid tandem statuendum est de MS. codice autographo, quod ego in tutissimo aliquo loco inter archiva reponendum suaderem, ut in perpetuum effrontes adversarios faciat fidem. Quinam vero is sit locus tutissimus libenter tecum inquirerem.

Episcopii vitam tua manu æternitati consecrandam gaudeo: sed qua lingua? cum enim præfigendam eam concionibus illius Belgicis (ut reor) jam prodituris, metuo ne illius quoque historia prodeat etiam in lingua mihi minus familiari. Gratulor tamen erudito orbi hæc tam docti tam eximii viri monumenta, cujus omnes lucubrationes ab interitu conservandæ.

Jam apud nos prodiit Johannes Malela Antiochenus, quem diu & anxie petivit amicus meus Toinardus. Rogo igitur ut cum Wetstenio agas, ut quamprimum aliqua illius libri exemplaria ad illius manus pervenerint (quod scio maturius futurum quam si ego unum hinc ad eum Amstelodamum mittere vellem) unum ad Toinardum quam citissime transmittendum curabit, pretiumque meis rationibus adscribat, quod ego solvam. Malela author est nec magni nominis nec fidei. Sed in dubio aliquo chronologico se lucem inde mutuaturum speravit Toinardus, & cupio ego maxime illius inservire desiderio; igitur rogo ut hanc rem cures ut mihi gratissimam.

De Palinodia quam scripsisti in novissimis tuis 7 Nov. gratias ago maximas. Eodem tenore & ubique proceditur. Habeo enim de Gallis apud nos quod possit ferre secundas, imo quod superat omnibus bene trutinatis. Sed de his alias si cupias, jam enim nimis turgescit pagina.

Clerico nostro ante 15, Guenelloni ante 10 dies scripsi. Spero jam omnia pacata & amice composita in ista familia, cui omnino omnia bona opto. Hos ceterosque meos omnes, imprimis optimam tuam uxorem liberosque quæso meo nomine officiosissime salutes, & me ut facis ama

Oates, 28 Nov.
1692.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO & LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Quamprimum ad urbem accessi nudistertius reverendissimus archiepiscopus me ad se vocari curavit, & ut conveni de te & libro tuo multa cum laude præfatus, tandem dixit se ad te scripsisse negotiorum multitudine hætenus impeditus, paratamque epistolam sigillo muniens mihi in manus tradidit, ut inscriptione, illo dictante, mea manu exarata, tibi transmittendam curarem, quod libens suscepi. Insuper mihi tradidit libellum concionum nuper à se editarum, ut etiam ad te illum transmitterem, quod itidem diligenter curabo, & quamprimum hinc ad vos proficiscentem quem-

quempiam invenero ei tradam ad te perferendum. Haftenus de archiepiscopi mandatis. Ad me quod attinet multas tibi & habeo & refero gratias pro ea quam ex historiae tuae lectione percepi voluptate. Illud credo exhausti argumentum; certe illud mysterium iniquitatis mundo palam exposuisti, è tenebris in lucem protractum. Multarum rerum importuno impeditus interventu nondum integram perlegi, post brevem hac in urbe moram rus reversurus, pergam porro ut satisfaciam ei quod in me excitasti desiderio. Novissimis tuis literis mihi pro more gratissimis responsum hac in charta expectare non debes. Festinans ad urbem eas rure reliqui, illuc cum rediero ad otii & quietis recessus opportunior dabitur tecum colloquendi occasio, hic vix respirandi mihi conceditur facultas. Interim amicitiam humanitatemque tuam consuetam agnosco. Te maximo cum affectu saluto, tuosque omnes, imprimis dilectissimam conjugem, liberosque Veenios, Guenellonesque nostros, omniaque tibi prospera & felicia precor. Vale, & me ut facis ama

Lond. 10 Jan.
1693.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Juste meum à te reprehendi silentium libens fateor, nec si severiore manu delinquentem correxisses queri possum. Etsi enim pudet me adeo tardum fuisse ad officia, ut non nisi bis monitus excitarer: gaudeo tamen me tanti apud te fuisse, ut me primis vocibus male respondentem iterum tentandum arbitrareris: excusatione valetudinis quam ipse tibi pro me suggessisti uti non possum. Gratias enim Deo ex quo ad te ultimas dedi recte satis pro more meo valui, nec tamen sine omni causa à scribendo abstinui. Maximam partem libri tui summa cum voluptate perlegeram, progredi mihi in animo erat, & ad finem usque pervolvere, ut de toto opere à capite ad calcem perspecto, eas quas possem gratias laudesque redderem. Non multum aberam à fine libri, & pauca illa capita quæ mihi restabant legenda spem quotidie fecerunt intra paucos dies potuisse absolvi. Sed sic negotiorum & invisentium series, dum nova & inexpectata continuato ordine se invicem exciperent, me de die in diem protraxerunt & adhuc protraxissent, nisi novissimæ tuæ tam amica objurgatione labentis temporis immemorem, primisque cogitationibus indormientem excitassent. En habes fatentem reum, negligentem agnosco; sed eo consilio, eo animo negligentem, quem culpæ vix possis: aut si qua fuerit culpa, ei spei toties deceptæ forte fuit (amicitiæ certe non fuit) quam eandem quæ erga te semper fuit, nec minime dum ego tacerem siluisse profiteri gestio. Historia tua Inquisitionis, ut de ea parte quam legi libere pronuntiem, mihi maxime placet: ordine, methodo, perspicuitate, testium fide mihi plane videtur opus absolutissimum, nec video quid in eo desiderari possit. Et ab omnibus quotquot consulere contigit maxime laudatur. Clericum nostrum nullas à me jam à pluribus hebdomadis (ut scribis) accepisse doleo; scripsi enim ad eum ante duos circiter menses, iis inclusas à Comite Pembrokienfi ad illum misi literas quas intercidisse vereor, quandoquidem D^{us} Clericus in novissimis suis 11 Septemb. datis de iis ne verbum quidem. Me illum de Spenceri obitu monuisse recte memini, & credo ea in epistola quandoquidem tu id hætenus ignorare videris. Bibliorum Castellionis editionem qualem tu narras apud vos designari valde lætor, & viris literatis apud nos gratum acceptumque fore opus non dubito: Post diuturnam rusticationem nuperus meus in urbem reditus nondum mihi concessit plurimorum doctorum colloquia, prout datur occasio alios consulam, quamvis vix credi potest elegantem editionem, tam elegantis versionis notis etiam aliisque scriptis eo spectantibus tam docti viri ornatam, non omnibus non placitum. Filiam tuam dilectissimam quam febre continua laborasse scripseras tibi suisque sanam salvamque restitutam spero, reliquos tuos nostrosque recte valere gaudeo. Eos omnes quotquot sunt meo nomine rogo quam officiosissime salutes, quibus

610 *Familiar* LETTERS *between* Mr. LOCKE,

quibus diuturnam sanitatem & prospera omnia largiatur Deus optimus maximus; te imprimis sospitet. Vale, & ut facis perge me amare

Lond. 10 Nov.
1693.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Qualem te, Vir spectatissime, semper crediderim, talem re ipsa experior ad omnia infucatae amicitiae officia natum, qui non solum pronus in beneficiis bene merendi nullam praetermittis occasionem, sed, quod difficilius est, eadem facilitate ignoscis amicorum delictis, qua alii offensiones objurgant. Diuturnum meum silentium graviori reprehensione dignum, simulac tardas tandem à me literas acceperis, quasi prima vacula penitus deletum condonas. Agnosco beneficium candoremque illum tuum, quo tuis, quo omnibus gratus, in quo me tuto repono: dum non ex literis amicitiam meam aestimas, nec silentio imminutam suspicatus fueris. Id enim tibi persuasum vellem, tempus mihi & verba deesse posse, amicitiam qua te amplector, qua semper amplexurus sum, mihi deesse vel labefactari nunquam posse.

In Historia tua Inquisitionis, ex quo novissime ad te dedi literas, non magnos progressus feci, quotidianis negotiis haecenus impeditus. Quod si ex duobus primis libris, quos summa cum voluptate perlegi, de duobus reliquis judicare licet, nihil potest esse in eo genere perfectius, nec ad perfectam illius tribunalis cognitionem aliquid desiderari potest. Laudo studium tuum, quod plerisque in locis ipsa authorum verba citaveris, & si nihil contineant quod tu breviori & elegantiori stylo exprimere non potuisses, si lectori placere unica esset cura, sed cum quo genere hominum tibi res est recte tecum reputasti, & eorum crimina, fraudes & savitia ex eorum ipsorum ore optime discenda, vix enim credi poterant, si ab extraneo vel adversario afferrentur. Quae autem ex aliis hauseris authoribus tam sero, ut editioni inferi suis apte in locis non potuerint, tuique marginibus libri adscripseris, ea, si nimis longa non sint, ut tibi nimiam transcribendi creent molestiam, si mihi per otium excerpta transmittere velis, gratissimum mihi facies, ut meum etiam librum iis ornem, & suis omnibus numeris perfectum habeam, ut nihil desit huic mysterio iniquitatis revelando. Literas tuas per Hibernum illum transmissas ille suis manibus rus huc ad me profectus mihi tradidit. Talem illum reperio qualem tu descripseris, nec desunt hic tantae spei fautores. Editionem illam Castellionis, quam meditantur elegantem, libens viderem, & nostratibus gratam fore nullus dubito. Quod de Harmonia Evangelica doctissimi mei Toinardi ad me scribis, de editione illius ego quidem nunquam cogitavi, nec quod amplius est unquam cogitabo, nisi ut ipsum authorem ad opus suum luce dignissimum edendum, qua data occasione, & quantum possum, impellam & instigem. Non quod ego hunc thesaurum literato orbi invidiam, ego summa ope, donec commercio literarum uti licuit, editionem ejus semper efflagitavi. Sed non ea (ut mihi visum est) fide mihi concreditum est hoc exemplar, ut ego harmoniam hanc, illo inscio aut inconsulto, typis mandarem. Si mihi integrum esset statim sub praelo mitterem, sed dum ille vivit, aut aliunde à suis spes est proditurum, nulla quantivis pretii mercede è meis manibus in publicum elabi patiar. Nuper prodit hic liber, quem Toinardo gratissimum fore scio. Si reperire possis viam qua ad illum transmitti potest, mihi feceris acceptissimum beneficium. Liber quem ad illum mittere vellem est *Joannes Mallela Antiocenus* Oxonii non ita pridem editus. Si occasionem mittendi reperias, emptum apud vos librum sive compactum sive incompactum, prout commodissimum erit vecturæ, quaeso ad illum mittas, à *Monsieur Toinard* à *Orleans*. Gaudeo Veenium nostrum sanum salvumque in urbem & ad praxin rediisse. Vir qui in artis suae exercitatione à juventute usque consenuerat, continui tadio otii credo languesceret. Illum & Guenellonem nostrum uxoresque cum tota familia quaeso meo nomine officiosissime salutes. Pacem, concordiam, & amicitiam inter eos stabilitam spero, omnia fausta, uti par est, illis & tibi tuisque

tuisque opto. Salutes etiam rogo optimam sceminam tuam, liberosque, quos sanos salvosque tibi Deus diu conservet. Vale, Vir humanissime, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 13 Jan.
1694.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir colendiſſime,

ET si meam in scribendo tarditatem prorsus excusare nequeam, me tamen eo processisse negligentia, ut per totos novem menses te infalutatum praterire nolim credas. Diuturnum nimis silentium haud invitum fateor, quod cum nec literarum tuarum satietas, nec imminuta erga te voluntas mea effecerit, facilem apud te veniam inventurum spero. Puduit sane ad te iterum scribere antequam opere tuo penitus perlecto meam de eo sententiam sive potius gratulationem potuerim perscribere. Quantum voluptatis, quantum lucis ex accurata tua Inquisitionis Historia perceperim vix dicere possum. Ita scripta est ut decet historiam scribi, ubi non ad fastum aut delectationem inventa vel ornata res est quo facilius incautis lectoribus fucum faciat, sed omnia authorum fide & documentorum testimoniis rata & suffulta sunt: adeo ut quorum maxime interest redarguere, ne hiscere quidem audeant. Opus illud tenebrarum & occultas nefandae crudelitatis artes in tam claram lucem ex latibulis suis protraxisti, ut si qua restarent in istis ecclesiis, sive potius Antichristi satellitibus, humanitatis vestigia, puderet illos tandem tam iniqui tam horrendi tribunalis, ubi omne jus, fas, & justitia susque deque habetur. Verum si haec opprobria quae refelli non possunt nihil illos moveant, reformatis saltem & ex saevissimo hoc ergastulo ereptis animos addet, contra tam inhumanam tyrannidem quacunque specie sive religionis sive concordiae irreperere iterum conantem. Ea est disputantium saepe contentio, ea argumentorum subtilitas & longa series, ut non sit uniuscujusque se argutiis & fallaciis innodatum expedire, & de summa controversiae judicare. Si quis vero è plebe indoctus tuam perlegat historiam, sentiat statim illic certe deesse religionem, charitatem, justitiam, ubi violata aequitatis regula, omnique juris dicendi per orbem terrarum methodo, tam inhumana, tam crudelia perpetrantur, & ab evangelij genio remotissima: ideoque dignum opus existimo quod in cujusque gentis linguam vulgarem traducatur, tam distincta enim & exacta methodo omnia tradidisti, & testibus exceptione majoribus confirmasti, ut nihil in eo desiderari videatur, quod vulgus erudiat, literatos instruat, omnesque stabiliat. Si quid forte tibi, uti mones, occurrat ad hoc argumentum pertinens ex libris ante editam historiam tuam non visis, rogo ut per otium, si non sit nimis operosum, ad me velis transmittere; omnia enim huc facientia in librum tuum ad marginem aptis in locis adscripta conjicere animus est, uti nuper ex itineralio in orientem hoc quod sequitur excerptum, paginae 276. libri tui inserui.

Le St Office, ce redoutable tribunal fameux par ses injustices, & ses cruautés, regne ici [à Malte] plus tyranniquement qu'à Rome même, & on m'a fait cent funestes recits, dont je vous épargnerai la tristesse, seulement vous dirai je, que les Confesseurs, qui par tout ailleurs sont tenus de garder le secret sur peine du feu, sont ici dans l'obligation de les reveler toutes les fois qu'il s'agit d'un cas d'Inquisition, quoi qu'ils ne l'avoient pas, car ce seroit le moyen d'empêcher les gens de se confesser: mais c'est une chose qu'on sçait pourtant bien. Cependant pour en ôter tout soupçon, on demeure quelquefois un an ou deux sans dire mot après quoi l'Inquisiteur envoie prendre un homme, & lui demande s'il sçait bien pourquoi il l'a fait saisir, alors c'est à lui de se ressouvenir de tout ce qu'il peut jamais avoir dit; que si malheureusement la memoire ne lui fournit pas, ou que le delit, dont il est coupable, ait esté si secret que le seul confesseur en ait eu connoissance, & que se reposant là dessus il ne veuille pas avouer; c'est fait de cet homme là, on l'estrange dans la prison, & puis quelque temps après on dit à ses parens qu'il

qu'il n'est pas besoin de lui porter à manger. Heureux sont ceux qui ne sont point assujettis à ce joug. Du Mont nouveau Voyage au Levant $\frac{118}{478}$ imprimé en 12^o. à la Haye, 1694.

Quas minatus es prolixiores literas avide expecto, & si sic ulciscaris silentium meum, quomodo remuneraberis diligentiam? Theologiam tuam tam brevi iterum prodituram gaudeo, pauca in ea emendanda facile crediderim; quanta quanta addideris in eodem erunt fonte, & augebunt apud lectores pretium. In magna æstimatione apud ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Theologos scio. Quid in posterum futurum sit nescio, audio enim nonnullos Calvinismum amplexuros & prædestinationem (sic inter illos convenit) palam scriptis propugnaturus. Quot & quales in partes suas pertrahet nova hæc paucorum & adhuc privata societas, nondum conicere licet. Latent omnia & secreto peraguntur, & si ex auctoribus, quorum nomina mihi amicus quidam secreto in aurem dixit, rem metiri libeat, non credo longe evasurum, nisi aliunde oriatur hoc consilium, aliosque habeat fautores. Si quid ultra privata aliquot inter se colloquia producat, hoc nonnullorum molimen dies indicabit, & tunc quid velint quo tendant rectius judicabimus. Sed hæc hæcenus. Doleat certe tantam inter nos loci esse intercapedinem, si vicinus essem haberes me consultorem quotidie ostia tua pulsantem. Pauci admodum sunt limati iudicii homines quibuscum poteris libere de speculationibus quibuscumque, multo minus de rebus religionis differere. Deest mutua charitas, deest candor, & ut suæ quisque ignorantia velum obtendat, non facile dat veniam alienæ. Nec dubia quæcunque licet proponere, nisi paratus venias te totum illis tradere, & in verba jurare, vel censuris onustus hæreticus abire. Non hoc de meipso queror tanquam aliquid passus ab iniquo amicorum iudicio; sed tamen jucundum est in proximo habere quem de maximis minimisque aperte & audacter consulas. Libri mei de Intellectu humano secunda editio distrahitur celerius quam credere possem, nec adhuc invenit dissertatio illa utcunque heterodoxa oppugnatorem. Utinam eo esset sermone conscripta, ut tuo uti de universis eo in opere contentis iudicio liceret. Urgent aliqui versionem, quærit traductorem Bibliopola, & sperat brevi repertum iri, nam mihi non vacat. Vix per valetudinem & succrescentia quotidie negotia licuit mihi, nisi lento gradu & intercisis temporibus, tuam perlegere historiam, quanquam legendi voluptas me vix patiebatur ingressum avelli. Bibliopola efflagitat tamen ut versionem recensere velim, ut si qua à meo sensu aberraverit corrigam, quod sane vix recusare possum. Sed quid his te tædio prolixioris epistolæ jam fatigatum detineo? Vale, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 26 Oct.
1694.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Magna cum voluptate tuas accepi & legi: etsi enim affectum erga me tuum nullatenus fuisse imminutum plene persuasus essem, nihilominus post tam diuturnum silentium literas tuas videre non potuit non esse gratissimum. Historiam meam Inquisitionis calculo tuo probari, est quod mihi gratulor. Scio iudicium tuum esse candidum ac limatissimum. In præconiis vero quæ addis agnosco propensissimum tuum erga me affectum, qui omnia quæ probas vero majora tibi repræsentavit. Ego veritati litare studui, & tribunal illud ita exhibere, prout ipsi doctores pontificii, imo inquisitores id nobis depingunt. Scio quidem, quando sparsim in ipsorum libris procedendi modus describitur, & fucatis coloribus palliatur, non ita patere ejus injustitiam & fœditatem, quam quando omnia simul inter se connexa nude, sine fūco, omnium oculis exponuntur. Non crediderim quenquam, nequidem ex acerrimis inquisitionis patronis, me malæ fidei insimulaturum; & si quis id ausit, statim autorum, quorum nomina margini passim adscripsi, testimoniis redargui poterit.

poterit. Sed quam dispari fato libri prodeunt! Tu historiam meam dignam judicas quæ in cujusque gentis linguam vernaculam traducatur. Romæ vero 19 die Maij hujus anni, edicto Cardinalium, in tota rep. christiana inquisitorum generalium condemnata est, ejusque lectio severissime prohibita sub pœnis in indice librorum prohibitorum contentis. Decretum hoc, quo & alii libri condemnantur, triduo post, videl. 22 Maij, fuit publicatum & affixum ad valvas Basilicæ principis apostolorum, palatii S. Officii, & in acie campi Floræ, ac aliis locis solitis & consuetis urbis. Sed mitiorem sententiam quis ab Inquisitione expectet, contra historiam, quæ artes ac crudelitates ipsius, quas occultas omnibusque ignotas esse cupit, à tenebris erutas palam totius mundi oculis exponit, tribunalque hoc non sanctitate venerandum, sed injustitia, crudelitate, fraudibus, & imposturis execrandum exhibet? Aliter enim, si vere describatur, exhiberi nequit. Quæ ego ex aliis autoribus, quos postmodum mihi videre contigit, annotavi, & quæ in posterum in aliis, qui forte mihi ostendentur reperiam, libentissime ad te mittam. Vidi quæ ex itineralio Du Mont annotasti, quæ optime illo quem designasti loco margini historiæ meæ adscribi possunt. Sed, ut ingenue dicam, valde dubito an narratio illius vera sit. Malæ fidei ipsum neutrquam accuso: sed fieri facile potest, ut peregrinatores non diu in regione aliqua commorantes, incidant in homines legum & consuetudinum patriarum non admodum peritos, nonnunquam etiam mendaces, ex quorum ore quædam veritati minus consentanea sine accuratiori investigatione annotant. Qualia multa in itinerariis eorum, qui patriæ nostræ mores & consuetudines describunt, observavi. Ratio dubitandi est: quia video omnes doctores pontificios, necnon omnia decreta ecclesiastica sollicite admodum urgere, arcana confessionis non esse patefacienda; imo ne hæresin quidem sub sigillo confessionis revelatam; solummodo sacerdotibus injungunt, ne hæresin confessio absolutionem impertiantur, sed omnibus quas possunt rationibus hortentur, ut in judicio coram inquisitoribus juridice confiteatur. Scio quidem non omnia quæ legibus præcipiuntur exacte in praxi Inquisitionis observari, & sub specioso confessionis non revelandæ prætextu simpliciores inescari posse, ut ingenue, etiam quæ inquisitoribus ignota sunt, confiteantur, quæ à sacerdotibus porro inquisitoribus revelari possunt, neque à tali impostura tribunalis illius sanctitatem abhorreere credo: attamen quia omnes ipsorum constitutiones, instructiones & leges, omnia illius ecclesiæ decreta contrarium præcipiunt, non id affirmare ausim, nisi autor sit probatus, cujus nec peritia nec fides in dubium vocari queat. Quare loco quem mihi suggestisti ex itineralio Du Mont, addi posset, si vera sit illius narratio, exinde evidenter liquere inquisitorum praxin sæpe adversari inquisitionis instructionibus & legibus; inquisitoresque unice tantum spectare, qua ratione miseros captivos per fas & nefas decipiant, atque ita fraudibus irretitos misera morte perdant. Post hæc scriptas tristis me de subita optimi Archiepiscopi Cantuariensis morte nuntius non leviter perculit. Destinaveram ipsi Theologiæ meæ Christianæ exemplar; pridie autem antequam tradi potuerit mortuus est. Ecclesiæ reformatæ tanto patrono, tam prudenti, perito, pacis amantissimo antistiti orbatæ statum doleo. Utinam Deus, qui potens est etiam è lapidibus Abrahæ filios excitare, alium nobis substituat, illi si non parem, quod vix sperare ausim, tamen vestigia ejus quantum fieri potest proxime prementem! Ille tibi & Dominæ Maltham vitam ad seros usque annos producat. Vale, & me ut facis amare non desine

Amstelod. 12 Dec.
1694.

Tui amantissimum,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Librum tuum à bibliopola & epistolam tuam 12 datam recte accepi, utrumque gratissimum, & quia tuam, & quia à te. Epistolam tuam à capite ad calcem summa cum voluptate perlegi, gratulorque filiae tuae nuperae talem illi obtigisse patrem cui nec mens defuit, nec viscera. Qualis inde fuit nonnullorum animus christiano homini esset mirandum, nisi inter hujusmodi zelotas christianae religionis diu versatus essem. Sed ubique ejusdem farinae homines reperire est, qui an salutem quaerant animarum, an evangelio quaestum faciant judicent alii; ego quod doleam, quod indignor hic illic undique video. Theologiam tuam Christianam quamprimum otium nactus fuero diligentius perscrutabor, his enim jam fere studiis mihi vacandum censeo, tantoque impensius me tibi vicinum jam opto, quod erepto nobis magno illo & candido veritatis indagatore (ut ceteras illius virtutes taceam) vix jam habeo quem de dubiis theologicis libere possum consulere. Quantum virum respublica anglicana, quantum columen ecclesia reformata amiserit alii judicabunt. Ego certe à multis annis stabilem, candidum, sincerum summo meo cum damno & desiderio amisi amicum.

Addenda tua ad Historiam Inquisitionis quamprimum rus rediero locis suis inferam novum amicitiae tuae monumentum. Recte mones de excerptis ex itineraio Du Mont. Nec enim ut reliqui tui scriptores (qua usus es cautione) pro teste citari potest, tum quia reformatus, tum quia peregrinus. Ego vero illius verba non inidonea judicabam, quae fidem facerent isti quae ex tota pontificiorum oeconomia enascitur: illos scilicet quicquid praeseferant, non omisso tantam rei suae bene gerendae & haereseos extirpandae occasionem, quae ex confessionibus possit oriri: nec aliter confessiones tacitas esse, si quid habeant momenti, quam ut laicis & quibus non opus esset, non evulgarentur. Haec ego raptim inter urbis negotia & laborantium pulmonum anhelitus, ut scires tua munera quibus me tam magnifice cumulasti ad me salva pervenisse. Si ita silentium meum ulciscaris, dubitari possit an non commodum fuerit peccare: scias enim velim de tuis epistolis quod de Ciceronis orationibus jure dici posse, optimam esse quae longissima est. Die Veneris novissimo ad urbem appuli, in hospitio meo inveni literas Clerici nostri 7 datas, quibus brevi responsurus sum, interim rogo ut illum Guenellonemque nostrum meo nomine salutes, utrique gratias agam pro epistolis mea manu ubi otium & solatium ruris nactus fuero, hic enim laborant pulmones, nec longam in urbe patietur valetudo mea moram. Uxorem tuam dilectissimam liberosque, Veenium nostrum optimamque uxorem illius saluto & Gravium Ultrajectensem, cui ego debeo epistolam, & illius humanitati nondum respondisse pudet. Vale, & perge ut facis me amare

Lond. 11 Dec.
1694.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Ultimam meam epistolam recte ad manus tuas pervenisse gaudeo. Autographum sententiarum inquisitionis Tholosanae Romani in manus meas incidisse mirantur: quod N. N. sacerdos quidam ab Episcopo Hollandiae ad ipsum missus ut libri possessorem ex ipso resciscat, affirmavit. N. N. imprudenter me eum à Furlæo accepisse respondit; verum alium ejus esse possessorem, cujus nomen ignorabat; aiebatque librum à te olim visum Monspeliis. Ego dixi N. N. librum à te in Gallia visum alium esse ab hoc. Addit ille, sacerdotem rogasse, ut ex me nomen possessoris exquirat. Respondi ego, me nomen illius ignorare; illud semel me ex fratre ipsius audivisse

viffe, fed penitus illius oblitum effe: & licet fcirem, inconfultum effe illud facerdoti indicare; quia hoc tam follicite inquiri iudicem, ut poffeffore detecto, ingenti pretio exemplar hoc fibi redimant, ac Romam mittant, ut ita occasionem habeant me falſi accuſandi. Idem ſibi videri aiebat. Addidi ego, optaſſe me, ut nomen Furlæi non indicâſſet: ſed quoniam vox emiſſa reverti nequit, nihil ulterius eſſe aperiendum; ſed paucis tantum reſpondendum me poffefforis nomen ignorare. Hoc in ſe ſuſcepit, ſed non recte ſervavit; nam ex fratre ſuo poſtea nomen hoc reſcivit, & proculdubio ſacerdoti indicavit. Nam à me rogatus, ſe nſcire ait, an indicaverit; affirmare ſe non poſſe, nec quod indicaverit, nec quod non indicaverit. Hoc cerum eſt, nomen ſacerdoti innotuiſſe, quia alius poſtea Furlæum, ad quem hæc ſcripſeram, acceſſit, & poffefforem nominavit, prout tibi Furlæus ſcripſit. Spero librum à re jam emtum, ac Furlæum illius eſſe poffefforem. Ita omnes illorum conatus irriti erunt. Laudo ego Furlæi prudentiam, quod à ſacerdote teſtimonium de libri authenticia exegerit, & ſacerdotis candorem, qui id tam luculenter dedit. Interim ſi forte exemplar ipſum naſti fuiſſent, & Romam miſiſſent, non video qua ratione volumen quod edidi ſuppoſititium dicere poſſent. Adeo enim ævum illud barbarum redolet, hiftoriasque ſingulares illius temporis reſert, ut tale quid à quoquam nunc temporis fingi minime queat. Præſtat tamen id in manibus non eſſe illorum, quorum intereſt myſteria hæc iniquitatis regi, & coram ſole non propalari. Vides hic duo adhuc additamenta ad Hiftoriam Inquiſitionis epiſtolæ huic adſcripta, quæ, ſi operæ pretium videatur, reliquis junges. Lutheranus quidam profeſſor Kilonienſis contra Theologiam meam Chriſtianam Exercitationes Anti-Limborchianas edidit. Ita Romæ & in Germania vapulo. Librum ſatis, ut audio, craſſum nondum vidi; ſed in Actis Lipſienſibus ejus compendium legi. Verum in ejusmodi antagoniſtam ego calamum non ſtringam. Non pugnant illi homines, quantum ex Actis illis mihi colligere licet, pro veritate; ſed pro recepta opinione, decretis humanis, & autoritate eccleſiaſtica. Orthodoxiæ illis norma eſt conſenſus cum doctrina Lutherana. Contra tales fruſtra diſputatur. Non enim operæ pretium eſt, ut inquiramus quid eccleſia Lutherana doceat, quod ex libris & decretis illius eccleſiæ ſatis notum eſt; ſed, an illius doctrina vera ſit, & à ſcriptoribus divinis dictata. Ita papatum ubique reperimus, & ſub ſpecioſo orthodoxiæ conſervandæ prætextu propria dominatio ſtabilitur. Sic orthodoxia ſemper penes potentiorẽ erit, veritasque alia erit Romæ, alia Genève, alia Wittenbergæ. Hæc incommoda vitari nequeunt, ſi humana placita orthodoxiæ *κατ' ἐξουσίαν* ſunt. Quæ in illis Exercitationibus maxime odioſa occurrunt Lipſienſes accurate annotârunt. Obſervavi hanc in illis malignitatem dicam an inconfultum zelum, quod ſi in autoribus quos reſcenſent quædam reperiantur aut convitia, aut inclementius in Remonſtrantes dicta, ea ſollicite indicare ſoleant, verbisque odioſiſſimis exprimere. Neſcio quo ſuo factò Remonſtrantes inimicitiam eorum in ſe provocaverint, niſi forſan liberiore veritatis inquiſitione, & diſſidentium fraternæ tolerantia. In ipſos enim calamum nunquam ſtrinxiſſimus, neque ego in eos ſcribam, aut me à criminationibus eorum purgabo; non enim me illis purgatum dabo, niſi me aliis, quibus jam placeo, ingratum reddam. Itaque ſilentio & contemptu illos ulciſcar. Sed aliud quid eſt quod te velim. Marcus Teuto in gratiam reverendiſſimi Bathoniienſis ac Wellenſis in ſe ſuſcepit verſionem vitæ Episcopii à me conſcriptæ in linguam latinam. Varia ego citavi ex epiſtolis eccleſiaſticis præſtantium ac eruditorum virorum, & ex actis remonſtrantium ſynodalibus, quæ cum à me è latino in belgicum ſermonem translata ſint, ipſe è belgico in latinum vertere non debet, ſed prout in ipſis libris latine leguntur exhibere. Deſtitutum autem ſe illis queritur, nec uſquam ſe eos reperire poſſe. Non dubito quin in multorum Anglorum bibliothecis reperiantur. Si tua opera eos habere poſſit à quopiam, magnum illi non tantum facies laboris compendium, ſed & verſionem efficies & meliorem & gratiorem. Ego, ſi quid hac in parte illi prodeſſe queas, mihi præſtitum agnoſcam. Vale, Vir ampliſſime, mihiſque dilectiſſime,

Amſtelod. 26 Apr.
1695.

Tui amantiſſimus,

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Quamprimum ego novissimas tuas 26 Aprilis datas acceperam, statim Londinum scripsi, & quantum in me est curavi, ut libri quos ad opus suum desiderat Marcus ille noster, sicubi reperiri possint ei suppeditentur. Eo diutius responsum distuli, ut quid in hoc & altero illo negotio Tholosano factum sit certiores te facerem; sed nec D'Aranda, nec alter cujus curæ librorum perquisitionem commisi, hætenus quicquam rescripserunt, sed ex eorum silentio nolim ego male ominari.

De autographo, an Furleii jam sit, rectius ex ipso quam ex me cognosces: non quod ego negligens ea in re vel otiosus fuerim procurator; sed cum per valetudinem Londinum ea tempestate adire non auderem, totum negotium amico nostrum communi commisi viro prudenti & sedulo, cui scirem rem cordi fore; & ne mora circuitu literarum per manus meas transeuntium officeret, post primum quod ab amico Londinensi accepi responsum, quo intellexi illum omnem navaturum operam ut rem transigeret, monui ut recte ad Furleium scriberet, ut ex illo resciret quod scitu ad rem recte perficiendam adhuc opus esset. Hoc ab eo factum nullus dubito: si quid amplius à me præstari possit omnem operam, curam, industriam me in eo locaturum pro certo habeas.

Quod de Oxoniensibus nostris dicis quanquam nihil fando audiverim facile crediderim: quod Kiloniensem adversarium negligis laudo, quodque ab aliis inter se dissentientibus vapulas tanto magis æstimo, veritatis enim sinceris & incorruptis authoribus sic fieri solet. Pro Theologia tua Christiana jam de novo à me tibi reddendæ sunt gratiæ, non quod bibliothecam volumine, sed me scientia auxerit. Hac enim hyeme in quo consisteret fides christiana diligenter apud me cogitando ex ipsis scripturæ s. fontibus hauriendum duxi, semotis quibuscumque sectarum & systematum opinionibus & orthodoxiis. Ex intentâ & accurata N. Testamenti lectione novi fœderis status & evangelii doctrina mihi apparuit, ut mihi videbatur meridiana luce clarius, nec quid esset fides christiana dubitari posse sincero evangelii lectori mihi persuasissimum est. Ideoque cogitata mea in chartam conjeci, ut eo melius partium inter se convenientiam & harmoniam, & fundamenta quibus inniterent, sedate & per otium contemplerer. Cum omnia in hoc meo symbolo sana & verbo divino ubique conformia videbantur, theologos consulendos duxi (reformatos videlicet) ut quid illi de fide senserint viderem. Calvinum adii, Turretinum aliosque quos ita id argumentum tractasse fateri cogor, ut quid dicant, quid velint capere nequaquam possim, adeo dissona mihi in illis omnia videntur à sensu & simplicitate evangelica, ut illorum scripta intelligere nedum cum sacro codice reconciliare non valeam. Tandem spe meliore tuam in manus cepi theologiam, nec sine summo gaudio legi cap. viii. lib. v. quo intellexi aliquam reperiri theologum cui ego non plane essem hæreticus. Ut in libro tuo legendo ultra pergerem nondum satis vacui temporis nactus sum. Nihil mihi optatius esse possit quam te videre, & te coram quæ commentatus sum legere & explicare, ut limato & incorrupto tuo judicio subjicerentur. Hæc tibi in aurem dicta sunt, nam me hoc tractasse argumentum tibi soli communicatum volo. Saluto Veenios, Guenellones tuamque imprimis familiam. Vale, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 10 Maij,
1695.*Tui amantissimum,*

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

U Tri nostrum diuturnum ac pertinax illud silentium imputandum sit, ignoro. Importunus sim, si à te negotiis publicis occupatissimo ad singulas meas responsum efflagitem, aut silentium tuum silentio ulciscar. Amicitia sincera rigorem illum averfatur, neque epistolarum æquali numero, sed fide ac charitate mutua constat. Interim dulcissimo consuetudinis nostræ fructu jam ultra annum carui. Ultimæ enim tuæ, quibus me respondisse memini, decimo Maij die anni præcedentis scriptæ sunt. Salutem mihi à te aliquoties dixerunt D. D. Clericus & Guenellonus, & literas mihi à te brevi scribendas nuntiârunt, quas tamen hætenus frustra expectavi; hoc autem negotiorum tuorum, quibus obrutus es, frequentia unice adscribendum ducō. Aliquoties tibi scribere gestii; sed veritus sum, ne importunior scriptio ab amico occupatissimo responsum minus tempestivum extorquere videretur. Nunc vero, cum munus tibi honoratissimum à primoribus Angliæ demandatum esse constans ad nos fama pertulit; silentium abrumpendum censei, ut dignitatem hanc non tam tibi quam Angliæ gratuler, quæ in collegio amplissimo una cum summis regni proceribus te assessorem habet, cujus consilia omnia prudentia, fide, candore ac sinceritate diriguntur, & communi civium saluti unice destinantur. Deus vitam tibi largiatur longævam, consiliisque tuis successum quem merentur concedat. Ego hic occupatus vivo; & tamen vix quicquam promoveo, non aliter ac si otio desidioso torperem. Arminii scripta inedita me occupatum tenent: promisi ego bibliopolæ Germano, me ea paraturum ad editionem; sed in scriptis ejus relegendis, ob characterum exilitatem & ductum lectu nequiquam commodum, tantam reperiō difficultatem, ut, nisi tanti viri memoria, & non exigua quam inde ad publicum redituram video utilitas, ingrati laboris molestiam levaret, jam operæ promissæ pœnituisset. Hoc opus ubi edidero, nullis amplius posthumis aliorum operibus edendis me fatigabo. Oculorum acies sæpissime intendenda est ut characteres exiles, & vetustate multis in locis ferme evanescentes legantur. Ita multum temporis impendo, non tamen eo cum fructu, qui temporis diuturnitatem compensare possit. Sed quoniam alea jacta est, pergendum est. Prodiunt de novo prælectiones in Jonam & Malachiam, quibus annectitur disputatio contra Judæos, in posteriorem ad Thessalonicenses, in secundum & tertium caput Apocalypseos; & disputatio contra Cardinalem Perronium: quæ cum opusculis antehac editis justum conficiunt volumen. Præmisit D. Caspar Brantius prolixiorē vitæ Arminii historiam, quæ multa hætenus exteris ignota continebit. Prodiit nuper apud nos tractatus Anglici, *quod Religio Christiana, qualis nobis est representata in scriptura sacra, sit summe rationalis*, versio Gallica. Illius autorem volunt multi esse amicum meum. Ego respondeo, mihi nihil de eo constare; & cum autor, quisquis ille sit, latere vult, nostrum non esse conjecturis, ut plurimum fallacibus, indulgere. Ego summa cum voluptate lectioni illius incumbo, & in præcipuo (quod toto libro, de fidei christianæ objecto tractat) argumento illi prorsus assentior. Hoc recte percepto, gravissimas ac acerbissimas in ecclesia christiana disputationes feliciter componi posse puto; saltem ecclesia, non obstante opinionum diversitate, pacem facili negotio posse restitui: ea enim quæ nunc à plerisque ut unicum ferme christianismi fundamentum urgentur, objecto fidei non comprehendere planum fiet. Quod unicum anathematismis, schismatibus, & odiis tollendis remedium est. Ego, ut videas me attente tractatum hunc legere, omniaque argumenta exacte ponderare, non possum, quin tibi observationem quandam indicem, quæ licet forte non magni videri posset esse momenti, tamen argumento autoris quo utitur pondus aliquod asferre potest. Cap. iv. autor ad suæ sententiæ stabilimentum adducit locum ex 2 epist. Joan. v. 7. quem optime ab ipso allegatum judico: verum versio Gallica ita eum exhibet, ut, me iudice, non exacte exprimat sensum qui in Græco extat, quique sententiam autoris validius confirmat. Qua ratione eum Anglice exprefferit autor, ignoro. Gallice autem ita extat: *Que plusieurs imposteurs se sont elevez dans le monde, lesquels ne confessent point, que Jesus, le Messie,*

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Messie, soit venu en chair : Quæ sensum hunc continere videntur, quod impostores hi non confessi sunt, quod Jesus, qui est Messias, venerit in carne. Græcus autem textus ita habet : "Οἱ πολλοὶ πλάνοι εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ κόσμον, οἱ μὴ ὁμολογεῖντες Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν ἐρχόμενον ἐν σαρκί. Quæ posteriora verba ego verito, non, *qui non confitentur Jesum*, qui est Christus seu Messias, *in carne venisse*; sed, *qui non confitentur Jesum Messiam qui in carne venit* : non enim est infinitivus in Græco, sed participium. Hic sensus est longe alius, & autoris hujus scopo multo accommodatior. Priore enim sensu hæc esse impostorum falsa doctrina arguitur, quod non confiteantur Jesum, qui est Messias, in carne venisse. Inde sequeretur, quod qui confitetur Jesum, de quo Johannes affirmat quod sit Messias (vox enim *Χριστός* per appositionem hoc sensu est legenda) in carne venisse, maneat in doctrina Christi, ut est v. 9. Atqui multi qui non credebant Jesum esse Messiam, credebant tamen Jesum, qui Messias est, in carne venisse. Si posteriore sensu vertantur, tum sensus est, impostores non confiteri Jesum Christum qui in carne venit; hoc est, non confiteri quod ille Jesus, qui in carne venit, sit Messias. Confiteri enim Jesum Messiam, est, confiteri quod Jesus sit Messias, seque illius discipulum profiteri; juxta Matth. x. 32. Illum autem Jesum, quem confiteri oportet, describit Joannes, quod sit ille qui in carne venit, & inter Judæos versatus est. Inde sequitur, quod ille in doctrina Christi maneat, qui confitetur quod Jesus, qui in carne venit, sit Messias. Et hæc est sincera fidei in Christum confessio. Eundem esse sensum puto, 1 Joan. iv. 2, 3. ubi similiter non reperitur infinitivus, sed participium *ἐκλυθότα*. Non est quidem hæc observatio tanti in hoc negotio, facit tamen ad genuinam textus Græci intelligentiam, & autoris instituto favet. In aliis autem disputationibus, quæ cum Mennonitis nostratibus instituuntur, maximi est usus. Sed tempus est ut abrumпам. Vides tibi cum homine loquace rem esse, qui, cum literis suis te compellat, calamo imperare non potest. Vale, Vir amplissime, & feliciter age.

Amstelod.
1696.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

SI omnes in religione eo uterentur candore quo tu usus es in amicitia, non majorem offensionem inter dissentientes parerent argumenta, quam inter nos nuper peperit diuturnum nimis silentium. Si epistolarum reciproca- tionem æstimem an tua major taciturnitas an mea dicere non ausim, credo me ea ex parte peccasse. Ea vero utcumque se res habeat, tu certe humanitate tua & ignoscendo prior effecisti, ut culpa omnino mea sit, eoque magis probrosam mihi sentio, quod tu & levissima quidem reprehensione abstinuisti: negotiorum excusatione qua pro me apud te usus es, aliquid momenti erga alium habere potuisset, certe tibi me eo nomine excusatum nolim, addere etiam poteram valetudinem tota præterita hyeme valde incommodam. Sed nec hoc quidem, quo minus tam charo tam fido amico scriberem, impedimento esse non debuit. Vis rem ipsam ut tibi scriberem, semper quæro tempus omnino vacuum, animumque ab aliis curis & cogitationibus liberum; hoc cum raro accidit ita ad voluntatem, ut non ad aliud & magis opportunum tempus rejiciam, de die in diem differendo annus elabitur, & tandem pudor culpæ superveniens tardio- rem reddit. Si hoc ignaviæ latebram dicas, non recuso, hoc certo scio imminutæ amicitiae, vel mutatæ voluntatis non esse crimen; & forsan ut omnia fatear, non expeditus linguæ Latinæ usus fastidium menti non bene se explicanti eggerit. Sed tua amicitia & benevolentia, Vir amplissime, omnia superat. Gratulationem tuam eo quo tu scripsisti animo, id est amicissimo, accipio: sed quid tandem mihi senectutis & valetudinis onere succumbenti cum negotiorum publicorum tumultu? Secessus mihi jam quærendus esset, & vel annis vel studiis meis quies. Hoc, si mihi credas, & magis aveo, & mihi magis accommodatum credo, sed

sed nescio quo fato quod alius ambitiose & frustra quærit, alii vel inscio vel etiam detrectanti tribuitur. Viri istius magni scripta inedita tua opera proditura gratulor reipub. christianæ. De libro Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verso, cujus lectioni cum ad me scripseras incubuisti, idem tecum sentio, contentionum & schismatum radices evellit quantum id potest religionis christianæ veritas & fundamentum, si id auctor recte explicuerit, ut mihi videtur; cum vero totum perlegeris, & tuam & aliorum de tractatu illo sententiam scire vellem. Theologis nostris tam conformistis quam non-conformistis displicere audio, reliqui ut sit probant improbantve, prout suo vel alieno innituntur iudicio. Quod monuisti de loco Johannis tecum sentio: idem est in versione nostra, quem in Gallica observasti error; sed ad rem facit, verum apposite magis textus Græcus, quem tu rectissime ut mihi videtur interpretaris. Vale, Vir amplissime, & me ama

Lond. 3 Sept.
1696.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Cltius tuis, decimo quinto demum Octobris die mihi redditis, respondissem, verum quoniam iudicium meum de tractatu Anglicano in linguam Gallicam verso petiisti, tempus à reliquis curis vacuum quæsi, ut tractatum illum elegantissimum uno tenore perlegere, omniaque illo contenta considerare & expendere possem. Maxime mihi opportunum videbatur tempus hoc hibernum, quo ab exercitiis academicis ferari solemus; sed & illud frigore suo acutissimo non leviter impetum scribendi remoratum est. Legi totum tractatum à capite ad calcem; nec unica lectione contentus, eum relegi. Interim huc perlatus est Actorum Lipsiensium mensis October, quo compendium tractatus illius pro doctorum illorum more nobis exhibetur. Primo aiunt auctoris illius Pockii nomen esse dici (credo eos incerto rumori temere fidem adhibuisse, & in nomine una aberrasse litera) tum compendio quod confecere omnia quibus aliquam auctori invidiam constari posse putant sedulo enumerant, ut systematum theologicorum contemptum ulcisci velle videantur. Extollunt magnifice Joannem Eduardum, quod præclare hætenus in Anglia contra Socinianam hæresin variis scriptis militaverit, librumque ediderit Meditationum quarundam de causis & occasione atheismi, hodierni præsertim sæculi; in quo passim auctoris hujus anonymi sententias, ut periculosas & à socinianismo ac atheismo non alienas perstrinxit. Subjungunt hisce compendium duorum scriptorum, quorum alterum brevis pro tractatu illo est Apologia; alterum Johannis Eduardi, titulo, *Socinianism unmasked*. Tu illos tractatus rectius me nôsti. Videntur dolere, quod meditationes Eduardi ipsis ad manum non fuerint; alias & illarum compendium habuissimus. Systema theologiæ me scripsisse nôsti: non tamen eo in pretio apud me systemata sunt, ut non hunc exiguum tractatum multis systematibus præferam; imo plus veræ theologiæ ex illo quam ex operosis multorum systematibus hausisse me ingenue profiteor. Sed vero theologiam auctor ille tradit nimis facilem, nimis laxam, quæ salutem angustis humanorum decretorum vinculis alligatam minime cupit; nec orthodoxiam ex sæctarum confessionibus, sed solo verbo divino arcessit. Hoc crimen est quod socinianismi & atheismi infami convitio à doctoribus systematicis traduci meretur: non aliter ac si, qui humana placita religiose adorare recusant, eo ipso omnem religionem ejurare censendi essent. Ego auctoris in hoc tractatu scopum summopere laudo; scopum suum feliciter assecutum esse, solideque ipsum quod intendit probasse iudico. Imprimis placent mihi duo: methodus accurata historiæ evangelicæ, quam cap. ix. tradit, & per quam varia loca in evangeliiis, in speciem obscura, feliciter admodum interpretatur: & perspicua illa deductio argumentorum, quibus ostendit cur D. Jesus Christus in terris degens, non expressis verbis docuerit

cuerit se esse Messiam. Hæc auctori huic peculiaria sunt, ipsiusque iudicium ingenique perspicaciam clare demonstrant. In iis autem plurima sunt, quibus præcipuum libri sui argumentum, quod est, fidem quod Jesus sit Christus, eam esse per quam justificamur, luculenter confirmat. Habes hic iudicium meum de tractatu hoc, quem & tertio relegere statui. Petis autem ut si quædam in illius lectione observarem tibi scriberem. Ego in tractatu adeo eximio vix quicquam quod tibi proponi meretur observavi; ita sibi penitus me habet assentientem, ut exigua sint quæ observaverim, quæque principali ipsius scopo nihil officiant, & quæ forsitan à me non plene intellecta sunt. Quia vero iudicium meum requiris, ego hæc qualiacunque tibi expendenda propono; non quia alicujus pretii sunt, sed ut morem geram tuæ voluntati. Statim in initio auctor dicit, super lapsu Adami fundatam esse doctrinam de Redemptione. Equidem certum est, lapsum Adami à Doctrina de redemptione non excludi: attamen & propria cujusque nostrum peccata ab ea secludenda non sunt. Plurimorum doctorum sententia est, Dominum Jesum nos liberasse è miseria in quam per Adami peccatum incidimus, & in eundem felicitatis statum, quem in Adamo amisimus, restituisse. Ego puto illos exiliter nimium de immenso Christi beneficio sentire, ipsumque ex multis peccatis, ut Apostolus, Rom. v. loquitur, nos liberasse, & ad statum multo feliciorum, vitam nempe æternam in cælis perduxisse. Huic addo: quod ibidem dicatur, Adamum per peccatum amisisse immortalitatem, & factum esse mortalem. Si immortalitas auctori huic significet, quod Adamus si non peccasset, moriturus non fuisset, & mortalitas, quod per peccatum necessitatem moriendi contraxerit; verissimam ejus sententiam iudico. Si vero immortalitas, ut vox illa proprie sonat, illi significet moriendi impossibilitatem, non recte dici puto Adamum fuisse creatum immortalem. Ego sententiam meam plenius explicui in Theologia mea Christiana, lib. ii. cap. 24. Verum hæc immortalitas, hoc est, immunitas à morte, alterius plane est generis quam immortalitas Dei: sicut & mortalitas, seu moriendi potentia, multum differt à morte, seu moriendi necessitate. Quare etiam minus commode mihi dictum videtur, p. 230. quod Adami immortalitas sit imago Dei ad quam conditus est: & licet concederetur, alibi immortalitatem vocari imaginem Dei; non tamen exinde sequeretur, quando Adamus ad imaginem Dei conditus dicitur, illam imaginem esse immortalitatem; non enim necesse est, omnia quæ alibi scriptura imagine Dei designat, ea comprehensa esse quando hominem ad imaginem Dei conditum dicit: sufficit eximiam quandam in homine esse qualitatem, respectu cujus imaginem Dei referre dici possit. Inter alia loca video, p. 232. citari ad Rom. cap. viii. 29. ubi dicimur à Deo præcogniti & prædestinati *ut simus conformes imagini filii ejus, ut ipse sit primogenitus inter multos fratres*. Putat auctor illa imagine cui conformes esse debemus designari immortalitatem & vitam æternam. Ego autem non tam vitam æternam quam modum ad vitam æternam perveniendi, quo fideles Christi similes esse debent, hic significari credo, nimirum per crucem & afflictiones: quam imaginem Dominus discipulis indicat, Luc. xxiv. 26. *Nonne oportuit Christum ista pati, atque intrare in gloriam suam?* Hanc explicationem totius capitis series evincit: jam enim, v. 17. dixerat, *hæredes sumus Dei, co-hæredes autem Christi, siquidem cum ipso patimur, ut una cum ipso glorificemur*. Ea-que occasione multus est ut fideles hortetur ad crucem & afflictiones evangelii causa sustinendas, inter alia argumento à voluntate divina petito, quod per crucem nos ad salutem velit perducere: & ne id ipsis absolum videatur, Deum, quos diligit, tot dura in hoc mundo immittere, exemplum illis Christi proponit, cujus imagini ut sint conformes Deus eos prædestinavit, & consequenter ad crucem ferendam vocavit: & in sequentibus porro ostendit, illas afflictiones non posse ipsos separare ab amore Dei, quo ipsos in Christo complectitur. Hinc & scriptura passim aliis locis inculcat, nos gloriæ Christi fore consortes si & cum ipso crucem sustinuerimus, 2 Tim. ii. 11, 12. & præsertim, Heb. ii. 10. *Decebat ut ipse propter quem sunt omnia, & per quem sunt omnia, multos filios in gloriam adducendo, principem salutis ipsorum per afflictiones consecraret*. Et hoc potissimum argumento fideles ad constantem persecutionum tolerantiam hortatur, 1 Petr. iv. 12, 13. Heb. xii. 1, 2, 3. Hanc credo esse imaginem Christi, cui ut conformes simus Deum nos prædestinasse ait Aposto-
lus,

lus, Rom. viii. 29. consentaneè iis quæ leguntur Act. xiv. 22. 2 Tim. iii. 12. Pag. 246. ait autor sibi non occurrere quod D. Jesus ipse sibi tribuat titulum Sacerdotis, aut mentionem faciat ullius rei quæ ad sacerdotium refertur. Munus Christi sacerdotale in apostolorum epistolis, & præcipue in epistola ad Hebræos nobis plenius esse descriptum manifestum est; nec negari potest D. Jesum nusquam in evangeliiis sibi sacerdotis titulum tribuere: attamen negandum non videtur quod sibi alicubi actionem sacerdotalem tribuat: diserte enim ait, se *animam suam* *ἀντὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων* daturum, Matth. xx. 28. Sanguinem suum vocat *sanguinem novi fœderis, qui pro multis effunditur in remissionem peccatorum*, Matth. xxvi. 27. Negare non possumus hunc esse actum qui ad sacerdotium respectum habet. Quare fortasse præstitisset id præteriisse, neque hominibus calumniandi occasionem quærentibus quicquam suppeditasse quod cum specie aliqua carpere posse videatur. Præter hæc in tractatu hoc quædam mihi occurrere videntur, quæ vix inter se conciliari possunt, nisi forte autor mentem suam plenius explicet. Pag. 13. ait, Cum Adam pulsus sit è paradiso terrestri, omnisque ejus posteritas ea propter nascatur extra hunc deliciarum locum; inde naturaliter sequi debet, omnes homines morituros, & in æternum sub potentia mortis mansuros, atque ita penitus fore perditos: ex eo statu autem omnes per Christum liberatos docet, & quidem per legem fidei, quam postea fufe ostendit evangelio contineri. Hæc meo judicio vere dicuntur: verum non satis capio, quomodo cum his bene conciliantur quæ leguntur, pag. 250, & 266. quod qui justi sunt non indigent gratia, sed jus habent ad arborem vitæ. Illi enim quatenus Adami posterii, etiam sub potentia mortis æternum manere debent: quomodo ergo per suam justitiam jus possunt acquirere ad arborem vitæ, ita ut nulla gratia indigeant? cum antea docuerat, omnes ex illo statu necessariæ mortis liberatos, & quidem per legem fidei: unde sequi videtur, liberationem illam non posse fieri nisi per legem fidei. Ergo non per perfectam legis operum obedientiam: nam è miseria liberare gratiæ est, quam lex operum excludit. Tum nec cum principio isto commode satis conciliare possum quod autor dicit, qua ratione illi, qui de Christo nihil quicquam inaudiverunt, salvari possint. Si enim per Adamum necessariæ ac æternæ morti sunt obnoxii, è qua per solam legem fidei beneficio Christi liberentur, non videtur illis sufficere posse, quod lumine naturæ aliquas fidei illius, quod Deus sit misericors, scintillas habeant; sed per illam fidei legem, quam Deus salutis obtinendæ conditionem statuit, servari debere videntur. Video doctores systematicos hic multum offendi: atque ideo neque acquiescere illis quinque fructibus, quos D. Jesum adventu suo in mundum hominibus contulisse docet autor. Ego in doctorum systematicorum gratiam nihil in veritatis præjudicium docendum judico; & si quid illi præter rationem carpant, indignationem eorum spernendam censeo: sed considerandum, an non majus quid dici possit & oporteat, quod ipsis licet non satisfaciat, minus tamen forsan offendet, & meo judicio plenius rei veritatem exhibet. Video fructus quidem indicari prophetici ac regii muneris Christi, nullos vero sacerdotales. Quid si ergo hic addatur muneris sacerdotales fructus; quod mundus Deo sit reconciliatus, adeo ut nunc per Christum omnibus omnino hominibus remedium paratum sit è miseria sua, in quam occasione peccati Adami, propriisque peccatis inciderunt, emergendi & salutem æternam consequendi? Hoc posito, puto explicari posse, qua ratione, salvis principiis ante positis, ii qui de Christo nihil ne fando quidem audiverunt, per Christum salvari possint. Nempe quod Deus illis qui (ut autor hic ait, pag. 292.) instinctu luminis naturæ ad gratiam & misericordiam ejus confugiunt, delictorumque resipiscentiam agunt, eorumque veniam supplices petunt, gratiam per Christum impetratam applicet, ipsisque propter Christum remissionem peccatorum & justitiam imputet. Atque ita beneficium, quod ubi Christus prædicatus est non nisi per directam in Christum fidem obtineri potest, illi sine directa in Christum, ipsis non prædicatum, fide consequantur per gratiosam imputationem divinam; qui favores & beneficia sua latius extendere potest quam promissorum verba ferunt. Ut ita omnium salus in sacrificio Christi propitiatorio fundetur. Puto hæc non multum à sententia hujus autoris differre, & iis quæ evangelio continentur consentanea esse. Ultimum caput per omnia amplector: omnia credenda & observanda ut salutem consequamur evangeliiis

evangeliiis & actis contineri credo; nullumque novum articulum in epistolis apostolicis superaddi: quæ alii novos fidei articulos urgent, non novi articuli sunt, sed aut magis dilucidæ articulorum jam antea traditorum explanationes; aut doctrinæ antea traditæ ab objectionibus præcipue Judæorum vindicationes, cujus illustre nobis documentum præbet epistola ad Romanos. Hæc sunt pauca illa quæ mihi inter legendum occurrerunt, quæque tibi expendenda propono. Fortasse autoris mentem per omnia non plene affecutus sum. Verum exigua hæc sunt, & extra principalem autoris scopum, quem argumentis omni exceptione majoribus eum probasse judico, adeo ut me sibi habeat penitus assentientem. Imprimis laudo quod tam candide & ingenue, nec minus solide, demonstrat resipiscentiæ & bonorum operum necessitatem, & per legem fidei non penitus esse abolitam legem operum, sed mitigatam. Ego illorum hominum theologiam non capio, qui fidem, qua nobis merita Christi applicamus, etiam ante ullum resipiscentiæ actum, nos coram Deo justificare docent. Hac enim persuasione imbuti facile mediis in sceleribus homines incauti sibi justitiam & salutem adscribunt, modo in se fiduciam minime vacillantem deprehendant. Et doctores improvidi hanc temerariam confidentiam alunt, dum hominibus impiis & sceleratis, modo circa vitæ finem fiduciam in Christi meritis firmam profiteantur, salutem sine ulla hæsitatione addicere non verentur. Hujus generis exemplum in nostra civitate recens, quod oblivione obliterari non debet, commemorabo. Præterita ætate ancilla quædam, ut heri sui ædes spoliare posset, noctu eas incendit. Mortis damnata fidem suam in Christi meritis verbis emphaticis coram ministro verbi divini, qui morituræ adfuit, prolixè professæ est: Ille sceleratæ non tantum indubiam salutis spem fecit, sed & postridie pro concione illius fidem prolixè populo commendavit, adeo quidem, ut dicere non veritus sit, se, sola ignominia excepta, talem sibi vitæ exitum optare; multis applaudentibus, aliis vero (non Remonstrantibus modo sed & Contra-Remonstrantibus) non sine indignatione talem Encomiasten cum suo encomio reprehendentibus. Verum tandem manum de tabula. Tu pro solita tua benevolentia prolixitati meæ ignosces. Vale, Vir amplissime, mihiq; semper venerande.

Amstelod. 26 Martij,
1697.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

INter negotia publica & privatam valetudinem tam parum mihi conceditur otii literarii, ut sperem diuturnum meum silentium, non ex imminuta omnino in te voluntate aut amicitia ortum, tibi, quæ tua est in amicos lenitas, excusatum fore. An tu mihi egove tibi novissime literas dederim quærere nolo. Satis egomet mihi culpandus videor, quod tam diu careo fructu suavissimæ tuæ consuetudinis, & magnus mihi dolendusque in curriculo vitæ meæ hiatus apparet, qui destitutus literarum inter nos commercio, vacuus ea voluptate fuit, quæ maxima cum sit, ex benevolentia solum mutuisque amicorum sermonibus percipitur. Præteritam hyemem cura infirmæ sanitatis rure totam absumpsit. Nisi quod negotia nonnulla importuna subinde irrepentia totum id quicquid erat temporis quod amicis destinaveram invito abriperent. Adeo ut non in tuo solum, sed & multorum mihi amicissimorum ære alieno sim, nec quomodo me redimam scio, si taciturnitas mea nomine negligentiae suspecta sit. Tu scio humanior es quam ut eo me condemnari velis crimine. Quanquam enim tardior aliquando mihi in respondendo calamus, animus tamen nunquam deficit, & si quando hac utor libertate, erga eos solum utor, quibuscum non solummodo vitam civilem, sed intimam solidamque amicitiam mihi colendam propono, quibus multum me scio debere, & quibus insuper cupio me plurimum debere. Ego nuper Londinum profectus

profectus post otidui incommodam & anhelosam moram præpropere reditu huc me recipere coactus sum. Hæc pulmonum imbecillitas me brevi spero restituet pristino otio. Valetudinario seni quid restat præter vota pro patria? Naturæ & imbecillitati cedendum est. Hoc mihi si concedatur, libri & literæ, amicorumque interrupta vel impedita commercia optima illa senectutis oblectamenta redibunt. Quid enim in republica literaria agatur, civili implicato vix scire vacat. Apud nos sane disceptationibus & rixis maximam partem impenditur scripturientium atramentum. Si disputantium fervor solo veritatis amore accenderetur, laudanda esset litigantium industria & contentio; sed non ita semper tractantur argumenta, ut ea ad veritatem stabiliendam elucidandamve quæsitæ credere possis. In mea de Intellectu Humano dissertatione jam tandem aliquid repertum est non ita sanum, idque à viris haud infimi subsellii reprehensum. Si quid ego eorum argumentis edoctus reprehensione dignum reperirem, gratus agnoscerem, & haud invitus corrigerem. Id cum non sit, rationem mihi reddendam censeo cur non mutaverim sententiam, cum nihil reperiam in ea à veritate alienum. Hæc mea defensio aliquam partem præteritæ hyemis, prout tulit valetudo, occupatam habuit. Sed quid ego te moror nostris nugis? Quid tu illic, vosque alii studiis utilioribus intenti agatis aveo scire. Næ ego iniquus officiorum exactor si à te festinatas postulem literas in scribendo ipse tantus cessator. Verum tu scio id facies ne nimis serio mihi irasci videaris. Vale, Vir optime, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 4 Mar.
1697.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

MENSE Martio scripsi tibi epistolam satis prolixam. Hac æstate cum viris aliquot primariis sermonem de variis habui: inter alia incidit sermo de tractatu de quo in superioribus meis judicium meum scripsi. Omnes eum summopere laudabant. Unus vero titulum sibi non satis placere affirmabat; tanquam nimis exilem pro dignitate materiæ quæ toto libro tractatur. Autoris hujus longe diversum aiebat fuisse institutum à plerorumque scriptorum consuetudine, qui exigui pretii libris titulos magnificos præfigere solent: hunc autem libro magnifico exilem præfixisse titulum. Oportuisse titulum aliquatenus respondisse dignitati operis, ut & ille posset lectores allicere. Alius vir (idem qui tibi antehac Sladam nostrum commendatum esse voluit, quod tibi soli dictum velim) se bis tractatum illum perlegisse aiebat: laudabat illum summopere, autoremque fidei christianæ objectum, quod præcipuum totius libri argumentum est, solidissime probasse affirmabat: unum desiderabat; nim. quod autor jam statim ab initio vulgarem de peccato originis sententiam rejecerit ac refutaverit, potuisse autorem intacta illa sententia, nihilominus præcipuum tractatus sui argumentum adstruere: nunc multos, quorum mentibus alte sententia illa insedit, lecto libri initio, antequam ad principale ejus argumentum accedant, offendi, atque ita præjudicium contra autorem concipere, ut sequentia non ea animi serenitate quæ requiritur, legant, sicque alieniores reddi: cum potius ipsorum benevolentia captanda fuisset, ut judicio integro expendant sententiam, veram quidem, sed communi theologorum appetitui minus consentaneam; qui omnes ferme fidei christianæ aliquid de suo admixtum cupiunt; quasi ea suo cœtui peculiaris sit, & alii ab illa excludantur. Qui error ut ipsorum animis erueretur, allicendi potius sunt, quam assertionem alicujus dogmatis sibi minus probati alienandi. Candide tibi scribo quid viri hi desideraverint. Hac occasione, ut fieri solet, sermo ad alia deflexit, & quidem quibus argumentis solidissime unitas Dei probetur. Idem ille vir primarius affirmabat, se argumenta quædam irrefragabilia requirere, quibus

probetur Ens æternum, seu per se existens, seu undiquaque perfectum, esse tantum unum. Desiderabat quædam in argumentis Hugonis Grotii, libro primo de Veritate Religionis Christianæ. Addebat, audivisse se tractatum tuum de Intellectu Humano in linguam Gallicam verti; multum se tribuere judicio tuo, ac summopere versionem illam desiderare. Quæsit ex me, num in illo tractatu etiam unitatem entis à se existentis adstruxisses? Ego me ignorante respondi, qui tractatum, utpote lingua mihi ignota conscriptum, nunquam legerim. Voluit itaque tibi serio per me commendari, ut si in tractatu tuo quæstionem hanc intactam reliqueris, illius adstructione tractatum augere velis, unitatemque entis independentis solide adstruere. Manifestum videtur ens independens, quod omnem in se complectitur perfectionem, unicum tantum esse: ille tamen hoc ita probari cupiebat, ut argumentum nulla parte laboraret. Ante triduum aurem mihi vellicari jussit, & à me quæri, an jam ad te scripisssem, & aliquid à te responsum accepisssem. Non credideram ipsum id tam enixe voluisse; sed quia video rem hanc ipsi cordi esse, scriptionem meam ulterius differendam minime statui. Rogo, si id negotia tua permittant, ut mihi responsum scribas, quod ipsi prælegere possim, ita tamen temperata tua scriptione, ut minime subolere ipsi possit, me tibi ipsum aliquatenus indicasse; posses ita respondere, quasi ego tibi scripserim, viros quosdam eruditos de hac materia differentes, ex ipsis aliquem, qui te magni æstimat, de ea tuum voluisse audire judicium, & ut quæstionem hanc in tuo de Intellectu Humano tractatu expenderes desiderasse. Vides quam aperte tecum agam, & quid ab amicitia tua expectare ausim. Hagam Comitum nuper excurri; salutavi honoratissimum Comitem Pembrokiensem, & per integram horam varios cum ipso, etiam de rebus theologicis, sermones habui. Virum in tam excelsa dignitate constitutum tantum in rebus sacris studium posuisse summopere miror. Ita sermonibus ejus afficiebar, ut vix per semihoram ipsi adfuisse mihi visus sim, cum tamen ab eo digressus integram horam esse elapsam deprehenderim. Ego viro illi excellentissimo longævam vitam precor, ut regni Anglicani negotia ipsius auspiciis feliciter administrantur: tibi vero valetudinem prosperam, ut cogitata tua orbi erudito communicare possis. Vale, amplissime Vir, & salveat plurimum Domina Masham. Salutat te uxor mea & filia.

Amstelod. 8 Octob.
1697.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

Lettre de Mr. LOCKE à Mr. LIMBORCH.

Monsieur,

SI mon nom est venu à la connoissance de ces habiles gens avec qui vous entretenez quelquefois, & s'ils daignent parler de mes écrits dans les conversations que vous avez avec eux, c'est une faveur dont je vous suis entièrement redevable. La bonne opinion que vous avez d'une personne que vous voulez bien honorer de vôtre amitié les à prévenuë en ma faveur. Je souhaiterois que mon Essai concernant l'Entendement fut écrit dans une langue que ces excellens hommes pussent entendre, car par le jugement exact & sincere qu'ils porteroient de mon ouvrage, je pourrois compter sûrement sur ce qu'il y a de vray ou de faux, & sur ce qu'il peut y avoir de tolerable. Il y a sept ans que ce livre a été publié. La première, & la seconde edition ont eû le bonheur d'être généralement bien reçues: mais la dernière n'a pas eû le même avantage. Après un silence de cinq ou six années on commence d'y decouvrir je ne sçai quelles fautes dont on ne s'étoit point apperçu auparavant; & ce qu'il y a de singulier, on prétend trouver matière à des controverses de religion dans cet ouvrage, ou je n'ai eû dessein de traiter que des questions de pure speculation philosophique. J'avois résolu de faire quelques additions, dont j'ay déjà composé quelques unes qui sont assez amples, & qui auroient pû paroître en leur place dans la quatrième edition que le libraire se dispose à faire. Et j'aurois volontiers satisfait

fait à votre desir, ou au desir d'aucun de vos amis en y inferant les preuves de l'unité de Dieu qui se presentent à mon esprit. Car je suis enclin à croire que l'unité de Dieu peut être aussi evidemment demonstrée que son existence; & qu'elle peut être établie sur des preuves qui ne laisseront aucun sujet d'en douter. Mais j'aime la paix, & il y a des gens dans le monde qui aiment si fort les criailleries & les vaines contestations, que je doute si je dois leur fournir de nouveaux sujets de dispute.

Les remarques que vous me dites que d'habiles gens ont faits sur le *Reasonableness of Christianity*, &c. sont sans doute fort justes, & il est vray que plusieurs lecteurs ont été choquez de certaines pensées qu'on voit au commencement de ce livre, lesquelles ne s'accordent pas tout-à-fait avec des doctrines communement reçues. Mais sur cela je suis obligé de renvoyer ces Messieurs aux deux defenses que l'Auteur a fait de son ouvrage. Car ayant publié ce petit livre, comme il le dit luy-même, principalement afin de convaincre ceux qui doutent de la religion chrétienne, il semble qu'il à été conduit à traiter ces matieres malgré luy; car pour rendre son livre utile aux deistes, il ne pouvoit point se taire entierement sur ces articles, auxquels ils s'attachent des qu'ils veulent entrer dans l'examen de la religion chrétienne. Je suis,

Londres, 29 Octob.
1697.

Monsieur,

Votre tres humble,

& tres obeissant serviteur,

J. LOCKE.

Vir amplissime,

Ne mireris quod lingua Gallica responsum à me sit acceptissimis tuis Latinis 8. hujus mensis mihi scriptis, liceat mihi me tibi excusare & negotiorum multitudine quæ orium negat, & linguæ Latinæ desuetudine, quæ expedite scribere prohibet. Hanc meam epistolam alijs vel prælegendam vel monstrandam ex tuis colligo: virorum præcellentium censura styli negligentia me obicere minime decorum judicavi. Quicquid enim tua vel humanitas vel amicitia in me excusare solet, alijs vel nauseam vel certe non condonandam molestiam creare potest. Scripsi igitur quod dicendum habui lingua vernacula festinatim, Galloque in suam linguam vertendam tradidi. Ex quo exorta est inter episcopum Wigorniensem (qui me quæsitâ causa aggressus est) & me disputatio: gens theologorum togata in librum meum mire excitatur, laudatæque hæcenus dissertatio illa, tota jam scatet erroribus (vel saltem continet latentia errorum vel scepses fundamenta) pia doctorum virorum cura nunc demum detegendis. Ad unitatem Dei quod attinet, Grotii, fateor, in loco à te citato argumenta non abunde satisfaciunt. Putasne tamen quempiam, qui Deum agnoscit, posse dubitare numen illud esse unicum? ego sane nunquam dubitavi; etiamsi, fateor, mihi ex hac occasione cogitandi videtur altius aliquanto elevandam esse mentem, & à communi philosophandi ratione segregandam, si quis id philosophice, vel, si ita dicam, physice probare velit; sed hoc tibi soli dictum sit. Uxorem tuam dilectissimam liberofque officiosissime saluto.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

GRatissimas tuas 29 Octobris scriptas recte accepi, viroque magnifico cuius potissimum rogatu ad te scripsi, prælegi. Res ipsa de qua quæritur à nemine sano in dubium vocari posse videtur: ipsa enim deitatis notio unitatem involvit, nec permittit, ut illa pluribus communis credi possit. Quare, me iudice, nemo qui attente secum considerat quid voce Dei intelligamus, pluritatem Deorum asserere potest. Quia tamen eam ab ethnicis asseri videmus, & contra eos scripturæ autoritate pugnari non potest, rationibus è natura petitis convincendi sunt. Quare ejusmodi requirit argumenta vir magnificus,

nificus, quibus solide demonstretur ens independens & perfectum-unicum tantum esse posse. Ex solide adstructa essentia divina unitate porro facili negotio omnia attributa divina, nostrumque tam erga Deum quam proximum officium deduci posse certissimum est. Cartesium dicit unitatem illam non probasse, sed præsupposuisse, Ipse sibi demonstrationem scripsit, sed eam aiebat subtiliorem esse. Et quia multum tuo tribuit iudicio, tua argumenta avidissime videre desiderat. Prælegi illi epistolam tuam: gaudebat, quod in ea affirmes te id præstare posse: tanto enixius jam argumenta tua desiderat. Dolebat tibi litem temere motam: quoniam autem, ne fortasse novis litibus & suspicionibus præter tuam intentionem vel minimam præbeas ansam, publico scripto argumenta tua proferre gravaris, rogat ut ea privatim ad me scribas, sub promisso silentii: ille hæc evulgare minime intendit, sed ad propriam suam instructionem, & in veritate confirmationem requirit. Duobus præter illum viris intima mihi amicitia conjunctis, qui priori nostræ conversationi interfuerunt, D. de Hartoge Fisci Hollandici advocato, & D. advocato Van den Ende, & præter illos nulli omnino mortalium ea communicabuntur, nisi fortasse & D. Clerico ea prælegi permittas, quod tui arbitrii est; ipso enim ignaro hæc omnia ad te scribo. Rem facturus es & viro magnifico maximopere gratam; & quod fidis solummodo amicis, & quidem paucis adeo, conceditur, cujusque nullum à me cuiquam apographum dabitur, id dispalescere non potest. Quinimo, ut tanto honestius apographum denegare queam, suaferim ut id in epistola tua enixe à me stipuleris. Nolim ego te genti togatæ, tanquam scepses fundamenta jacentem, magis suspectum fieri: plerosque illorum alieno iudicio, tanquam nervis alienis mobile lignum, præcipientes in laudem ac vituperium immerentium rapi certus sum. Cum tuas legerem lepida mihi incidit Thomæ Mori in sua Utopia fabella. Refert is, cum Raphael Hythlodæus coram Cardinale Archiepiscopo Cantuariensi doctissime de republica differuisset, legis quendam peritum commoto capite & labiis distortis quicquid dixerat improbasse, ac statim omnes qui aderant pedibus in jurisperiti illius ivisse sententiam. Cum vero Cardinalis Hythlodæi sententiam probabat, mox quæ ipso narrante contemferant omnes, eadem neminem non certatim laudibus esse profecutum. Simile quid tractatui tuo evenit, qui antea integro sexennio communi applausu exceptus fuit, nunc insurgente contra te magni nominis episcopo totus erroribus scatet, & latentia continet scepses fundamenta. Ita solet theologorum vulgus non ex suo sed alieno sapere cerebro. Verum talium iudicio epistola tua nequaquam exponetur. Quod vero linguæ latinæ desuetudinem prætexis quæ expedite scribere prohibet, plane me in ruborem dedit. Quale itaque tuum de me iudicium esse censebo, cujus stylus cum tuo comparatus plane sordet? Epistolæ tuæ omnes, etiam veloci calamo scriptæ, sunt non tantum puræ & tersæ, sed & vividæ ac elegantes; quæ si tibi displiceant, quid de meis iudices non difficile mihi est colligere. Nihilominus amicitia tua fretus, confidenter quicquid in calamus venit tibi scribo, benignitatis tuæ, quæ defectus meos boni consulere novit, plane securus: imposterum vero si ea excusatione uti pergas, timidiorem me in scribendo facies. Excusationem itaque hanc minime admitti posse facile vides. Si vero negotia tua tardius nobis concedant responsum, nolim nimia festinatione graviora negligas, sed tempus ad scribendum eligas minus occupatum. Quicquid & quandocunque scripseris gratissimum erit: interim si cito des, bis te dedisse gratus agnoscam. Dedit mihi hebdomade proxime elapsa D. Clericus tuum de Educatione liberorum tractatum in linguam Belgicam versum; pro quo dono magnifico summas tibi ago gratias. Uxor & filia eum attente legunt: ego, ubi illæ satiatae fuerint, integrum, quod & ipsis commendo, à capite ad calcem perlegam. Salutari te quam officiosissime iussit vir magnificus. Vale, Vir amplissime.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

HA C occasione mitto tibi quædam ex Paulo Servita excerpta, quæ Historiæ Inquisitionis inferi possunt. Ego autores quos nunc evolvere, majore cum applicatione ad materiam Inquisitionis lego quam antehac, & si quid, quod ad majorem illius illustrationem facere possit, occurrat, illud excerpere soleo, & historiam meam locupletiores reddere. Tu si velis aliis à me antehac ad te missis & hæc adjungere poteris. Quæ mihi ante triennium ex itinero Du Mont suppeditasti, ea quanto magis considero, tanto magis historiæ meæ inferenda judico. Licet enim leges pontificiæ secretum confessionis revelari vetent, multa tamen in favorem fidei sunt legibus prohibita; quas sancivisse videtur eum tantum in finem, ut simpliciores iis irretiti facilius caperentur. Itaque non tantum inquisitionis leges, sed præcipue gesta ac acta illius, quæ cum legibus sapissime adversa fronte pugnant, considerata censeo. Unum hoc expendi meretur, quod Du Mont ait, confessarios Melitenses obligatos esse Inquisitoribus revelare, quicquid ipsis in secreta confessione negotium fidei spectans confitentur homines. Secretas illas confessiones inquisitoribus revelari nullus dubito: legem de ea revelanda extare credere vix possum; fortasse confessariis hoc viva voce mandatur, licet nulla hujusmodi lex exret. Quibus accedit, quod sit homo reformatus, & peregrinus, qui inter peregrinandum hoc ex quorundam incolarum sermonibus hausit; quorum relationes quandoque valde esse incertas, imo falsas, ex itinerariis quibus Belgium describitur sæpius ipse deprehendi. Quare considerandum, quomodo ejusmodi cavillationes pontificiorum solide retundi possint. Quicquid vero hujus sit, digna mihi hæc narratio videtur quæ historiæ meæ inferatur, si scriptoris alicujus pontificiis non suspecti autoritate confirmari posset. Si quæ talia tibi inter legendum plura occurrunt, rogo ut & mihi ea impertiri velis.

Scripsi ante duos aut tres menses virum quendam eximium argumenta tua de unitate divina videndi desiderio teneri. Ego aperte & rotunde tecum agere volui, & quod mihi in mandatis datum erat celare non potui. Nolui ego graviora tua negotia inturbare, aut aliquid tibi molestiæ creare. Scio, si ab animo ac negotiis tuis impetrare possis, argumenta tua viro magnifico fore gratissima, maximi enim & acumen & judicium tuum facit. Si vero negotia tua tempus attentæ ejusmodi meditationi, & diffusiori paulum scriptioni requisitum, tibi non concedant, aut aliquam inde tibi forte creandam molestiam verearis (de quo tamen te securum esse jubeo) ego à te monitus viro magnifico prout potero te excusatum reddam: velim tamen eo in casu excusationis rationes à te mihi suppeditari: malim autem, ut, si sine incommodo, aut incommodi metu possis, te viro magnifico gratiam hanc facere, ut materiam hanc, quam jamdiu animo volvit, tua opera explanatorem habeat. Vale, Vir amplissime.

Tui amantissimus,

Amstelod. 11 Martij, 16⁹) 98
3

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

DOCTISSIMAS tuas literas 21 Februarii datas, Martii 21. die recte accepi. Paucis id eadem die literis per filium meum tibi tradendis significavi. Attente tuas cum D. Clerico relegi. Ita judicamus argumentis invidis te unita-

unitatem essentia^æ divina^æ adstruxisse, nihilque in argumentatione tua desiderari. Verum nondum viro magnifico eas ostendendas censuimus, nisi sententia tua propius explorata. Est enim aliquid quod mihi imputandum credo, qui viri magnifici mentem non plane tibi aperuerim. Quantum ex ipsius sermonibus percepi, agnoscit ille quidem evidens satis esse, unum tantum hujus universi esse rectorem: sed argumentum desiderat, quo probetur ens, cujus existentia est necessaria, tantum posse esse unum; & quidem ut id argumentum à necessitate existentia^æ desumatur, & à priori (ut in scholis loquuntur) non à posteriori concludat, hoc est, ex natura necessaria existentia^æ probetur eam pluribus non posse esse communem. Narrabat enim, se cum aliis de materia hac differentem, dixisse, quid si tale ens existat, præter Deum unicum à quo nos dependemus, illud ens minime nos spectare, quia ab eo non dependemus; atque hoc nobis sufficere, ut Deum unum toto corde amemus & colamus. Sed tum disquirendum, an tale ens necessario existens possit esse præter Deum necessario existentem à quo nos dependemus. Si quid itaque ut viri magnifici curiositati plene satisfiat, addendum putes, illud expectabo: interim literas tuas sollicitè asservabo, ac nulli ostendam. Vale, Vir amplissime, & si quid in toto hoc negotio à me per imprudentiam forte peccatum sit, benignus ignosce.

Tui amantissimus,

Amstelod. Kal. Apr. 16 ^I *98*
19

P. à LIMBORCH.

Lettre de Mr. LOCKE à Mr. LIMBORCH.

Monsieur,

LA question que vous m'avez proposée, vient de la part d'une personne d'un génie si vaste & d'une si profonde capacité, que je suis confus de l'honneur qu'il me fait de deferer si fort à mon jugement dans une occasion, ou il luy seroit plus avantageux & plus seur de s'en rapporter à luy-même. Je ne sai quelle opinion vous avez pû luy donner de moy, seduit par l'amitié que vous me portez; mais une chose dont je suis fort assuré, c'est que, si je ne consultois que ma propre reputation, j'éviterois d'exposer me foibles pensées devant une personne d'un si grand jugement, & que je ne me hazarderois pas à regarder cet article comme une question à prouver: bien des gens étant peut-être d'avis qu'il vaut mieux le recevoir en qualité de maxime, parce que, selon eux, il est mieux établi sur les fondemens ordinaires que si l'on tâchoit de l'expliquer par des speculations & des raisonnemens aux quels tout le monde n'est pas accoutumé. Mais je sai que la personne, par qui je croy que cette question vous a été proposée, a l'esprit autrement tourné. Sa candeur & sa probité égalent sa science & ses autres grandes qualitez. S'il ne trouve pas mes raisons assez claires ou assez convaincantes, il ne sera pour cela porté à condamner aussitôt mon intention, ni à mal juger de moy sous pretexte que mes preuves ne sont pas aussi bonnes qu'il l'auroit souhaité. Enfin, moins il trouvera de satisfaction dans mes raisonnemens, plus il sera obligé de me pardonner, parce que, quelque convaincu que je sois de ma foiblesse, je n'ai pas laissé d'obeir à ses ordres. J'écris donc simplement parce que vous le voulez l'un & l'autre; & je veux bien, Monsieur, que vous fassiez voir s'il vous plait ma lettre à cet excellent homme, & aux autres personnes, qui se trouverent dans votre conference. Mais c'est aux conditions suivantes: La première, que ces Messieurs me promettrent de m'apprendre librement & sincerement leurs pensées sur ce que je dis; la seconde, que vous ne donniez aucune copie de ce que je vous écris à qui que ce soit, mais que vous me promettiez de jeter cette lettre au feu quand je vous prierai de le faire. A quoy je serois bien aisé que vous eussiez la bonté d'ajouter une troisième condition, c'est, que ces Messieurs me feroient l'honneur de me communiquer les raisons sur lesquelles ils établissent eux mêmes l'unité de Dieu.

La

La question dont vous me parlez, se réduit à ceci, *Comment l'unité de Dieu peut être prouvée ?* ou en d'autres termes, *Comment on peut prouver qu'il n'y a qu'un Dieu ?*

Pour résoudre cette question il est nécessaire de savoir, avant que de venir aux preuves de l'unité de Dieu, ce qu'on entende par le mot de *Dieu*. L'idée ordinaire, & à ce que je croy, la véritable idée qu'ont de Dieu, ceux qui reconnoissent son existence, c'est, qu'il est *un Etre infini, eternal, incorporel & tout parfait*. Or cette idée une fois reconnue, il me semble fort aisé d'en déduire l'unité de Dieu. En effet un être qui est tout parfait, ou pour ainsi dire, parfaitement parfait, ne peut être qu'unique, parce qu'un être tout parfait ne sauroit manquer d'aucun des attributs, perfections ou degrés des perfections, qu'il lui importe plus de posséder, que d'en être privé. Car autrement il s'en faudroit d'autant qu'il ne fut entièrement parfait. Par exemple, avoir du pouvoir est une plus grande perfection que de n'en avoir point ; avoir plus de pouvoir est une plus grande perfection, que d'en avoir moins ; & avoir tout pouvoir (ce qui est être tout puissant) c'est une plus grande perfection que de ne l'avoir pas tout. Cela posé ; deux êtres tout puissans sont incompatibles ; parce qu'on est obligé de supposer que l'un doit vouloir nécessairement ce que l'autre veut ; & en ce cas-là, l'un des deux, dont la volonté est nécessairement déterminée par la volonté de l'autre, n'est pas libre ; & n'a pas, par conséquent, cette perfection là : car il est mieux d'être libre, que d'être soumis à la détermination de la volonté d'un autre. Que s'ils ne sont pas tous deux réduits à la nécessité de vouloir toujours la même chose, alors l'un peut vouloir faire ce que l'autre ne voudroit pas qui fut fait, auquel cas la volonté de l'un prevaudra sur la volonté de l'autre, & ainsi celui des deux, dont la puissance ne sauroit seconder la volonté, n'est pas tout-puissant ; car il ne peut pas faire autant que l'autre. Donc l'un des deux n'est pas tout-puissant. Donc il n'y a, ni ne sauroit y avoir deux tout puissans, ni par conséquent deux Dieux.

Par le même idée de perfection nous venons à connoître, que Dieu est *omniscient*. Or dans la supposition de deux êtres distincts qui ont un pouvoir & une volonté distincte, c'est une imperfection de ne pouvoir pas cacher ses pensées à l'autre. Mais si l'un des deux cache ses pensées à l'autre, cet autre n'est pas *omniscient*, car non seulement il ne connoit pas tout ce qui peut être connu, mais il ne connoit pas même ce qu'un autre connoit.

On peut dire la même chose de la toute-presence de Dieu : il vaut mieux qu'il soit par tout dans l'étendue infinie de l'espace, que d'être exclus de quelque partie de cet espace, car s'il est exclu de quelque endroit, il ne peut pas y operer, ni savoir ce qu'on y fait, & par conséquent il n'est ni tout-puissant ni omniscient.

Que si pour aneantir les raisonnemens que je viens de faire, on dit que les deux Dieux qu'on suppose ; ou les deux cent mille (car par la même raison qu'il peut y en avoir deux il y en peut avoir deux millions, parce qu'on n'a plus aucun moyen d'en limiter le nombre) si l'on oppose, dis-je, que plusieurs Dieux ont une parfaite toute-puissance qui soit exactement la même, qu'ils ont aussi la même connoissance, la même volonté & qu'ils existent également dans le même lieu, c'est seulement multiplier le même être, mais dans le fonds & dans la vérité de la chose on ne fait que réduire une pluralité supposée à une véritable unité. Car de supposer deux êtres intelligens, qui connoissent, veulent & font incessamment la même chose, & qui n'ont pas une existence séparée, c'est supposer en paroles une pluralité, mais poser effectivement une simple unité. Car être inséparablement uni par l'entendement, par la volonté, par l'action, & par le lieu ; c'est être autant uni qu'un être intelligent peut être uni à lui même ; & par conséquent, supposer que là, où il y a une telle union, il peut y avoir deux êtres, c'est supposer une division sans division, & une chose divisée d'avec elle-même.

Je me suis hasardé à vous écrire mes reflexions sur ce sujet, comme elles se sont présentées à mon esprit, sans les ranger dans un certain ordre qui pourroit servir peut-être à les mettre dans un plus grand jour si on leur don-

noit un peu plus d'étendue. Mais ceci doit paroître devant des personnes d'une si grande pénétration, que ce seroit les amuser inutilement que développer davantage mes pensées. Telles qu'elles sont je vous prie de m'en écrire votre opinion & celle de ces Messieurs, afin que selon le jugement que vous en ferez, je puisse, pour ma propre satisfaction, les examiner de nouveau, & leur donner plus de force (ce que ma mauvaise santé & le peu le loisir qui me reste, ne me permettent pas de faire présentement) ou bien les abandonner tout-à-fait comme ne pouvant être d'aucun usage. Je suis,

Oates, 2 Avril
1698.

Monsieur,

Votre tres humble,

& tres obéissant Serviteur,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Literas tuas postremas recte mihi fuisse traditas jam intellexeris. Statim eas viro magnifico prælegi: verum quia tunc occupatior erat, aliud designavit tempus magis opportunum prolixiori colloquio, quod materię gravitas mereri videtur. Paucis itaque abhinc diebus me denuo ad se vocavit; iterumque epistolam tuam legimus. Probat argumenta tua supposita illa quam adhibes Dei definitione: ens enim undiquaque perfectum, seu, quod eodem redit, omnes in se complectens perfectiones, non nisi unum esse posse manifestum est. Verum ille quærit argumentum, non ex definitione Dei desumptum, sed ex ipsa ratione naturali, & per quod deducamur in definitionem Dei. Hac nempe methodo instituit demonstrationem suam. I. Datur ens æternum, independens, necessitate naturæ suæ existens, & sibi ipsi sufficiens. II. Ens tale est tantum unum, & plura istiusmodi entia esse nequeunt. III. Illud ens, quia est unicum, omnes in se complectitur perfectiones; atque hoc ens est Deus. Primam propositionem, ait vir magnificus, te in tractatu tuo de Intellectu Humano egregie adstruxisse, iisdem plane argumentis quibus ipse in demonstratione sua usus est, adeo ut suas cogitationes in argumentatione tua expressas viderit. Tanto enixius secundam propositionem à te probatam videre desiderat: qua solide probata, tertia nullo negotio ex duabus prioribus deduci potest. Secundam ait, omnes theologos ac philosophos, quin & ipsum Cartesium, non probare sed præsupponere. Non dubito, quin mihi omnem suam argumentationem communicaturus sit; credo autem non id facturum, antequam tua argumenta viderit; ut tuas cogitationes, quas ipse es meditaturs, cum suis conferre possit. Verum hic ambigere quis posset, an non propositionum harum ordo mutari, & quæ nunc secunda est, tertia, & quæ nunc tertia est, secunda esse debeat: hoc est, an non, quando probatum est, dari ens æternum, independens, sibi ipsi sufficiens, exinde possit porro probari, illud in se omnes complecti perfectiones; quia fieri nequit, ut enti æterno, independenti, sibi que sufficiens ulla perfectio desit: atque ita probato, ens illud omnes in se complecti perfectiones, porro inferatur illud ens tantum esse unum. Verum huic methodo hæc obijcitur difficultas, quod deprehendamus esse duas naturas tota essentia diversas (loquor terminis eorum qui hanc movent difficultatem) cogitationem & extensionem: supposito dari cogitationem æternam & independentem, à qua ego dependeo, statuere quis posset etiam esse extensionem seu materiam æternam, sibi ipsi sufficientem, & à cogitatione æterna minime dependentem? sic statuerentur duo entia æterna; & tamen ex positione materię æternæ & independentis minime sequeretur, eam in se complecti omnes perfectiones. Quare primo probandum videtur, ens æternum & independens esse tantum unum, antequam omnes in se complecti perfectiones probari possit.

Quod

Quod si secunda propositio ens independens esse tantum unum non possit probari, nihil religioni, seu necessitati ens illud unice colendi, decedere videtur: quia ego totus ab illo uno ente, quod me produxit, dependeo: illi ergo soli sum obligatus, illud ex toto corde, tota anima diligere, illiusque præceptis per omnia obedire debeo. Si præter illud ens aliud forte existat, quia ab eo non dependeo, illud neutiquam me spectat, neque ego ullam ad id relationem habeo, neque id ullam in me operationem exserere potest. Imò, neutrum horum entium de altero ullam notitiam habere, aut ullam in alterum operationem edere posset. Quoniam enim sibi ipsi est sufficiens, ergo nec per alterius positionem aut remotionem ullam acquirere potest majorem perfectionem, aut de sua perfectione quicquam amittere; alias sibi non esset sufficiens. Licet itaque veritatis scrutatori summopere gratum sit, evidenter demonstrare posse, ens independens esse tantum unum: si tamen forte contingat, illud evidenter demonstrari non posse, nihil tamen religionis necessitati & perfectioni propterea decessurum videtur, quoniam ens à quo ego dependeo est tantum unum. Hæc fuit sermonum viri magnifici summa, quantum ego mentem ejus percepi.

Ego argumentationis tuæ filium, in tractatu tuo de Intellectu Humano non legi. Probasse te, ens aliquod esse à quo dependes, illudque ens esse æternum & sibi ipsi sufficiens, nullus dubito. Argumentum quo id probatur evidens est & clarum. Verum an ibidem probaveris, te ab uno ente tantum dependere, neque fieri posse ut à pluribus dependeas, ignoro. Argumentatio viri magnifici quidem infert, me ab ente æterno dependere; sed nondum vidi ab ipso probatum ab uno tantum ente me dependere: quod tamen spectat primam propositionem. Nam in secunda ponitur, præter illud ens æternum à quo ego dependeo, aliud nullum esse ens æternum. Itaque similiter hic præsupponi videtur, me ab uno tantum ente dependere, saltem id nondum distincte probatum audiui: quod tamen primo probandum videtur, antequam ad probationem propositionis secundæ procedatur. Tum & despiciendum, an quidem ratio permittat, supponi materiam æternam ac sibi sufficientem: si enim ens sibi sufficiens & æternum, necessario sit omni modo perfectum; sequitur, materiam, quæ iners est substantia, omni motu ac vita destituta, non posse concipi æternam ac sibi sufficientem.

Voluit Vir magnificus, ut tibi distinctius, qualem desideret probationem, præscriberem: verbis suis te quam officiosissime salutari jussit; pro suscepto in sui gratiam labore gratias agit: dolet valetudinem tuam afflictam; & si ea minus permittat subtilioribus indulgere cogitationibus, minime cupit ut te fatiges meditationibus, tibi ob valetudinem afflictionem molestis, aut valetudini noxiis. Precatur interim tibi valetudinem firmam ac vegetam; & si ea permittat, ut de propositionis secundæ, prout nunc à me ex mente illius proposita est, judicium tuum scribas, rem facies ipsi gratissimam. Tu ipse judicabis de illius methodo, & quid rescribendum sit. Hoc unum addo, ipsum lecta tua epistola nullum illius apographum petiisse, sed conditionibus, quas stipularis, acquievisse: & si petiisset, ego modeste negâssem: verum ea est humanitate, ut hoc à me flagitare noluerit. Verum tandem tempus est manum de tabula tollere. Vale, Vir amplissime.

Amstelod. 16 Maij,
1698.

Tui amantissimu,

P. à LIMBORCH.

*Lettre de Mr. LOCKE à Mr. LIMBORCH.**Monsieur,*

SI ma santé ne me permettoit pas de satisfaire commodément l'envie que j'ai d'exécuter les ordres de ce grand homme qui reçois si favorablement mes reflexions, toutes mediocres qu'elles sont, il est pourtant vray que je ne saurois la sacrifier pour une meilleure occasion que celle qui me porte à examiner le sujet où il m'a engagé, & qui me fournit le moyen de luy faire voir combien je suis prêt à luy obeir. Mais je ne prétens pas qu'en cette rencontre il me soit obligé d'un tel sacrifice; car si je ne hazarde point ma reputation auprès de luy, je suis fort assuré que ma santé ne sera point interessée par ce que je vais écrire. Ayant à faire à un homme qui raisonne si nettement, & qui a si bien approfondi cette matiere, je n'aurai pas besoin de parler beaucoup pour me faire entendu. Son extreme penetration luy fera sentir d'abord le fondement de la preuve que je vais proposer, de sorte que, sans qu'il soit necessaire que je m'engage dans de longues deductions, il pourra juger si elle est bien ou mal fondée.

Je ne puis m'empêcher de remarquer l'exactitude de son jugement par rapport à l'ordre qu'il a donné à ses propositions, & il est vray comme il l'a fort bien remarqué qu'en mettant la troisieme à la place de la seconde, les Theologiens, les Philosophes, & Descartes luy-même, supposent l'unité de Dieu sans la prouver.

Si par la question qui me fut d'abord proposée, j'eusse compris comme je fais presentement, quel étoit le but de cet habile homme, je n'aurois pas envoyé la Réponse que je vous ai envoyée, mais une beaucoup plus courte, & plus conforme à l'ordre de la nature & de la raison, où chaque chose paroît dans son meilleur jour.

Je croy que quiconque reflexira sur soy-même, connoitra evidement sans en pouvoir douter le moins du monde, qu'il y a eû de toute éternité un Etre intelligent. Je croy encore qu'il est évident à tout homme qui pense, qu'il y a aussi un Etre infini. Or je dis qu'il ne peut y avoir qu'un Etre infini, & que cet Etre infini doit être aussi l'Etre éternel; parce que, ce qui est infini doit avoir été infini de toute éternité, car aucunes additions faites dans le temps, ne sauroient rendre une chose infinie, si elle ne l'est pas en elle-même, & par elle-même, de toute éternité. Telle étant la nature de l'infini qu'on n'en peut rien ôter, & qu'on n'y peut rien ajouter. D'où il s'ensuit que l'infini ne sauroit être separé en plus d'un, ni être qu'un.

C'est là, selon moy, une preuve *à priori* que l'Etre éternel independent n'est qu'un; & si nous y joignons l'idée de toutes les perfections possibles, nous avons alors l'idée d'un Dieu éternel, infini, omniscient, & tout-puissant, &c.

Si ce raisonnement s'accorde avec les notions de l'excellent homme qui doit le voir, j'en serai extremement satisfait. Et s'il ne s'en accommode pas, je regarderai comme une grande faveur s'il veut bien me communiquer sa preuve que je tiendrai secrette, ou que je communiquerai comme venant de sa part, selon qu'il le jugera à propos. Je vous prie de l'assurer de mes tres humbles respects. Je suis, &c.

Oates, 21 May,
1698.

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Viro magnifico postremas tuas ostendi: illo pro labore rogatu suo à te suscepto maximas agit gratias: non tamen in tua argumentatione acquiescit. Methodus illius primo loco probat, dari ens aliquod per se existens ac sibi sufficiens: deinde, illud ens esse tantum: tertio, illud ens in se com-

complecti omnes perfectiones, ac proinde esse Deum. Tu vero in tua argumentatione præsupponis, omni homini attente meditante evidens esse dari ens infinitum, cui nihil addi aut demi potest: atqui id idem ipsi est ac supponere, dari ens undiquaque perfectum: quæ est tertia ipsius thesis; adeo ut ex præsupposita illius thesi tertia probes secundam: cum secunda prius probari debeat, antequam ex illa possit concludi tertia. Hæc fuit causa cur ego tibi considerandum dederim, an non ordo illius mutari debeat, & quæ illius tertia est non debeat esse secunda thesis: verum ut argumentatio procedat, non deberet ea thesis præsupponi, sed ex prima thesi probari: aut si illius methodus placeat, deberet prius ex eo, quod sit ens æternum ac sibi sufficiens probari illud esse unum; & hoc probato porro exinde deduci illud esse infinitum, seu undiquaque perfectum. Argumentationem suam mihi nondum communicavit: an communicaturus sit, valde dubito. Idem ipsum qui te scrupulus retinet: metuit iniquas theologorum censuras, qui omnia è schola sua non hausta, atro carbone notare, ac infami exosissimarum hæresium nomenclatura traducere solet. Tentabo tamen, an prolixiore colloquio, quod mecum instituere velle dixit, aliquatenus elicere possim, quod scripto tradere gravatur. Vale, Vir amplissime.

Amstelod. Cal. Jul.
1698.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

POst ultimum meum cum viro magnifico colloquium nulla ipsum conveniendi occasio fuit: aliquamdiu febricula laboravit. Colloquium habui cum quodam illius amico, qui inter alia dixit, minime sibi probari viri magnifici argumentationem, qua contendit, si supponamus dari cogitationem per se existentem, & præterea extensionem seu materiam, quod neutra ullam alterius possit habere cognitionem: extensionem quidem (aiebat) nullam habituram cognitionem cogitationis; fieri autem non posse, quin cogitatio cognitionem sit habitura extensionis: quia cum cogitatio per se existat, sibi que sit sufficiens, etiam est infinita; ac proinde vi infinitæ suæ cogitationis necessario cognoscit extensionem existentem. Sed cum regererem, virum magnificum improbare methodum, qua enti per se existenti sibi que sufficienti probantur inesse alia attributa, antequam probatum sit illud esse tantum unicum; respondebat, necessario de tali ente debere affirmari illud esse infinitum, sed in sua natura; cogitationem quidem esse infinitæ scientiæ; materiam infinitæ extensionis, si quidem per se existat. Sed inde sequi colligebam, etiam alia attributa posse probari: probata enim infinitate, etiam probari posse alia illi inesse, sine quibus infinitas concepere nequit. Quod non negavit. Atque ita mecum sentire videbatur unitatem ejusmodi entis tali methodo frustra quari, sed oportere thesin secundam esse tertiam. Crediderim ego virum magnificum hanc sibi investigandæ veritati præscripsisse methodum, & cum ipse quæ sibi satisfaciunt argumenta invenire nequeat, ea apud alios quærere. Difficile mihi videtur probatu, ens necessitate naturæ suæ existens esse tantum unum, antequam ex necessaria existentia, alia, quæ eam necessario comitantur, attributa deduxeris. Si vir magnificus ea habeat, operæ pretium foret ea erudito orbi communicare.

Nuper professor Vander Weeyen tractatulum quendam Rittangelix edidit, illique prolixam ac virulentam contra D. Clericum præfixit præfationem, qua explicationem initii evangelii Joannis à D. Clerico editam, refutare conatur. Ego æquitatem & judicium in illo scripto desidero. In fine etiam contra me insurgit, verum paucis, quia in Theologia mea Christiana scripsi Burmannum pleraque, quæ in sua Synopsi Theologiæ habet de omnipotentia divina, descripsisse ex Spinozæ Cogitatis Metaphysicis. Ille non negat, sed contendit Burmannum propterea non esse Spinosistam, quod ego nusquam scripsi.

634 *Familiar* LETTERS *between* Mr. LOCKE,

scripsi. Neuter nostrum tam inepto scriptori quicquam reponet. Dedi ante paucas hebdomadas N. N. literas ad te perferendas; verum ille adhuc Roterodami commoratur: vir est eruditus & moribus probatis. Non tu ex eorum es genere, qui viri, non per omnia tecum in religione sentientis, alloquium horreas. Ille quando advenerit de statu nostro plura dicere poterit. Hac hebdomade D. Guenellonus me tuis verbis salutavit, quodque postremis meis literis nondum responderis excusavit. Gratissimæ mihi semper sunt literæ tuæ, & quanto crebriores tanto gratiores; sed non sum importunus adeo exactor, ut cum meliorum laborum dispendio eas à te flagitem. Scio responsi tarditatem non oblivioni mei, sed negotiis, quibus obrueris, adscribendam. Spem fecit Guenellonus nonnullam professionis tuæ instante hyeme in Galliam, & reditus tui in Angliam per Hollandiam nostram. Si id confirmandæ valetudini inservire queat, opto summis votis, ut iter hoc perficias, ut tui post tam diuturnam absentiam videndi & amplectendi, & fortasse ultimum valedicendi occasio detur. Vale,

Amstelod. 12 Sept.
1698.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Lond. 4 Oct. 1698.

ROgo ut magnificum virum meo nomine adeas, dicasque me magnopere rogare ut suam methodum, qua unitatem entis per se existentis sibi que sufficientis adstruit, mihi indicare velit: quandoquidem mea ea de re argumentandi ratio ipsi non penitus satisfaciatur. Nolle ego in re tanti momenti falso vel fallaci innixus fundamento mihi imponere. Si quid stabilius, si quid rectius noverit, ut candidus impertiri velit enixe rogo. Si testum, si tacitum velit, pro me meoque silentio spondeas. Sin tantum beneficium orbi non invidet, in proxima, quæ jam instat, libri mei editione palam faciam, agnito, si libet, vel velato auctore.

Cartesianorum quam in epistola tua reperio loquendi formulam nullatenus capio. Quid enim sibi velit cogitatio infinita, plane me fugit. Nullo enim modo mihi in animum inducere possum cogitationem per se existere, sed rem vel substantiam cogitantem, eamque esse de qua affirmari possit esse vel finitam vel infinitam. Qui aliter loqui amant, nescio quid obscuri vel fraudulentum sub tam dubia locutione continere mihi videntur, & omnia tenebris involvere: vel saltem quod sentiant clare & dilucide enuntiare non audent, faventes nimium hypothese non undique sanæ. Sed de hoc forsitan alias quando majus suppetet otium.

Quod de professore Vander Weeyen scribis non miror. Istius farinæ homines sic solent, nec aliter possunt; recte facitis quod negligitis.

Literas tuas quæ Roterodami hærent avide expecto & virum illum, cui eas ad me perferendas tradidisti. Ex tuâ commendatione mihi erit gratissimus. Viros probos fovendos colendosque semper existimavi. Ignoscant alii meis erroribus; nemini propter opinionum diversitatem bellum indico ignarus ego & fallibilis homuncio. Evangelicus sum ego christianus non papista.

Hucusque scripseram die supra notato, quo autem die epistolam hanc finiri permissum est infra videbis.

Quod velim cum me christianum evangelicum, vel si mavis orthodoxum, non papistam dico, paucis accipe. Inter christiani nominis professores duas ego tantum agnosco classes, evangelicos & papistas. Hos qui tanquam infallibiles dominium sibi arrogare in aliorum conscientias: Illos qui quærentes unice veritatem, illam & sibi & aliis, argumentis solum rationibusque persuasam volunt; aliorum erroribus faciles, suæ imbecillitatis haud immemores; veniam fragilitati & ignorantiae humanæ dantes petentesque vicissim.

Hyems

Hyems jam ingravescent & pulmonibus meis infesta me brevi urbe expellet; & abitum suadet invalescent tussis & anhelitus. Iter in Galliam dudum propositum languescere videtur: quid fiet nescio, sed ubicunque fuero totus ubique tuus sum. Saluto Uxorem tuam optimam liberosque amicosque nostros communes Veeneos, Guenellones, Clericos. Accepi nuper à D^o Guenellone epistolam 3 Octobris datam, pro qua nunc per te gratias reddere cupio, ipsi primà data occasione responsurus. Vale, Vir amicissime, & me ama

Tui amantissimum,

18 Octob.

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S.P.D.

Amplissime Vir,

Q UOD literis tuis hætenus non responderim valetudo minus prospera in causa fuit. Aliquot hebdomadibus febricula laboravi, accessere dolores colici acres admodum ac vehementes. Tandem benignitate divina convaleui, & ad intermissa studia reversus sum.

Cartesianam illam loquendi formulam ego tecum non capio; cogitationem enim per se existentem non percipio, sed quidem substantiam cogitantem: verum ne sententiam suam minus candide proponi querantur, iisdem quibus illi eam explicant verbis uti necesse habui: ego autem quando me explico, ita loqui non soleo.

Quæ de christianis evangelicis & papistis differis, optima sunt & verissima. Ego utramque classem in omnibus christianorum sectis reperiri credo. Nul- lum enim cœtum ita prorsus corruptum mihi persuadeo, ut nemo in tanto numero sit evangelicus; licet enim cœtus ipse professionem edat papismi, nonnullos tamen in eo latere credo evangelicos, quibus dominatus ille in aliorum conscientias displicet, ac dissentientibus salutem abjudicare religio est. Rursus licet cœtus evangelicam caritatem profiteatur, non adeo in omnibus & per omnia purgatum, sperare ausim, quin & degeneres aliquot in eo reperiantur, qui professionis suæ obli- ti, tyrannidem animo foveant, libertatemque sentiendi quam sibi cupiunt aliis invident. Ita ubique zizania tritico permixta in hoc sæculo habebimus. Evangelicos ego quocunque in cœtu sunt amo ac fraterna charitate complector. Papistas licet ejusdem mecum cœtus membra, tanquam spurios Christianos considero, nec genuina esse corporis Christi membra agnosco, utpote charitate, ex qua discipulos suos agnosci vult Christus, destitutos.

Bibliopolæ Churchill traderetur fasciculus, quem ad te mittet, complectens Historiam Inquisitionis, quam cum epistola addita Francisco Cudworth Masham tradi velim: addidi tria defensionis meæ contra Joannem Vander Weeyen exemplaria, quorum unum tibi, alterum Francisco, tertium D^o Coste destinavi. Adversarius meus se reformatum vocat: an evangelicus an verò papista sit, tu dijudicabis. Amicorum hortatui obsecutus sum: verum bonas meas horas melioribus studiis destinavi, nec facile me istiusmodi scriptis inde denuo avelli patiar. Ut scias quo respiciam, quando de spatiis imaginariis ultra polos loquor, adscribam lineas aliquot ex tractatu quodam Weeyeni contra Spanhemium, quibus Spanhemio geographiæ ignorantiam objicit, ipse adeo rudis, ut discrimen inter gradus longitudinis & latitudinis prorsus ignoret. Hæc sunt ejus verba: † *Ridere in calce si lubeat, lege quæso Dissertat. Histor. p. 298. Americæ longitudinem protendit (Spanhemius) ultra 180 gradus. Forte pars ejus in spatiis imaginariis collocanda erit! cum hætenus ab uno polo ad alium non ultra 180 gradus ponant geographi. Arcticæ & antarcticæ terræ partibus nullus jam locus erit, ubi America ultra polos ignorantissime protenditur. Cave credas (Spanhemio) adeo crasse philosophanti, cum ad matthesin ventum est. Monitus ab*

† Spanhemii Epist. ad amicum, & necess. animadvers. p. 72. & seqq.

amico,

636 *Familiar* LETTERS *between* Mr. LOCKE,

amico, rescisso hoc folio aliud substituit; sed libellus jam toto Belgio dispersus erat, & in omnium officinis prostabat. Vide cum quali heroë mihi res sit. Hyemem hanc sine gravi incommodo ruri ut transigas voveo. Domino ac Dominæ Masham, totique familiæ officiosissimam à nobis dicas salutem. Uxor ac filia te plurimum salutant, imprimis ego

Amstelod. 9 Dec.
1698.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

L iteras tuas vir eruditissimus fideliter mihi ante duos circiter menses tradidit. Edidit Weeyenus dissolutionem Defensionis meæ, verum adeo dissolutam, maledicam, & nihil ad principale argumentum facientem, ut sponte evanitura sit. Ego nolo mihi cum tam impotenti adversario quicquam negotii esse. Ut exiguum aliquod specimen tibi referam, carpit quod dixi indolem, qua à litibus abhorreo, mihi esse innatam; atque propterea me criminatur quod glorier de propriis meis viribus, se vero omnia gratiæ divinæ adscribere jactat, idque duabus aut tribus primis foliis plus sexies reperit: talis farinæ totus est liber. Si dixissem me natura esse propensum ad odium Dei & proximi, fuisset illi orthodoxus. Hanc sibi indolem naturalem agnoscit: actiones vero ejus ostendunt, regenerationem (quam sibi tribuit) admodum esse imperfectam, partemque irregentam multum prædominari regentæ. D. Clericus edidit Gallice sua *Parrhasiana*, in quibus de variis disserit, & paucis etiam hunc hominem perstringit: verum accuratorem illius refutationem Latinam brevi editurus est. Prodiit etiam alterius docti viri tractatus, quem tibi in Anglia ostendit. Quænam de illo aliorum futura sint judicia brevi audiemus. Multa supponit tanquam certa, quæ mihi incertissima sunt aliis falsa habebuntur.

Legi nuper Camdeni Historiam Angliæ sub Elizabetha, in cujus Parte II, Anno 1579. hæc verba reperi: *Execranda Matthæi Hammonti impietas, quæ in Deum Christumque ejus Norwici hoc tempore debacchata est, & cum illius vivicomburio, ut spero, extincta, oblivione potius est obruenda, quam memoranda.* Velim Camdenus paulo distinctius impietatem illam indicasset, ut de criminis, quod tam horrendo supplicio vindicatum fuit, atrocitate constare possit. Scimus innoxios quandoque errores à theologis blasphemias & impietates execrandas vocari, ut crudelitati qua in dissentientes sæviunt prætextum quærant. Frustra ego hæcenus in autoribus, qui mihi ad manum sunt, exactiorem hujus Hammonti historiam quæsi: non dubito tamen quin ea in scriptoribus Anglis reperiri possit. Si sine tuo incommodo explicatiorem illius narrationem mihi suppeditare queas, rem feceris mihi longè gratissimam. Plura illius generis collegi, quæ in ordinem redigere statui, non ut alios traducam, sed ut omnes à sævitia in dissentientes, quantum in me, deterream. Guenellonus noster plurimam tibi salutem scribi jussit. Literas traditurus est nobili Muscovitæ ad te perferendas, qui propediem hinc in Angliam trajiciet, quod tibi significari voluit. Salutant te ac Dominum & Dominam Masham totamque familiam uxor ac liberi: Francisci Masham epistola mihi perplacet, sed jam non est respondendi otium: à tali indole egregia quævis expecto. Nominatim illi, ut & D^o Coste salutem dices à me

Amstelod. 23 Junij,
1699.

Tui amantissimo,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Literas meas circa mensis Junii finem scriptas fideliter tibi esse traditas nulus dubito. Indicavit mihi D. Clericus sibi à te missum D. Allix tractatum Anglicum, quo probare contendit, Paraphrastas Judæos æternam filii Dei generationem agnovisse. Nuperrime hic prodiit tractatus ante plures annos, ut præfatio habet, & argumentum libri clare ostendit, ab autore ignoto scriptus, qui duos scriptores Rittangelium & Voisinum, idem quod D. Allix asserentes, impugnat. Commoda mihi per nautam mihi notum oblata occasione exemplar illius ad Bibliopolam Churchill tibi porro tradendum mitto, ut hujus cum tractatu D. Allix collatione instituta, de tota controversia judices. Ego non video causæ principali aliquod creari periculum, etiamsi argumento hoc, ex Judæorum scriptis deprompto, propugnari non posset: nec ego tali argumento in disputatione contra Judæos multum tribuere ausim. Alia sunt majoris momenti, & quæ fortius stringunt: verum hoc sine occultæ cum fidei hostibus conspirationis suspicione affirmari non patiuntur orthodoxiæ semel decretis humanis definitæ, jurati vindices, quibus piaculum est vel unum argumentum, licet elumbe ac stramineum, modo à zelotis adhiberi solitum, omittere, aut de illius evidentia ac robore vel minimum dubitare.

Adfuere mihi nuper aliquot præstantissimi Angli, de quibus, an tibi noti sint, ignoro. Omnes mihi narraverunt T—— quendam, juvenem Hibernum, & ut audio, non magnifice de s. scripturæ divinitate sentientem aliquoties gloriatum de honore, sibi ab aliquot viris eruditis in patria nostra exhibitum: inter alia etiam amicitiam ac familiaritatem mecum contractam jactare. Miror quid hominem, nunquam mihi visum, quique ater an albus sit ignoro, moveat, falso jactare familiaria mecum habita colloquia. Quoniam autem justam mihi causam præbet suspicandi, similia eum de nostra amicitia in Anglia disseminaturum, hac occasione id scribere tibi consultum duxi; ut si quid simile jactet rumorem illum falsi coarguere queas. Antehac de D. Clerici amicitia multum gloriatus est; ipsum hunc bis convenit, sed semel in alienis ædibus: verum ita à Clerico exceptus est, ut de consensu illius secum minime gloriari queat. Sub prælo jam habet D. Clericus aliquot epistolas, quibus se contra criminationes Cavei, Weeyeni, aliorumque defendit. Semel hoc labore defungi cupit, ideoque pluribus simul respondet. Vitam Episcopii à Marco Teute in Latinum sermonem versam relegi: quædam emendavi; omnia autem si emendare cupiam res magni esset laboris: addidi etiam quædam, quibus Historia nostra exteris plenius paullo explicatur: verum quoniam non Remonstrantismi, sed solummodo vitæ Episcopii historiam conscripsi, intra cancellos rerum ab ipso Episcopo gestarum continere me debui. Fortasse versio illa, qualiscunque sit, brevi prælo subjicietur. Vale, Vir amplissime: salutem dices Domina Masham totique familiæ, à me, uxore, & filia, qui omnes tibi salutem præcantur.

Amstelod. 3 August.
1699.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Nudiustertius tractatum contra Rittangelium quem mihi misisti accepi. Benigne mecum actum erit si hoc nomine mihi ignoscas tarditatem responsi ad literas tuas tertio Augusti datas. Nondum mihi vacui temporis

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X x x x

satis

fatis datum est ut Allixii librum hoc de argumento aggrederer, qui mirus plerisque primo auditu visus est, quod trinitatis doctrinam è synagoga haurire præ se fert. Accingam me quamprimum jam per otium liceat ad utriusque lectionem; multi enim ut audio apud nos dictitant quæstionem hanc prius non intellectam jam primum in lucem produxisse Allixium, & suis fundamentis innixam mundo obtulisse. Quas partes hac in controversia habent Judæi, perpensis utrinque argumentis jam videbimus.

Hibernum quem nominas vanæ hujusmodi gloriolæ avidum ex aliis audivi; si de te tuaque amicitia aliquid jactitet apud communes amicos familiaresque meos, quam omnino tibi ignotus sit ex me scient.

Criminationes hujusmodi adversariorum quibuscum res est Domino Clerico an negligenda an refutanda haud facile est statuere. Quidam enim non aliud quarunt nisi calumniandi rixandique ansam. Non dubito quin amicus noster satis habet quod respondeat. Ego sane laudo tuum consilium qui placide juxta ac solide refutaveris quæ contra te maligne scripserat Weeyenus. De controversiarum quæ me aliquandiu exercuerunt eventu etiam si non multum habeam quod querar, piget tamen pœnitetque tantum temporis mihi suffuratum, quod aliis studiis majore cum fructu poterat impendi. Si quæ novæ oriantur vellicationes, eas in posterum mihi negligendas censeo.

Vitam Episcopii latinitate donatam lubens viderem; Belgica enim lingua non satis mihi nota, ut quam tu edideris legere possim. Non dubito quin multa contineat scitu & jucunda & utilia, sive mores privatos respicias, sive rerum eo tempore gestarum historiam.

Haftenus ad tuas 3 Augusti datas, sed qua excusatione utar cum respicio ad antiquiores, scilicet, mense Junio scriptas? Si delictum consuetudine delinquendi defendi possit, habeo quod dicam, nostri tarditatem meam hoc in genere. Fac ut soles, & inveterascentem in me delinquendi morem tu consuetudine ignoscendi vincas.

Cum in novissimis tuis de viro magnifico ne verbum quidem, amici tui opinionem pronus amplector. Operose ab aliis quærit, non quod domi habet; sed quod nusquam adhuc reperire potuit, & quod forsan reperiri possit.*

Tractatus viri docti quem in Anglia videram apud vos editus nondum ad manus meas pervenit: de fundamentis quibus tanquam certissimis superstratum censuit minime mihi satisfecit, cum de iis coram disceptavimus.

Exactiorem Hammonti historiam quæsi, nondum autem reperi quenquam qui eam mihi explicatius tradere possit, vel scriptorem aliquem indicare in quo eam reperire licet. Non tamen desistam. Laudo enim consilium tuum in colligendis hujusmodi exemplis.

Guenelloni nostri literas quas me expectare jusseras nondum vidi, nec nobilem Muscovitam cui tradenda erant ad me perferenda. Quo infortunio hoc acciderit nondum scio. Doleo interim mihi ablatam occasionem testandi quam paratus essem inservire peregrino, à tam caro amico adventanti. Illum uxoremque ipsius, socerumque ejus Veenium nostrum officiosissime meo nomine quæso salutes: imprimis autem uxorem liberosque tuos. Vale & me ut facis ama

Lond. 5 Sept.
1699.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

* *Mirum viros clariss. latuisse quæ super hac quæstione meditatæ est B. Spinoza. Vide Epist. 39, 40, 41. & Oper. posthum.*

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Licet nihil mihi literis tuis gratius sit, absit tamen, ut amicum plurimis ac gravissimis distractum negotiis ad singulis meis respondendum constriangi cupiam. Amicitia arithmeticam illam scribendi & respondendi proportionem non requirit, sed in prompto ac benevolo amici animo acquiescit, & bene secum actum credit, quotiescunque amicus aliquam à gravioribus curis respirationem nactus vel tantillum temporis, epistolio, licet breviori, impendit. Ego ex tuis te recte valere lætus intellexi: Deus hanc tibi diu continet valetudinem. Anonymi librum contra Rittangelium recte ad manus tuas pervenisse gaudeo. Ubi eum legeris & cum Allixii libro contuleris, rem mihi facies maximopere gratam, si vel tribus lineis iudicium tuum de utroque ad me scribas.

D. Clerici epistolæ criticæ, quibus pluribus qui calamum in ipsum strinxerunt simul responderet, brevi lucem videbunt. Adversarios habet parum candidos, & eorum quosdam imperitos admodum ac indoctos; præsertim illum qui ipsum & me non provocatus invasit. Homo ille omnium imperitus de omnibus iudicium pronuntiat, quæque minime intelligit magno cum supercilio carpit. Contra Clericum scribit, Philonem à Spencero vocari fabularum sterquilinum: verum quod Spencerus scribit de fictio antiquitatum biblicarum libro, Philoni falsò tributo, quique nusquam in Philonis operibus exstat, ille de genuino Philone dicta putat. Et hic heros adeo in Philone hospes Clericum malæ fidei in Philone citando accusare auder. Me sibi seditionem objicere putat, quando triumphum in spatiis imaginariis agere jubeo, innumerabili ex sæcunda gente Meneni turba currum faustis acclamationibus prosequente: ignarus sæcundam gentem Meneni non seditiosos, sed stolidos, quorum magna ubique copia est, designare. Clerico contra talem adversarium similem, quanquam non adeo gloriosum propter adversarii exiguum eruditionem, eventum, qualem tu nuper omnium iudicio consecutus es, prævideo. Scripsit de eo nuperrime ad me doctus quidam Anglus, qui me præterito anno vidit, his verbis: *Non dubito quin jamdudum audivisti de indubitata victoria quam amicus tuus D. Locke retulit de Episcopo Vigornienfi, in ejus responsione ultima ad objectiones Episcopi contra librum de Intellectu Humano. Episcopus eam vidit, nec multo post mortuus est. Sed etiamsi diutius vixisset, vix credo eum responsurum fuisse: omnia enim istic adeo ad vivum demonstrantur, ut nullus locus contradictioni relinquatur.*

Exactionem Hammonti historiam quærendo nolo multum te fatiges: si absque tuo incommodo eam mihi suppeditare potuisses, gratum fuisset. Credidi ego lingua Anglica exstare historias ecclesiasticas, in quibus hoc hæretici adeo horrendi exemplum prætermisum neutiquam est. Ejusmodi enim orthodoxiæ de hæresibus triumphos zelotæ in suis historiis magnifice deprædicare solent. Sed quoniam illud exemplum tibi obvium non est, ego brevi illa Camdeni narratione contentus ero. Episcopii vitam jam paucas intra hebdomadas prælo subjiciendam credo, quoniam ingens quod sub prælo habebat typographus opus jam jam in lucem proditurum est, ut jam illius præla hujus opusculi editione occupari possint.

De magnifico viro nihil jam audio, nihil etiam ab ipso responsi expecto. Videtur aliquatenus congressum meum vitare, fortasse quia me responsum flagitaturum credit: verum ego statui eum amplius non urgere, ne responsum, quod declinet, flagitando importunus videar.

Me Guenelloni, quæ de eo scripsisti, prælegisse testes sunt literæ ipsius, quibus has inclusas voluit. Ipse de nobili illo Muscovita pluribus ad te scribit. Salutem quam officiosissime à nobis dices Dominæ Masham totique familiæ. Salutant te uxor & liberi, imprimis ego

*Amstelod. 2 Oct.
1699.*

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO & LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

QUOD à me petiisti, quærendo apud veterem historicum tandem inveni. En tibi igitur Hammonti crimen & vivicomburium.

Matthæus Hammont aratorum faber ex vico Hetharset tribus miliaribus à Norwico distante reus factus coram episcopo Norwicensi accusatus, quod negaverat Christum salvatorem nostrum. Comparenti in judicio objectum est, quod sequentes propositiones hæreticas publicasset, nempe quod N. testamentum & evangelium Christi pura stultitia erat, inventum humanum & mera fabula. Quod homo in gratiam restituitur sola misericordia divina sine ope sanguinis, mortis, & passionis Christi. Insuper quod Christus non est Deus nec salvator mundi, sed merus homo, peccator, & idolum abominandum, & quod omnes qui illum colunt sunt idololatæ abominandi. Item quod Christus non resurrexit à morte ad vitam potestate suæ divinitatis, neque in cælum ascendit. Item quod spiritus sanctus non est Deus, nec quidem omnino est. Item quod baptismus in ecclesia Dei non est necessarius, nec usus sacramenti corporis & sanguinis Christi. Propter quas hæreses condemnatus est in consistorio, episcopo sententiam pronuntiante 13 die Aprilis 1579, & deinde traditus vicecomiti Norwicensi. Et quia verba blasphemiarum (non recitanda) locutus fuerat contra Reginam aliosque à concilio Regine sanctiore, condemnatus est à judice Norwicensi Windamo, & prætore Norwicensi Roberto Wood, ut ei amputarentur auriculæ, quod factum est in foro Norwicensi 13 Maij, & postea 12 ejusdem mensis vivicomburium passus est in fossa castelli Norwicensis.

Hactenus Hollinshead ad annum 21 Elizabethæ. Huic simile exemplum reperio in eodem historico ad annum Elizabethæ 25. Verba authoris hæc sunt:

18 Die Septembris anno 1583, Johannes Lewes hæreticus obstinatus, qui negavit deitatem Christi, & professus plures alias detestandas hæreses, quales fere erant prædecessoris sui Hammonti combustus est Norwici.

Lubet etiam duo alia exempla ejusmodi ex alio autore suggerere, quæ tibi etiam forte usui esse possunt in eo quod præ manibus habes argumento. Primum est vivicomburium Bartholomæi Legatt Londinensis, anno 1611, & Jacobi primi 9, ob varios errores, hæreses, & blasphemia dogmata asserta & publicata, præcipue in his tredecim positionibus sequentibus. Nempe quod symbolum dictum Nicænum illudque alterum Athanasii non continent veram professionem fidei christianæ: vel quod ille ipse non vult profiteri suam fidem secundum illa symbola. Quod Christus non est de Deo Deus genitus, non factus; sed & genitus & factus. Quod nullæ sunt in Deitate personæ. Quod Christus non fuit Deus ab æterno, sed incepit esse Deus quando carnem assumpsit ex virgine Maria. Quod mundus non fuit factus per Christum. Quod apostoli docent Christum esse merum hominem. Quod in Deo nulla sit generatio nisi creaturarum. Quod hæc assertio, Deus factus est homo, contraria est fidei regulæ & blasphemia enormis. Quod Christus non fuit ante plenitudinem temporis, nisi promissione. Quod Christus non fuit aliter Deus quam unctus Deus. Quod Christus non fuit in forma Dei æqualis Deo, i. e. in substantia Dei, sed in justitia & dando salutem. Quod Christus deitate sua nulla operatus est miracula. Quod preces Christo non sunt offerendæ.

Hic Bartholomæus Legatt ab Episcopo Londinensi, assistentibus consentientibusque aliis reverendis Episcopis, doctisque clericis, hæreseos condemnatus est & brachio sæculari traditus, & deinde igni commissus & combustus in West-smithfield Londini.

Eodem supplicio affectus est Eduardus Wightman, in civitate Lichfield, anno 1611, ab Episcopo Coventriæ & Lichfield, hæreseos damnatus, ob has sequentes opiniones:

1. Quod non est trinitas personarum, patris, filii, & spiritus sancti, in unitate deitatis.

2. Quod

2. Quod Iesus Christus non est verus naturalis filius Dei, Deus perfectus, & ejusdem substantiæ æternitatis & maiestatis cum patre, respectu deitatis suæ.

3. Quod Iesus Christus est homo solummodo, & mera creatura, & non Deus simul & homo in una persona.

4. Quod salvator noster Christus non sibi sumpsit carnem humanam ex substantia virginis Mariæ matris suæ; & quod promissio illa, *Semen mulieris conteret caput serpentis*, non adimpleta erat in Christo.

5. Quod persona spiritus sancti non est Deus, coæqualis, coæternus, coessentialis cum patre & filio.

6. Quod tria symbola, sc. Apostolorum, Nicænum, & Athanasii, continent hæresin Nicolaitarum.

7. Quod ille, nempe Eduardus Wightman, est propheta ille cujus mentio facta est xviii Deuteron. his verbis: *Suscitabo illis prophetam*, &c. Et quod verba Isaïæ, *Ego solus torcular calcavi*, & Lucæ, *Cujus ventilabrum in manu ejus*, pertinent proprie & personaliter eidem dicto Eduardo Wightman.

8. Quod ille, nempe Wightman, est persona illa spiritus sancti cujus mentio facta est in scriptura, & paracletus ille de quo loquitur Joannes, c. xvi. evangelii sui.

9. Quod verba salvatoris nostri Christi de peccato blasphemix contra spiritum sanctum de sua persona intelligenda sunt.

10. Quod Elias ille venturus, de quo loquitur, Malach. c. iv. suam personam designat.

11. Quod anima æque ac corpus dormit in somno primæ mortis, & est mortalis respectu somni primæ mortis, uti corpus; & quod anima servatoris nostri Jesu Christi in illo somno mortis dormivit æque ac corpus ejus.

12. Quod animæ sanctorum defunctorum non sunt membra quæ possident ecclesiam triumphantem in cælo.

13. Quod Pædobaptismus est ritus abominandus.

14. Quod celebratio cænæ dominicæ in elementis panis & vini in ecclesia esse non debet; neque baptismi in elemento aquæ, uti nunc in ecclesia Anglicana usus obtinet. Sed baptismus in aqua administrari debet solis adultis à paganismo ad fidem conversis.

15. Quod Deus ordinavit & misit illum, sc. Eduardum Wightman, ad exequendum suam partem operis salutis mundi, ut sua doctrina suisque monitis mundum liberaret ab hæresi Nicolaitarum, ut Christus ordinatus fuit & missus ad mundum servandum, & à peccato liberandum morte sua, & Deo reconciliandum.

16. Quod christiana religio non integra, sed pars solum illius prædicatur & admittitur in ecclesia Anglicana.

Hæc ex lingua Anglicana nimis fidus interpres verbatim pene neglecta latinitatis elegantia & sermonis proprietate transtuli, ut dogmata illa hæretica & capitalia quæ supplicium illud meruerunt, tibi, ut apud nos memoriæ mandantur, perfecte innotescerent. Si qua alia hujus generis exempla apud nos extant, si cupias, ex nostra historia eruam & ad te mittam.

Dum hæc præ manibus haberem, allata mihi est gratissima tua 2. hujus mensis scripta epistola adjunctis duabus aliis. Sentio te eundem semper quem fueras, facilem, dulcemque amicis.

Quamprimum per otium licebit Allixii & anonymi libros mihi perlegendos proponam nec oscitanter. Quandoquidem in eo cardine summam questionis versari creditum est. Gaudeo D. Clerici Epistolas Criticas propediem prodituras; ut brevi confossis adversariis in pace vacet studiis melioribus. Controversiarum enim tædium ingens, fructus exiguus. De magnifico viro idem quod tu plane sentio, nec ultra fatigandum censeo. Guenellonis epistolæ amicæ brevi respondebo. Hos ambos interim rogo officiosissime meo nomine salutes ut & uxorem tuam & filiam; Dominam Guenellon Veeneumque reliquosque amicos nostros communes. Vale & ut facis me ama

Lond. 7 Octob.
1699.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOAN-

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

PRO labore quem meo rogatu suscepisti, maximas tibi habeo gratias. Gaudeo me ex literis tuis didicisse, quæ Episcoporum illius temporis iudicio horrenda illa crimina fuerint, non nisi atrocissimo ignis supplicio luenda. Video quandoque unum idemque dogma diversis verbis enuntiari, atque ita quod uno comprehendi poterat articulo, in plures distendi, proculdubio ut plurium hæresium reatus tam atroci supplicio prætexi possit. Malim dogmata ipsis eorum, qui ea professi fuerint, verbis legere expressa; sic certus forem, me non legere consequentias, sed ipsa dogmata, eaque non terminis odiosis concepta, forte in alienum sensum detorta, sed ipsis autorum verbis nude & candide enuntiata, nihilque continentia nisi quod ipse, cuius causa agitur, pro suo agnoscit. Quando autem procedendi modum video, ad sancti tribunalis instar omnia exacte esse conformata, non sine dolore, agnosco. Bartholomæi Legatt supplicium, verum suppresso illius nomine, laudat Casaubonus, in epistola dedicatoria in Exercit. ad Baronium. Wightmani supplicium paucis narrat Gilbertus Clerke in Antinicanismo contra Bullum, p. 30. Utriusque autem latius describit Gerardus Croesus Historiæ Quakerianæ, lib. iii. p. 479. Verum licet non penitus illorum suppliciorum ignarus sim, rem mihi fecisti longe gratissimam, quod pleniorẽ hæresium ipsis attributarum, historiam miseris: multa hæcenus mihi ignorata, & scopo meo apprime inservientia, me docuisti. Verum unum est quod desidero, nomen auctoris ex quo historiam Legati & Wightmani habes: illud enim in epistola tua non reperio. Tum & leviculum erratum, fortasse calami festinatione, commissum est. Ais Hammonto auriculas amputatas in foro Norwicensi 13 Maij, & postea 12 ejusdem mensis illum vivicomburium passum. Atqui dies duodecimus antecedit decimum tertium. Præter hæc supplicia legi in Burneti Historia Reform. Eccl. Angl. ad annum 1549, sub Eduardo VI. vivicomburium Johannæ Bocheræ, seu Johannæ de Kent, & Georgii Van Pare, utrumque satis distincte descriptum: itaque nihil est quod hic desidero.

Verum in Mennonitarum scriptis, ad annum 1575, reperio sub Elizabetha sævam contra Mennonitas è Belgio profugos excitatam persecutionem. Narrant nimirum, cætus suos in Anglia fuisse disturbatos, aliquot suorum in carcerem coniectos, quorum quinque, post varias disputationes & comminationes mortis, ad professionem religionis reformatæ adaçti sunt: qui nihilominus in cœmeterio Divi Pauli publico spectaculo fuere expositi, singulorumque humero rogos fuit impositus, quod designabatur ignis supplicium fuisse meritos. Quatuordecim mulieres navibus sunt impositæ, juvenis quidam currui alligatus flagris cæsus, unaque cum mulieribus regno exire iussus, intentata pœna mortis si redirent. Quinque viri in squalido ac profundo carcere detenti sunt, quorum unus in carcere diem suum obiit. Ministri Belgicarum & Gallicarum Ecclesiarum Londini reliquos quatuor in suam sententiam pellicere conabantur. Tandem Julij die 22. duo maximi natu, Johannes Petri & Henricus Terwoord eodem in loco, in quo antehac reformatis ignis supplicium irrogatum fuit, vivi combusti & in cineres redacti sunt, &c. Historiam hanc satis distincte, multisque circumstantiis vestitam narrant Mennonitæ. De hisce nihil prorsus scribit Camdenus; solummodo ad annum 1560. refert Elizabetham anabaptistas & id genus hæreticos, qui in maritima Angliæ oppida ex transmarinis regionibus specie declinandæ persecutionis convolârunt, & sectarum virus in Anglia sparserant, è regno intra viginti dies excedere imperâsse, sive illi indigenæ sive exteri, sub pœna incarcerationis & bonorum amissionis. Velim scire si levi labore fieri possit, an quæ de supplicio hoc narrant scriptores Angli consentanea, sint illis quæ hic ex Mennonitarum scriptis excerpti. Talia in reformationis opprobrium cedunt. Mihi enim perinde christianæ charitati adversari videtur tribunal de fide, sive id prope Tiberim, sive Lemanium, sive Thamesin constituatur: eadem quippe exercetur crudelitas, licet alio in loco & ab aliis hominibus. Et ut nostrate proverbio dicitur, idem est Monachus, sed alio indutus cucullo.

Judicium

Judicium tuum de Allixii & Anonymi libro audire gestio. In hoc argumento quaestionis cardinem verti à vestratibus credi miror. Ego nihil causæ principali contra Judæos deesse credo, etiamsi hoc argumento destituatur. D. Clerici Epistolæ Criticæ nondum prodeunt; propediem vero eas expectamus. Vale, Vir amplissime.

Amstelod. 6 Nov.

1699.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE S. P. D.

Recte quidem mones, Vir amplissime, errore festinantis calami transpositi sunt characteres numerales, & 12 scriptum pro 21: nam 21 Maij Hammontus passus est vivicomburium. Queris insuper, idque non sine causa, quod nomen auctoris, ex quo historiam Legati & Wightmanni hausi, omiserim. Id autem negligentia non factum mea est. Libellus prostat Anglicè, cui titulus, *The History of the first fourteen Years of King James; i. e. Historia quatuordecim primorum annorum Jacobi Regis.* Autor nomen suum tacuit. Huic libello annectitur ad finem tractatulus cui titulus, *A true Relation of the Commissions and Warrants for the condemnation and burning of Bartholomew Legatt, and Edward Wightman, the one in West-Smithfield, the other in Litchfield, in the Year 1611, signed with King James's own Hand.*

De Mennonitis quod quaeris nondum aliquid ex nostris historicis eruere mihi contigit quod tibi satisfaciatur, vel lucem afferat: forsan quia idonei hic rure non ad manus sint scriptores quos consulam. Ne tamen tibi in tam desiderato opere quicquam quod in me est opis tibi desit, id negotii dedi ingenuo doctoque amico, ut si qua opera reperire possit inter authores nostros illius rei monumenta, id totum, quicquid est, excerptum ad me transmittere velit. Quamprimum aliqua testimonia ad rem tuam facientia mihi oblata fuerint, tibi confestim transmittenda curabo.

Allixii librum quamprimum prodiit coëmi animo legendi, sed otiose hætenus præ manibus jacuit, nec dum sive per valetudinem sive per alias avocationes legere licuit, spero propediem pinguius & fructuosius otium. Quid de eo audias interim mihi dicas. Quidam apud nos valde paradoxam credunt doctrinam trinitatis, Judæis tribuere & stabilimentum istius dogmatis è synagoga petere. Alii è contra dicunt hoc jugulum causæ esse; & hoc fundamento stabiliri orthodoxiam & everti omnia Unitariorum argumenta. Quid ipsa res doceat aveo videre, opem enim in hac causa à Judæis & Rabbiniis olim non expectavi. Sed lux semper gratissima undecunque affulgeat.

Domina Masham reliquique ex hac familia te plurimum salvere jubent. Nosque omnes tibi tuisque omnibus felicem annum exoptamus. Vale, Vir optime, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 6 Jan.

1700.

Tui amantissimum,

J. LOCKE.

Veenium, Guenellonem, Clericum, reliquosque nostros quæso meo nomine officiosissime salutes, quibus omnibus felicem hujus sæculi exitum & futuri introitum opto.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Quod hætenus ad amicissimas tuas filuerim, ulla tui oblivione factum credas nolim. Multa responsum distulere; præcipue quidem tristis ille casus tibi satis notus, & moeror inde contractus. Ego ad studia, hoc infelici casu multum languentia, reversus sum; recuperata jam sanitate, quæ

644 *Familiar* LETTERS *between* Mr. LOCKE,

quæ valde afflictæ fuit. Relegi epistolam tuam; video nihil eam continere quod promptum responsum flagitet; attamen benevolus tuus affectus, quo propositum meum promoveri contendis, citius merebatur responsum: tu autem tarditatem facile condonabis mœrori meo.

De Bilibra hic apud nos altum est silentium. Verum vidi reverendissimum episcopum Bathoniensem & Wellensem in præfatione tertiæ partis contra Judæos, eam breviter & generatim oppugnasse. Ego velim genuinum statum controversiæ ingenue ac terminis minime ambiguis proponi, & argumenta candide ac solide in utramque partem expendi, quod prolixiorum tractatum & animum non studio partium abreptum, sed veritatis sincere studiosum requirit. Prodiit hac hyeme liber Gallice scriptus, cui autor titulum præfixit, *Le Platonisme dévoilé*. Autorem jam obiisse præfatio docet. Dicitur in Anglia scriptus, indeque huc missus ut in lucem edatur. Quamvis eruditus sit tractatus, multis displiciturum credo: & licet ego discrepantes de religione sententias sine ulla erga autores indignatione investigare soleo, non possum tamen dissimulare, aculeatos ipsius sarcasmos in materia sacra mihi quam maxime displicere: licet enim credere posset, adversarios quos oppugnat illos meruisse; materiæ tamen quam tractat majestas cohibere eum debuisset, ne hic quicquam gravitati christianæ adversum immisceret. Tum & prudentiæ fuit, mordacibus ejusmodi sarcasmis adversariorum contra se hac suos indignationem, alias satis acrem, non magis exacerbare. Audio plura illius exemplaria in Angliam esse missa; quare à te visum esse nullus dubito.

Burmanni filios, dehortantibus nequicquam amicis, contra me tractatum scripsisse aiunt, eumque jam sub prælo esse, ac brevi proditurum: Weeyenum habuere continuum instigatorem, qui cum Burmannum purgare non potuit, illius filios in me concitavit, ut ipsi sub specioso defendendi patris prætextu, inanem in se ac inglorium laborem susciperent: non enim verba parentis sui, nec Spinozæ, è libris editis eradere possunt; neque inficiari eadem esse quæ in Spinoza, & parentis sui Synopsi Theologiæ leguntur verba. Quæstio facti est, quæ prolatis ex utroque autore testimoniis, in dubium vocari nequit. Ego talia scripta maxima animi serenitate contemnere possum. Vale, Vir amplissime. Salveat Domina Masham cum tota familia. Omnes mei te salutant.

Amstelod. 11 Maii,
1700.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

ANte hebdomadas aliquot tuo nomine mihi datus est præstantissimus tuus de Intellectu Humano liber in linguam Gallicam versus. Pro eximio illo dono grates tibi quas possum maximas ago. Nondum eum legere potui; verum nunc instant feriæ meæ quibus ejus lectionem destinavi. Materiæ enim quæ in illo tractatur gravitas ac varietas, quam ex capitum indice didici, summam animi attentionem, & continuatam minimeque interruptam lectionem requirit. Itaque tempus quo à quotidianis negotiis immunitatem habeo, illi impendam, ut tanto majore meo cum fructu eum evolvam.

Legi in novellis nostratibus, quod & D. Clericus literis tuis confirmavit, te ob ætatem ingravescentem & valetudinem minus firmam honoratissimi muneris ante aliquot annos tibi demandati dimissionem obtinuisse. Equidem institutum tuum minime improbare possum, quinimo laude dignum censeo, quod extremos vitæ tuæ dies procul à strepitu politico, quieti, studiis ac meditationibus sacris consecrare, quam negotiis honestis quidem, attamen nihil ultra vitæ hujus tranquillitatem spectantibus, implicatos habere malueris. Hanc tibi quietem ex animo gratulor, Deumque precor ut senectutem tuam eximiis, quibus vera paratur felicitas, donis magis magisque exornet, ac quic-

quicquid corpusculi viribus decedit, vivaciore mentis acie & spiritus robore compenfer.

Tandem prodiit contra me *Burmannerum Pietas*, is libri titulus est: mole ingens, verbosus, contumeliosis plurimis declamationibus & invectivis repletus. Illi per D. Crucium, fratrem suum uterinum, à civitate Leidenſi in collegium rerum maritimarum deputatum, mihi pietatis suæ exemplar tradi voluerunt. Legi illam sed cum nausea; & nisi in me scriptus fuisset liber, lectionem absolvere non potuissem. Illi in eo summis viribus probare nituntur, parentem suum à me Spinosissimi accusatum; & eum prolixè excusare contendunt. Egerrime ferunt, parenti suo à me ascribi imprudentiam, & quod sine judicio Spinozam secutus sit. Aiunt parentem suum hæc ex Spinoza cum judicio exscripsisse, ut mere Cartesiana: Spinozam enim in eo libro suam doctrinam nec aperte inculcasse, nec tectè insinuasse, sed sola Cartesii dogmata tradidisse. Verum ego non credo Cartesianos hæc quatuor pro suis agnitos. 1. Tota natura naturata non est nisi unicum ens. 2. Possibilitas & contingentia non sunt affectiones rerum, sed intellectus nostri defectus. 3. Si homines clare totum ordinem naturæ intelligerent, omnia æque necessaria reperirent, ac omnia illa quæ in Mathesi tractantur. 4. De extraordinaria Dei potentia qua miracula facit, non immerito valde dubitari posse: quæ tamen omnia in illo Spinozæ libro disertis verbis reperiuntur. Sarcasmi plurimis in parallelismum inter Spinozæ & Burmanni verba ludunt; verum nihil in eo reprehendere aut falsi arguere possunt. Ego illi libro nihil reponam, præsertim cum ob molem suam non distrahatur & à nemine legatur.

*Versiculos in me narratur scribere Cinna:
Non scribit, cujus carmina nemo legit.*

Idem mihi cum Martiale dicere licet. Addo, quod quicumque meam contra Weeyenum defensionem legerit, nova defensione non indigebit: qui eam legere non vult, illi nec decem apologiis satisfacero. Vale, Vir amplissime.

*Amstelod. 20 Julij,
1700.*

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D:

Vir amplissime,

HAC ætate binas ad te literas dedi, quas ad manus tuas pervenisse spero. Dolerem si aberrassent. Nunc ad te mitto Vitam Episcopii, ante plures annos, uti nôsti, à me lingua Belgica scriptam, & præfixam concionibus aliquot Episcopii, quarum exemplar illo tempore ad te misi. Quoniam nunc Latino sermone prodit, à nostro Marco Teute cum in Anglia esset verſa, illius ad te duo mitto exemplaria, quorum alterum filio Dominae Masham trades, alterum ut benigno à me recipias vultu rogo. Videbis ibi specimen aliquod persecutionis in patria nostra, libertatis asylo institutæ; unde quomodo erga integras ecclesias, & ingenuos veritatis confessores, passim sævitum fuerit, facile colliges. Utinam & hodie omnes hanc sæviciam detestentur! verum qua nunc fruimur quietem non moderatioribus Ecclesiastarum consiliis, sed magistratus prudentiæ & benignitati debemus; quæ nisi igneum illorum zelum compesceret, eadem nos hodie quæ olim majores nostros procella obrueret. Jam magnam libri tui eruditissimi partem maxima cum voluprate legi. Omnia mihi mirifice placent. Verum quoniam non tantam linguæ Gallicæ quam Latinæ cognitionem habeo, aliquando ut vim phrasium Gallicarum intelligam, atque mentem tuam distinctè percipiam, bis terve quædam mihi relegenda sunt; quod lectionem mihi aliquanto tardior reddit: verum molestiam hanc dilucida veritatis explicatione, argumen-

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torumque

646 *Familiar LETTERS between Mr. LOCKE,*

torumque quibus eam adstruis pondere abunde compensas. Quando ad finem pervenero, caput xxi. *de la puissance*, ubi prolixè de voluntate ac hominis libertate in volendo differis, relegam: quædam enim ibi habeas nova, quæ attentum requirunt lectorem. Ego totum ubi perlegero, candide meum tibi iudicium scribam. Verum vix credo in quoquam à te dissensurum, adeo omnia quæ legi mihi probantur. Vale, Vir amplissime, & salve à me ac meis: salutem etiam officiosissimam dices D. Masham totique familiæ.

Amstelod. 30 Octob.
1700.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

PRælegit mihi hisce diebus Guenellonus noster epistolam tuam, quæ te cum asthma graviter conflictari nuntiabat. Equidem valetudinem tuam afflictam ex animo doleo, eamque tibi firmiorem precor. Sed non sine admiratione ex literis tuis intellexi, te binas tantum hoc anno à me accepisse; cum circa finem mensis Octobris tertias scripserim, quibus addidi duo vitæ Episcopii à Marco Teute latinitate donatæ exemplaria, unum tibi, alterum Francisco Cudworth-Masham, una cum literis ad ipsum, quæ jamdudum tibi reddita nullus dubitabam. Fasciculus quatuor comprehendebat exemplaria, quorum reliqua duo destinata erant Rev. Episcopis Salisburiensi, ac Bathoniensi & Wellensi. Doleo interim etiam epistolam aberrasse, in qua scripsi magnam me libri tui partem legisse, omniaque maximo-pere mihi probari. Postea retulit mihi amicus, se Cartesii quosdam sequaces, à quibus aliquot ex prioribus capitibus lecta erant, convenisse; illis maxime displicuisse duo, quæ ego verissima duco; nullas videlicet dari ideas innatas, & animam non esse nudam cogitationem. Verum quid aliud à Cartesii sequace expectes? Alios audivi magnopere librum tuum laudantes, & sententiæ tuæ applaudantes. Ego summa delectatione illum legi, & etiamnum lectionem illius continuo. Verum quoniam non tam exactam linguæ Gallicæ cognitionem habeo, ut phrasæon quarundam Gallicarum vim prima lectione assequar, præsertim in materia subtili & ardua, cogor nonnunquam, ut distincte mentem tuam percipiam, lectionem aliquoties repetere. Gratissimum foret, si librum tuum latinirate donatum conspicerem quandoque daretur; tum facilius quæ scripsisti intelligerem, & fortasse de quibusdam quæ de libertate hominis in volendo scripsisti, tecum conferrem. Valde quæ ibi scribis mihi probantur: video te terminos aliquot obscuros aut ambiguos in illa materia elucidasse; sed nescio an ubique mentem tuam perceperim: relegam integrum caput, & si quid occurrat ad quod hæsito, ingenue ac rotunde ad te scribam, plane persuasus dilucida tua explicatione omnem (si quæ sit) obscuritatem disparituram. Sed & ingenue tibi confiteor, mœrorem sæpe meditationes meas, quas studiis consecravi, turbare. Verum dabit Deus his quoque finem. Ego ut honesta & non inutili occupatione mœroris mei tedium diluam, incepti Commentarium in Acta Apostolorum conscribere, sed nova quadam ratione ac methodo. Criticos egerunt Grotius aliique quorum laboribus mea diligentia nihil addere potest. Itaque omissa critica aliam mihi interpretandi methodum præscripsi; ut ex historia apostolorum, variisque illius circumstantiis, ac præsertim eorum concionibus, religionis christianæ veritatem & divinitatem asseram, & qua methodo apostoli contra Judæos eam adstruxerint ostendam. In hisce explicandis prolixior paullo sum: reliqua huc non spectantia obiter tantum attingo. Quibus alia contra Judæos disputandi methodus placet, meum laborem non probatum iri, facile prævideo. Sed veritati litandum est; & aposto-

apostolos duces sequi præstat, quam homines affectibus ac præjudiciis nimium indulgentes. Vale, Vir amplissime. Deus pristinam tibi restituat sanitatem, ut quoad vivis egregiis tuis laboribus publico inservire possis. Saluant te quam officiosissime uxor mea liberique. Salutem à nobis dices Dominae Malthæ totique familiæ.

Amstelod. 18 Feb.

1701.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE S. P. D.

Vir colendissime,

EX ultimis tuis 18 præsentis Februarij datis probe sentio, quam firma, quam immutabilis sit tua erga me amicitia, cum tribus ante missis ad me silentem literis quartas addere non dedignatus es, sine reprehensione ulla tantæ & tam criminosa taciturnitatis. Ignoscis video, ideoque valetudinis incommoda non causabor. Penultimas tuas cum fasciculo librorum vel amissas vel in itinere male hærentes maxime doleo, quod crediderim te sensum tuum de libro meo jam tum cum scriberes perlecto liberius explicuisse. Quod de iis quæ de libertate hominis in volendo scripserim aliquantum hæfitas non miror. Totum illud argumentum in prima editione penitus omitendum censui, sed noluerunt amici, quicquid ego de rei ipsius & novitate & subtilitate contra afferrem, ne lectores aliis assueti ratiocinationibus, non probe perspecto ubique animi mei sensu offenderentur, & ea quæ in isto parergo commentatus sum vel tanquam novatoris paradoxa, vel tanquam inconsulte errantis sphalmata negligenter si non plane condemnarent. Nec me eventus penitus fefellit, cum plures inter amicos familiaresque meos de hoc uno subjecto mecum seruire sermones quam de omnibus reliquis totius libri capitibus. Fateor adhuc neminem fuisse cui scrupulum quo detinebatur, non exemi, si modo dabatur otium sensim & pedetentim integram materiam à capite ad calcem mecum perpendendi: quod quidem rei veritati non meæ quantulacunque mediocritatitribuendum censeo. Quod si tibi nova recensione, ut promittis, recurrenti aliqua objicienda occurrunt, persuasum tibi sit nihil acceptius mihi fore quam errores meos amica manu detegi eoque ipso evelli: non enim famæ nec opinioni sed veritati soli litandum censeo. Quicquid demum fuerit, disputationes nostras in unam eandemque sententiam terminatum iri pro certo habeo, cum utrique unam eandemque illibatam veritatem studiose quærimus.

Gaudeo te Commentarium in Acta Apostolorum meditari, & ejusmodi interpretandi methodum quæ non hæreat in criticis observationibus & verborum cortice. Nullibi magis apparet, ut mihi videtur, scopus geniusque religionis christianæ quam in ea historia. Quid enim magis genuinum sincerumque evangelii sensum nobis indicare possit, quam primæ illæ apostolorum prædicationes quibus infideles, tam Gentiles quam Judæos, ad fidem Christi convertabant?

Ad priores tuas ut aliquando veniam; Laudo consilium tuum quod *Burmannorum Pietati* minime respondendum censueris: hujusmodi vitiligantium opprobria omnino contemnenda.

Prælum nostrum in fermento est, nec quicquam pene prodire videmus præter disputationes politicas ecclesiasticasque. Quorsum tandem res evadet nescio. Quid minatur turbo video: exitum non video. Tranquilitati quantum possum studeo. Deus optimus maximus ecclesiarum reformatarum & totius Europæ libertatem conservet: Sic precatur

Ootes, 22 Febr.

1701.

Tui observantissimus,

J. LOCKE.

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JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

Nuper Transilalani rigoris in causa religionis minime excusandi exemplum præbuere vere detestandum. Quidam minister Mennonita jam ante annos quindecim synodo suspectus fuit socinianismi, & illius Hæreseos coram ordinibus Transilalanis à ministris ecclesiæ publicæ accusatus. Itaque à muneris sui functione suspensus fuit, adeo ut integro circiter biennio ecclesia illius publico religionis exercitio caruerit. Post longam actionem, cum ministri accusationem suam probare non possent, ipse ad ecclesiam suam fuit remissus, eique injunctum, ut sibi à dogmatibus socinianis docendis caveret, sub pœna arbitraria. Ille ante triennium libellum edidit exigui admodum pretii, quo unionem inter omnes christianorum sectas suadet, etiam cum socinianis; qua occasione imprudenter quædam pro socinianis scripsit; & alicubi quædam occurrunt aculeata in gentem togatam. Libellus hic si contemptus fuisset, vix invenisset lectores: verum scis gentem illam sacram vel minima injuria facile irritari. Itaque denuo delatus fuit ad Satrapam districtus Vollenho, à deputatis classis Vollenho, qui exhibito libello supplice petunt, ut hic homo, qui non tantum socinianas hæreticas opiniones clam & palam docuit; sed etiam audacissime edidit, & sparsit, iisque intolerandos sarcasmos ac blasphemias admiscuit, ab ipso Satrapa compellatur coram proxima Synodo libellum hunc palam revocare, & pœnitentiam ob commissam testari: ut libellus hic flammis tradatur, ac in tota provincia vetetur vendi, ac supprimatur: impensæ quas classis ob hanc causam sustinere debuit ab ipso restituantur, ipseque propter crimen commissum pœna arbitraria afficiatur. Satrapa petitioni huic annuit, hominemque ad synodum ablegat. Synodus illi offert quinque articulos subscribendos, quibus continebatur confessio, quod contra mandatum Ordinum libellum istum edidisset, quod ipsum inobedientiæ illius pœniteret, quod omnia libelli sui exemplaria esset suppressurus; aliaque quibus ipse subscribere recusavit. Instabant aliqui ex ministris, imo obtestabantur ut subscriberet: verum ille constanter recusavit. Postea dicitur compertum fuisse, illos id adeo ardentius cupivisse, ut haberent reum consentientem, & sic propria sua confessione arbitrariæ pœnæ obnoxium. Hæc gesta sunt media æstate anni CIO IOC XCIX. Proximo Januario anni sequentis à Satrapa in carcerem est conjectus, & post longam novem vel decem mensium incarcerationem tandem sententia judicis homini pauperi, tenui victu, & diuturno carceris squalore emaciato, multa irrogatur centum ducatorum argenteorum, qui conficiunt libras vestras sterlingas circiter triginta, nec dimittendus è carcere pronuntiatur, nisi soluta pecunia. Ille cum solvendo non esset, utpote pauper, in tetrum, sœtidum ac tenebrosum carcerem subterraneum detruditur; ubi postquam duabus hebdomadibus pane & aqua vitam toleravit, tandem aliud ipsi mandatum exhibetur mense Novembri proxime elapso, quo ipse errores libello ipsius contentos disseminare prohibetur; sub pœna si secus fecerit catastæ & exilii, sine ulla ulteriore forma processus: atque ita è carcere dimittitur. Nunc miser ad extremam inopiam redactus est: omni illius divendita supellestile, quæ tamen nequaquam explere potuit multam in quam condemnatus erat. Non possum excusare illius imprudentiam: verum nec possum quin detester hanc sæviciam, præsertim quando in extensione sententiæ leges imperatoriæ ex codice adferuntur, ut fulcra ac fundamenta quibus dura hæc sententia innititur. Sic sensim ad detestandum illud Inquisitionis tribunal relabimur.

Relegi magna cum attentione *cap. xxi. lib. ii.* tractatus tui de Intellectu Humano. Expendi voces ac phrasas quas in materia hac controversa adhibes. Puto me jam plene mentem tuam percepisse, à qua ego non dissentio. §. 6. optime doces, intellectum & voluntatem non esse duas facultates revera ab anima distinctas, sed mentem ipsam humanam immediate per se ipsam intelligere & velle. Inde inferis non recte voluntatem dici liberam, sed hominem: recte etiam meo judicio definis libertatem. Verum quando dicis, §. 24.

liber-

libertatem consistere in potentia agendi & non agendi, & quidem in eo solo : non puto id te restringere ad solas actiones externas, sed & extendere ad internas, seu cogitationes nostras; illæ enim non minus quam actiones externæ subjectæ sunt arbitrio nostro: idque consentaneum est iis, quæ in sequentibus capituli illius scribis. Porro jam inquiris, quod præcipuum est, quid sit illud, quod hominem ad hoc aut illud agendum movet. Ego hætenus ita me explicui; bonum jucundum, seu voluptatem esse id quod hominem allicit, illique oppositum dolorem esse malum quod homo averfatur: adeoque quodcumque homo vult, id ab eo considerari ut jucundum, quod vero averfatur & fugit ut molestum. Non negas tu illud quinimo id etiam urges, §. 41, & seqq. Verum ut distinctius ostendas, qua ratione voluptas aut dolor hominem moveat, doces, §. 29. & seqq. voluntatem determinari ab inquietudine, quam homo in se experitur, aut ex præsentia doloris, aut ex absentia boni seu voluptatis, in qua vel totam, vel saltem partem suæ beatitudinis collocat; quamdiu enim homo in statu suo acquiescit, nullam illius mutationem quærit; sed solummodo quando in statu suo non acquiescit, seu quandam inquietudinem, sive ex præsentia doloris, sive ex absentia voluptatis, quam ut felicitatis suæ partem considerat, in se sentit. In his facile tibi assentior. Inde recte deducis, bonum in nobis excitare desiderium, non tamen inde sequi majus bonum semper in nobis majus desiderium excitare. Quod verissimum est & tu recte probas. Unde porro deducis, libertatem hominis in eo consistere, quod possit suspendere impletionem cujuscumque desiderii sui, plenamque habeat libertatem unum post aliud considerandi, objecta eorum examinandi, eaque ab omni parte observandi, ac inter se comparandi, antequam se determinet ad agendum. Et hoc tecum agnosco. Inde jam inferis, *indifferentiam*, quæ non possit determinari per ultimum judicium quod homo fert de bono & malo, cujus electionem sequendam credit, esse summam naturæ intelligentis imperfectionem. In Remonstrantium scriptis sæpe vox *indifferentia* occurrit, quando de libertate hominis agitur: verum ea nunquam à nobis hoc sensu accipitur, quod posito illo ultimo judicio, in quo proprie actus volitionis consistit, nihilominus hominis potentia agendi sit indifferens, & per voluntatem non determinetur: sed, quod ante illud voluntatis decretum homo libertatem habet se in hanc vel illam partem determinandi, & non ad unum tantum oppositorum determinatus est: accedente autem voluntatis decreto, seu volendi actu indifferentia illa tollitur, & potentia ad agendum aut non agendum determinatur. Et hic etiam puro nos consentire. Reliqua capituli iis quæ jam recensita sunt magis illustrandis ac confirmandis inserviunt. Puto me hic sententiam tuam de libertate hominis recte percepisse. Nec est quod illi quicquam opponam: imo quædam distinctius, & clarioribus quam hætenus à nostris factum est terminis ac phrasibus posse exprimi didici. Si non bene perceperim, aut si quid omiserim, quod, ut sententia tua plene percipiatur, omitti non debuit, rogo ut me erroris admoneas: nolim enim in sententiæ tuæ explicatione, quam prout eam percepi etiam meam esse agnosco, à mente tua aberrare. Si in quibusdam dissentimus, quod ego ignoro, amice tecum conferre gestio, ut exiguus qui forte restare posset dissensus tollatur. Plures tecum de hoc capite contulisse non miror. Materia est intricata & diversis philosophorum ac theologorum sententiis semper agitata. Primus, meo judicio, *Episcopus* in tractatu de *libero arbitrio* & contra Cameronem eam clarius explicuit, ostenditque intellectum & voluntatem non esse duas facultates revera inter se & ab anima distinctas, uti hætenus in scholis creditum fuit, sed animam immediate per seipsam intelligere ac velle. Porro licet non iisdem tecum vocibus ac phrasibus utatur, in summa tamen rei, quantum ego percipio, est consensus. Gratias interim tibi ago, quod multa me libri tui editione docueris. Ego eum iteratò evolvere statui; secunda enim lectione multo distinctius eum intelligo. Deum precor ut diu te nobis incolamem ac prospera fruentem valetudine conservet. Uxor ac filia te salutant. Salveat quam officiosissime à me, uxore & filia, Domina Masham ejusque liberi. Vale.

Amstelod. 30 Mar.
1701.

Tui amantiſſimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.
PHI-

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

MAGNO honori mihi esse duco quod tu tantum lucubrationibus meis tribuas, ut in iis perlegendis bonas tuas horas locare velis: & eas tibi veritatis amatori non displicuisse gaudeo. Cum ego libertatem consistere dico, §. 24. cap. xxi. lib. ii. in potentia agendi & non agendi, nequaquam id restringo ad solas actiones externas, uti constat ex §. 8, 38. aliisque illius capitis locis: de hoc igitur inter nos convenit. Quando vero dicis quod *quicquid homo vult ab eo considerari ut jucundum*, metuo ne *voluntatem* cum *desiderio* confundas. Quod à plerisque factum video, qui hoc argumentum tractant, non sine magno veritatis vel saltem perspicuitatis incommodo. *Desiderium* fertur in jucundum fateor, sed *voluntas* fertur solum in actiones nostras, & ibi terminatur. Sed quia *voluntas* raro agit nisi ducente *desiderio*, ideo pro uno eodemque actu plerumque sumuntur, cum toto cœlo distent, §. 30, 40. *Cupido* enim passio est mota à bono absente. *Volitio* autem actus *voluntatis* vel animæ imperium exercentis in potentias hominis operatrices. Hæ duæ operationes animæ, scil. illa qua cupit aliquid, & illa qua determinat vel imperat aliquid agendum, nisi distinguantur probe, nihil dilucide, ut mihi videtur, de humana voluntate statui potest: ideoque spero ignosces mihi quod de ista loquendi forma te monitum velim, cum de summa rei à me omnino non dissentias. In usu vocis *indifferentia* quod à vestris differam non mirum est, dum in his scribendis nec aliorum placita secutus sum, nec vel scripta omnino consuluerim, sed quæ res ipsæ me, quantum indagatione & meditatione assequi poteram, docuerint, ea verbis quam potui aptissimis explicuerim. De terminorum igitur usu nulla inter nos erit disputatio, modo de re ipsa constet. Quamvis, ut libere dicam, ista antecedens *indifferentia* hominis, qua homo, ante determinationem sive decretum voluntatis, supponitur libertatem habere se determinandi ad alterutram partem oppositorum, non omnino mihi videtur spectare ad quæstionem de libertate; quia libertas unice consistit in potentia agendi vel non agendi secundum determinationem voluntatis. Disputare autem an homo ante ultimum iudicium intellectus libertatem habet se determinandi ad alterutrum oppositorum, mihi videtur omnino de nihilo sive de re impossibili disputatio. Quis enim rogaret, vel quorsum attinet rogare, an homo potest ad alterutram partem oppositorum se determinare in statu, in quo se non potest omnino determinare? Nam ante iudicium intellectus non potest se omnino determinare, ideoque frustra quæritur an in illo statu libertatem habet se determinandi in alterutram, ubi in neutram omnino partem potest se determinare. Ideoque omnes illæ lites, quæ agitantur de libertate se in alterutram partem determinandi ante iudicium intellectus, mihi videntur (ignoscas fatenti) nullo modo pertinere ad quæstionem de libertate: quæ ne supponi quidem debet nec potest, in statu in quo manifestum est quod homo ut agens liberum non potest agere, cum libertas, ut dixi, consistat in sola potentia agendi vel non agendi consequenter & congrue ad determinationem voluntatis. Ita autem sæpe usu venit. Disputantium fervor & partium studium rebus per se claris nubem & caliginem obducunt, dum undique conquisitis laqueis alter alterum innodare & absurdis involvere conatur. Vides quam libere tecum agam, eandem à te libertatem vicissim expectans; si enim tu meæ vel ego tuæ opinioni assentior, perinde est veritatem quærentibus, dummodo illius potior habetur sententia quæ verior, & in ea consentiamus. In aliis libri mei partibus, dum percurras, si quid minus recte dictum vel cogitatum invenias, moneri imo & redargui à te cupio. Vale, Vir optime, & me ut facis ama

Oates, 21 Maij,
1701.*Tui amantissimum,*

J. LOCKE.

PHILIP-

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE, S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Eodem die quo nuperrime ad te mane scripsi, literas tuas 27 Maij datas vesperi accepi. Vitam Episcopii summa cum voluptate perlegi. Historia placet, res gesta plane displicent. Doleo sane reformatos tam propere mores pontificios, de quibus tam graviter questi sunt, imitatos. Sed scire juvat quod cognitum laudare non possis. Inquisitionem quæ in ecclesia Romana lentius succrevit, uno quasi nixu inceptam & pene perfectam hic conspici mihi videor. An has protestantium inter se inimicitias & mutuas persecutiones jam castigaturus sit Deus, nescio: hoc saltem credo, theologorum ambitiosa diffidia, & invicem dominandi in fratres cupido, orbem reformatum antiquis hostibus denuo obruendum objecit, & in tantum periculum adduxit. Avertat Deus O. M. omen, nec ad persecutionem tam proclives animos persecutione catholica puniat. Unum est quod in libro tuo desidero, nempe articulos illos quinque Remonstrantium, quorum tam frequens est mentio. Hos vel quod in propria lectione non observatos præterierim, vel quod eos Historiæ tuæ non inseruisti, ignorare me fateor. Rogo igitur ut mihi indicare velis ubi eos legere possim, magnam enim lucem, ut mihi videtur, præbunt causam Remonstrantium penitus cognoscere cupienti: nam iterum, credo, perlegam hanc tuam Historiam. Maximas pro hoc dono gratias ago. Vive diu utilis religioni christianæ. Vale & me ama

Oates, 1 Jun.
1701.*Tui amantissimum,*

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH, S. P. D.

Amplissime Vir,

Vitam Episcopii tibi, summi judicii viro, non displicuisse est quod mihi gratuler. Multa exteris ignota ibi esse præterita, quia nobis notissima, nullus dubito. Quinque autem articulos nostros, quorum decidendorum causa synodus Dordracena convocata fuit nulli ignotos credebam. In explicatione sententiæ Arminij, p. 6. in Vita Episcopii ego eos brevi in compendio exhibui. Exstant autem in Remonstrantia Ordinibus Hollandiæ CIO IO CX oblata, quam reperies in Epistolis præstantium Virorum à me editis n° cxlv. p. 254. vel in Historia Quinquarticulana Petri Heilini Anglicæ, cap. 5. p. 50. Si altera Vitæ Episcopii editio aliquando prodeat, possem illi quinque illos articulos aliaque quædam non sine Episcopio gesta, aut ipsum ipsiusve consanguineos spectantia hic illic inserere, quæ ad Historiæ nostræ cognitionem penitiorem haud exigui futura sunt momenti. Continuavit Brantius noster senior historiam usque ad finem anni CIO IO CXXIII. in qua gravis illa contra nostros persecutio exacte describitur: verum ille hæcenus lucem non adspexit; & præ metu ne edatur, synodus Hollandica jam ab aliquot annis deputatis suis in mandatis dedit, ut sollicitè invigilent, ne illa alicubi imprimatur. Nolunt enim mysteria illa iniquitatis revelare. Utinam historiam suam continuasset ad annum usque CIO IO CXXXII. quo persecutioni ubique ferme in patria nostra finis est impositus, nobisque palam in cœtus religiosos convenire non fuit prohibitum. Ex illius lectioneprehendere posses veritatem dicti cujusdam Monachi, quod Marnixius refert in epistola ad Casparum Verheiden, inter Epist. selectas à Belgis vel ad Belgas, anno 1617, à Budio & Heinsio editas, cent. 2. epist. 51. Haud æque diu reformatorum ollam calefactam fuisse, atque illorum quos tantopere incesserent: videre se plane, antequam per sæculorum intervallum labatur, parem utrobique imperii ecclesiastici fore rationem. Scripta est hæc epistola ult. Mart. 1577.

Legi,

Legi, relegi, & serio expendi quæ de libertate scribis; sed non deprehendi illum inter nos esse consensum, quem lecto illo de *potentia* capite credidi. Quia uterque unice veritatem quarimus, paullo distinctius terminos quibus usus sum explicabo, & si qui aptiores sint, illis lubens utar; amo enim perspicuitatem; & in veritatis inquisitione omnem verborum ambiguitatem quantum fieri potest vitandam judico. Putas non recte dici nos velle jucundum, illud esse desiderium non voluntatem. Desiderium enim ferri in bonum absens; volitionem autem esse actum voluntatis vel animæ imperium exercentis in potentias hominis operatrices. Facile ego hoc discrimen admitto, & ut perspicuitatis causa unicuique verbo suam tribuamus significationem utile esse existimo. Verum ego puto nos duo velle finem & media quæ ad finem ducunt. Multa desideramus quæ tamen non volumus. Est enim desiderium aliud completum, aliud incompletum; sicut & voluptas alia est completa, alia incompleta, quam barbaro vocabulo in scholis vocant *velleitatem*, qua designamus non quid homo proprie velit, sed quid vellet. Prudentis est ex multis desiderabilibus illud eligere sibi quæ omnium suarum actionum finem proponere, quod undequaque est perfectum, & in quo concurrunt omnes rationes quæ rem desiderabilem faciunt. Atqui illa electio non fit sine determinatione voluntatis, qua homo decernit hoc bonum, quod omnibus aliis præferendum judicat, sibi omnium suarum actionum finem proponere. Ita ego credidi recte posse dici hominis voluntatem in bonum ferri, idque bonum semper ab ipso apprehendi ut jucundum. Si vero credas actionem qua ferimur in bonum illud, improprie dici voluntatem, sed debere appellari desiderium, quia fertur in bonum absens, te termino non contendam, modo de illius significatione constet. Ut ergo omnis ambiguitas vitetur, dicamus desiderium ferri in bonum, voluntatem dirigere actiones. Sed caveamus ne quævis desideria confundamus, & desideria completa distinguamus ab incompletis, quæ velleitates, voce in scholis usitata appellari solent. Si vero aliud aptius vocabulum indicare possis, eo lubens utar, ut omnis, quantum fieri potest, obscuritas & ambiguitas in sermone nostro vitetur.

Quod attinet vocem *indifferentia*, certum est nostros ea non raro esse in hac materia usos: verum eam non adeo deperimus, quin si commodior nobis offeratur eam repudiaturi simus; eoque magis quia videmus philosophos Cartesianos eâ sensu à nostro plane alieno uti: illis enim *indifferentia* est fluctuatio iudicii; quando mens, ex rationum pro utraque parte æquilibrio, incerta est quid sibi eligendum sit. Nobis vero *indifferentia* est vis illa animæ, qua positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis potest agere vel non agere. Verum in tota hac de libertate disputatione video sæpe ludi verbis ambiguis, aut saltem in ambiguum sensum detortis. Optandum foret omnia verba eodem significatu ab omnibus accipi; multæ inanes disceptationes & λογισμαί vitari possent. Nunc quoniam in significatione verborum convenire non possumus, necesse est ut quisque explicet, quo significatu unaquaque voce, de qua contenditur, utatur. Circa rem ipsam video nos dissentire. Dicis, *Ista antecedens indifferentia, qua homo ante determinationem sive decretum voluntatis supponitur libertatem habere se determinandi ad alterutram partem oppositorum, non omnino mihi videtur spectare ad quæstionem de libertate; quia libertas unice consistit in potentia agendi vel non agendi secundum determinationem voluntatis.* Mihi plane contrarium videtur, libertatem unice consistere in potentia qua homo actionem volendi potest determinare vel non determinare: & si eam homo ante voluntatis determinationem non habet quod non sit liber, neque ullus status concipi possit in quo liber dici queat. Quia enim voluntas actionum nostrarum domina est, easque pro arbitrio moderatur, si determinatio voluntatis non sit libera, nec in actionibus nostris ulla erit libertas, quia actiones nostræ voluntatis determinationem necessario sequuntur. Quare vix capio quid velis, cum dicis ante ultimum iudicium intellectus homo non potest se omnino determinare. Verum antequam hic sententiam meam explicem, quid per ultimum iudicium intellectus significetur propius explicandum est, ne hic propter ambiguitatem vocis in oratione nostra aliqua sit obscuritas. Communiter ultimum intellectus iudicium vocant, quo homo decernit quid sibi faciendum sit, idque
vocat

vocant ultimum iudicium practicum intellectus; verum hoc iudicium non est tam actus intellectus quam voluntatis, vel saltem actus mixtus, ad cuius complementum voluntas concurrat. Iudicium autem quod solius intellectus actus est, non ulterius procedit quam hoc oportet facere, hoc oportet omittere. Ulterius si procedat, intercedit aliqua actio voluntatis. Quæ duo tamen à multis confunduntur. Jam mea est sententia hominem, quando rectæ rationi consentaneæ agit, semper velle quod intellectus iudicat oportere fieri: posse tamen etiam contra rationem agere, & voluntatem in contrariam partem determinare: quin &, antequam intellectus post accuratum rationum examen iudicaverit quid facere oporteat, posse bruto impetu agere non quod rationi consentaneum est, sed quod concupiscentia dicat. Hic si homo non habet libertatem se determinandi aut non determinandi, & actionem suam suspendendi, videre nequeo in quo libertas consistat. Eandem tuam esse putabam sententiam, idque colligebam ex §. 47. capitis supra nominati, ubi inter alia ais, *animam quæ habet potentiam suspendendi impletionem cuiuscunque desiderii sui, sicuti evidenter patet per experientiam, consequenter etiam habere libertatem ea successive unum post alterum considerandi, eorum objecta examinandi, ea ex omni parte observandi, & inter se comparandi; & in hoc consistere libertatem hominis: omnemque erroris & vitiorum originem inde arcessis, quod præcipitemus iudicium, voluntatemque nostram cito nimis determinemus, & actioni nos accingamus antequam bene examinaverimus quid agere nos oporteat.* Hæc aliaque quæ ibi addis verissima esse iudico; iisque plane assentior. Verum hæc cum iis quæ epistola scribis, quod homo ante iudicium intellectus se non potest omnino determinare, conciliare non possum. Fortasse mentem tuam non bene percepi. Rogo itaque, si grave non sit, ut ostendas, qua ratione hæc inter se conciliare debeat, & distinctius quod ego non plene percepi explices. Nulli opinioni, nedum phrasi aut voci, ita sum addictus, quin meliora monstranti cedere paratus sim: veritatem enim unice quæro, quam si invenero, de errore triumphabo.

Hæc scripseram, cum ad me exemplar Latinum tractatus tui de Intellectu Humano affertur; pro quo eximio dono ego summas tibi habeo ac ago gratias. Statui illud à capite ad calcem perlegere, & cum elegantissima versione Gallica conferre, quæ proculdubio Latinæ nonnunquam lucem fœnerabitur: & quando integrum tractatum perlegero, candide tibi iudicium meum scribam, non quia necesse est, sed quia id à me exigit, idque ego tibi petenti me debere agnosco. Verum quantum ex Gallicæ versionis lectione percepi, me sententiæ tuæ approbatorem habebis: si vero ad quædam hæsitavero, ea tibi candide indicabo, ut pleniorum eorum explicationem ex te eliciam. Deum precor ut tibi vitam ac vires continuet, ut egregiis tuis laboribus orbi literato porro prodesse possis. Salutant te uxor ac filia. Salutem à nobis officiosissimam dices Dominæ Masham totique familiæ. Vale

Amstelod. 19 Julij,
1701.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

Q Uod omnis obscuritas & ambiguitas in verborum usu sit vitanda tecum plane sentio: verum liceat mihi adicere, quod hoc sæpe non fit etiam à volentibus evitare obscuritatem. Idæ, quæ obversantur hominum mentibus, præsertim eorum qui veritatem attentius quærunt, multo plures sunt quam voces cuiusvis linguæ, quæ ad eas exprimendas paratæ sunt. Hinc fit quod homines (quibus integrum non est nova vocabula quoties opus est ad novas ideas significandas ad libitum procudere) eadem voce pro diversis ideis, præsertim si cognatæ sint, identidem utuntur: unde oritur non raro sermonis obscuritas & incertus sensus, quando ad præcisiones accuratas veniendum

Vol. III.

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est,

est, quo non solum audientium sed & ipsorum etiam loquentium mentes implicantur. Inter alia quæ proposui, *lib. iii. cap. xi.* huic malo remedia, illud mihi præcipuum videtur, sc. ut diligenter colligamus omnes simplices ideas quæ ingrediuntur compositionem cujuslibet ideæ complexæ cujus nomen usurpamus, easque eidem voci affixas sedulo in animo teneamus. V. g. in argumento quod præ manibus habemus, si *voluntas* significat potentiam quam homo habet incipiendi, sistendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis vel corporis sui, ut ego fusius explicui, *lib. ii. cap. xxi. §. 5, &c.* in quo tu etiam acquiescere videris: si hæc, inquam, sit idea quam vox *voluntas* significat, eamque præsentem in animo habemus quando de voluntate loquamur, nihil certius esse potest, quam quod voluntas terminatur solummodo in actionibus nostris, nec potest, ulterius extendi ad rem aliquam aliam, nec ferri in bonum remotum & absens. Adeoque si contendis voluntatem ferri in bonum ut finem, recedis ab ea idea quam huic voci assignavimus, aliamque substituis; unde fit quod tu & ego diversas res designamus quando de voluntate loquimur, nec omnino possumus inter nos de voluntate differentes quicquam proficere, donec tu ideam indices cujus apud te vox *voluntas* signum est, ut de sensu vocis, i. e. de re qua differimus conveniamus.

Distinctio de *desiderio completo & incompleto*, sive de *voluntate completa & incompleta*, quam affers, nihil mihi videtur argumentum tuum juvare. Sive enim aliquod sit *incompletum desiderium*, vel *incompleta voluntas*, quod sane dubito, id nunquam efficiet ut sit verum, quod voluntas fertur in bonum. Dico me dubitare an aliqua potest esse *incompleta volitio*; *voluntas* enim hic, ni fallor, sumitur pro actu voluntatis, i. e. pro volitione. Volitionem inefficacem facile agnosco, ut cum paralyticus manum paralyti solutam movere velit, inefficax fateor & sine successu est ista volitio, sed non *incompleta*. Actus enim volendi hoc in casu æque completus est, ac olim quando manus volitioni obsequabatur. Itidem desiderium alicujus propositi boni, quod propter majus bonum incompatible prosequi negligimus, non est *incompletum desiderium*, nec *incompleta voluntas*, sed desiderium completum brevi terminatum, eousque non procedens ut nos impellat ad volendum actiones quibus obtineri possit illud bonum in quod ferebatur breve illud desiderium: nec *incompleta* dici potest *voluntas* ubi nulla omnino est volitio, etiamsi scholæ *velleitatem* appellare ament. Quod si breve illud desiderium eousque procedat, ut nos ad volendum aliquam actionem exciter, *voluntas* illa non est *incompleta*, sed completus actus volendi, etiamsi omissa ulteriore inefficax sit ad obtinendum bonum propositum quod cessante desiderio negligitur. In his & hujusmodi mentis actionibus adeo celeres sunt motus animi, & inter se conjuncti, ut non mirum sit, quod sæpe, uti fit, confundantur, quæ attentius consideranti distinguenda sunt, ut recte conceptus nostros formemus. Vis libere dicam quid hac de re sentio. Homo fertur in bonum absens sive finem. Multis simul intellectui obversantibus bonis non subordinatis nec consistentibus, homo unum, neglectis aliis, sibi proponit ut finem, i. e. ut prosequendum, hoc facit voluntarie, adeoque voluntas fertur in illam actionem mentis, qua unum præ reliquis sibi proponit ut finem, & in ea actione terminatur, eodem modo quo terminatur in computatione quando vult numerare, vel in motione pedum quando vult ambulare. Ob hanc voluntariam propositionem istius boni, ut finis, fateor non raro dicitur vulgo quod voluntas fertur in eum finem vel in id bonum, an proprie & ut philosophicam decet *acceptari*, tu judices.

Quanta sit vis consuetudinis in usu verborum, quæ irrepat subinde nobis insciis, patet, ut mihi videtur, ex iis quæ in epistola tua sequuntur. In priore epistola libens & aperte mecum consentire videris, quod actiones sunt agentium sive substantiarum, & non potentiarum sive facultatum: & tamen hic usitata loquendi forma te abduci pateris, dicisque quod *voluntas est actionum nostrarum domina easque pro arbitrio moderatur*, & similia passim in toto illo epistolæ tuæ paragrapho; quod ni fecisses nulla arbitror mihi tecum lis esset. Hoc non dico quod adeo delicatulus sim, ut hujusmodi loquendi formulas nullo in loco pati possim: earum usus in sermone familiari, si recte intelligantur, non omnino vituperandus. Quando vero in disceptationibus philosophicis pro fundamentis argumentorum, quasi iis inniteretur rerum veritas, omnino

omnino rejiciendæ sunt metaphoricæ & tralaticia hujusmodi locutiones, ne nos in errorem inducant: resque ipsæ, uti revera sunt, propriis & non figuratis vocabulis exprimendæ: v. g. dicere quod *voluntas sit actionum nostrarum domina easque pro arbitrio moderatur*, & inde arguere quod *nisi voluntas sit libera nulla erit in homine libertas*, est, ut mihi videtur, ex vi metaphoræ illius nos in errorem conjicere. *Libertas apud me est potestas hominis agendi vel non agendi secundum suam voluntatem*; scilicet si homo potest agere hoc, si vult agere hoc; & abstinere è contra ab agendo hoc, quando vult abstinere ab agendo hoc, eo in casu liber est homo. Hanc esse veram libertatis notionem videtur mihi constare ex iis quæ à me dicta sunt §. 8. & seqq. Quæ si vera sit, inde omnino sequitur libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati, uti monstravi §. 14. Imo inde sequitur quod illa *antecedens indifferentia ante decretum voluntatis*, nullo modo, ut dixi, pertinet ad quæstionem de libertate. Si enim libertas sit potentia agendi actionem quam vult homo, & vicissim abstinendi ab eadem actione, si ab ea homo vult abstinere: quid facit, rogo, ista antecedens indifferentia ad libertatem quæ est potentia agendi vel non agendi consequenter ad voluntatis determinationem?

Quandoquidem vero inciderit quæstio de ista vestra *antecedente indifferentia*, cui vos omnem inniti libertatem contenditis, de ea liceat mihi paullo distinctius inquirere. Hæc *indifferentia* definitur à te *vis animi qua positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis potest agere vel non agere*. Jam hic rogo an intellectus, judicium, vel cogitatio sit unum ex requisitis ad agendum?

1. Si dicas quod intellectus, judicium, vel cogitatio sit unum ex *requisitis ad agendum*, vestra *antecedens indifferentia* nunquam efficiet ut voluntas sit libera (quamvis eum in finem, ut inde adstrui possit voluntatis libertas, excogitata & introducta videtur) quia, ut dixi, aliqua actione semel intellectui proposita, voluntas non est in statu in quo potest agere vel non agere (in quo, ut mihi videtur, consistit libertas) necessario debet agere; nec potest abstinere ab agendo, i. e. à volendo, actionem illam scilicet, vel illius omissionem. Imo vero voluntas eo in statu non est indifferens ad alterutram partem oppositorum, nempe ad actionem propositam, vel ejus omissionem, quia determinatur à præcedente intellectus judicio, actionem illam vel ejus omissionem præferente.

2. Si dicas quod intellectus, judicium, sive cogitatio, non sit unum ex *requisitis ad agendum*. Videas quæso, dum hominem hoc modo liberum reddere velis, an non agentem cæcum plane efficis? & ut liberum facias ab eo intellectum removes, sine quo nec esse nec supponi potest libertas ulla. Ad res enim cogitatione & intellectu destitutas nulla omnino attinet libertas. Perpende igitur quæso & tecum cogita an libertas hominis recte fundari potest in ejusmodi statu qui excludit cogitationem, redditque lapidem æque capacem libertatis? An illa indifferentia pertinere potest ad quæstionem de libertate, quæ seposita cogitatione nullum locum in subjecto relinquit libertati?

Hæc omnia ita se habent ex mea libertatis notione, quam fufius traditam invenies §. 8, 13. Quod si tu aliam isti voci sensum tribuas, forsan hæc omnes evanescent difficultates. Sed tunc roganduses ut tuam libertatis definitionem ad me mittas, si de diversis rebus sub eodem nomine differentes nolumus sine fructu disputare.

Ex his quæ supra dixi mihi constare videtur quod libertas nullatenus consistit in indifferentia hominis, sed solummodo in potentia agendi vel non agendi prout volumus. Exemplo forsan res clarior erit. Homo v. g. amat vinum, judicat sibi bonum esse, ex voluntate sua bibit: nulla hic indifferentia est, & tamen libera prorsus est hæc actio, quia si modo mutaverit voluntatem potest abstinere. Contra homo vinum nec amat nec averfatur, nec judicat sibi bonum aut malum esse, supponamus quantamlibet hominis indifferentiam: ex voluntate abstinere à vino in carcere ubi vinum non permittitur. Hæc actio, nempe abfinitia à potione vini est voluntaria fateor, sed non est libera: quoniam homo ille si mutet voluntatem, vinum tamen in eo casu bibere non potest. Vides igitur quod indifferentia potest esse sine libertate, & libertas sine indifferentia, & actio voluntaria sine utraque. Hæc me res ipsæ per se planè docere videntur. Imo vero res ipsæ melius forsan

forſan & ſimplicius nos docerent multa, ſi ſcholarum ſubtilitas in procu-
dis facultatibus, diſtinctionibus, aliſque ſpecioſis inventis mire acuta, non
obduceret ſæpe rebus in ſe clariſ operoſam & doctam obſcuritatem.

Dicis porro quod *Libertas conſiſtit in potentia qua homo actionem volendi poteſt
determinare vel non determinare.* Si per *actionem volendi determinare vel non deter-
minare* ſignificas velle aut non velle; libertas in eo conſiſtere non poteſt:
quia aliqua actione homini propoſita, homo non poteſt abſtinere à volitione,
debet neceſſario velle aut actionem illam propoſitam, aut abſtinentiam ab iſta
actione, quantumvis levis & iſtantanea præcedat mentis cogitatio ſemper
& neceſſario ſequitur actus volendi, quo actio propoſita vel eligitur vel neg-
ligitur: & ita voluntas præcedente cogitatione ſemper determinatur ad agen-
dum, i. e. ad volendum ſcil. exiſtentiam vel non exiſtentiam actionis pro-
poſitæ. Quod ſi per *potentiam qua homo actionem volendi poteſt determinare vel non
determinare*, ſignificas potentiam quicquid temere volendi, vel ſine prævia
cogitatione, vel contra intellectus judicium, uti ſequentia verba videntur
innuere, ubi dicis, *nifi determinatio voluntatis ſit libera*, & loqueris de *bruto im-
petu*: libertas in huiusmodi potentia non poteſt conſiſtere. Quia ut dixi
libertas ſupponit cogitationem. Ubi enim nulla eſt cogitatio nulla eſſe po-
teſt libertas, uti ſuſius explicui §. 8, & 9. Porro libertas non poteſt conſi-
ſtere in potentia determinandi actionem volendi contra judicium intellectus,
quia homo non habet huiusmodi potentiam. Actio enim volendi hoc aut
illud ſemper ſequitur judicium intellectus, quo homo iudicat nunc hoc & nunc
illud eſſe melius. Ex quo facile eſt intelligere, quid velim, cum dico, ante
ultimum judicium intellectus homo non poteſt omnino ſe determinare: hoc-
que facile conciliare poſſis cum iis quæ citas ex §. 47. de ſuſpentione im-
pletionis cujuſcunque deſiderii, ſi modo memineris quod ante unamquamque
volitionem præcedit ſemper judicium aliquod intellectus de re agenda; judi-
ciumque illud quod immediate præcedit volitionem ſive actum volendi eſt eo
in caſu ultimum judicium intellectus. Quod te in diverſum abripuit mihi
videtur hoc eſſe, nempe quod ultimum judicium intellectus videris confun-
dere cum maturo & recto iudicio, ſi recte capio ſenſum iſtius ſententiæ ubi
hæc verba lego: *Intellectus poſt accuratum rationum examen iudicaverit quid facere
oporteat*, &c. Sed id non eſt ultimum iudicium de quo ego loquor. Loquor
ego de eo iudicio quod in omni volitione immediate præcedit volitionem,
quod revera eſt ultimum iudicium ſive bene expenſum ſit & matura delibera-
tione recoctum, ſive extemporaneum & ſubito impetu enatum, & æque vo-
luntatem determinat, ſive ſit ſive non ſit rationi conſentaneum.

Si meum ſenſum in his ſatis recte & clare expoſui, non apparebit tibi, cre-
do, hæc relegenti tanta inter nos opinionum diſtancia, quantum credidiſti:
pro certo habeo nos veritatem utrinque ſincere quærentes non poſſe diu de
rebus ipſis diſſentire, quanquam loquendi formulæ videantur nonnunquam
in diverſum abire. Sed de rebus ipſis cogitantibus facile erit phraſiologiæ ne-
bulas diſcutere, ex quibus fere oriuntur inter veritatis amatores omnes con-
troverſiæ.

En prolixiore epiſtola tibi explicationem ſententiæ meæ poſcenti, ut po-
tui, morem geſſi. Ignoscas, rogo, quod toties citaverim librum meum;
hoc feci brevitatſ cauſa, ne hic in epiſtola ea reſcriberem quæ in libro im-
preſſo melius legeres.

De duabus verſionibus monere te convenit, ut ſicubi inter ſe diſſidentes
reperias de ſenſu meo ex Gallica dijudices. Illam enim mihi auctor totam
perlegit, & ubi à ſenſu meo aberrare deprehendi, correxit. Latinam non-
dum mihi legere contigit. Valerudo & negotia non ſatis otii conceſſerunt.
Vale, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 12 Auguſt.

1701.

Tui amantiſſimum,

J. LOCKE.

Postquam quæ ſupra habentur ſcripſeram, mihi venit in mentem non in-
commodum fore ſi aliquid libro meo infererem, ad elucidandam *indifferentiæ*
naturam in qua conſiſtit libertas, in gratiam eorum qui *indifferentiam* hoc in
argumento

argumento tanti faciunt, ut illa ablata vel omiffa nihil recte vel clare statui de libertate poffe exiftimant. En igitur quæ §. 71. jungenda censui. Ego Anglice fcripsi: Gallice vertit D. Coſte, adeoque fi probas Gallicæ verſioni libri mei inferere poſſis.

Liv. II. Chap. XXI. §. 71. après ces mots, par ſon propre jugement, ajoutez ce qui ſuit.

Je ſai que certaines gens font conſiſter la Liberté dans une certaine Indifference de l'homme, antecédente à la détermination de ſa volonté. Je ſouhaiterois que ceux qui font tant de fonds ſur cette indifference antecédente, comme ils parlent, nous euſſent dit nettement ſi cette indifference qu'ils ſuppoſent, précède la penſée & le jugement de l'entendement auſſi bien que le decret de la volonté; car il eſt bien mal-aiſé de la placer entre ces deux termes, je veux dire immédiatement après le jugement de l'entendement, & devant la détermination de la volonté, parce que la détermination de la volonté ſuit immédiatement le jugement de l'entendement: & d'ailleurs, placer la liberté dans une indifference qui précède la penſée & le jugement de l'entendement, c'eſt, ce me ſemble, faire conſiſter la liberté dans un état de tenebres où nous ne pouvons ni voir ni dire ce que c'eſt: c'eſt du moins la placer dans un ſujet incapable de liberté, nul agent n'étant jugé capable de liberté qu'en conſéquence de la penſée, & du jugement qu'on reconnoît en luy. Comme je ne ſuis pas délicat en matière d'exprefſions, je conſens à dire avec ceux qui aiment à parler ainſi, que la liberté eſt placée dans l'Indifference; mais c'eſt dans une ſorte d'indifference qui reſte après le jugement de l'entendement, & même après la détermination de la volonté: ce qui n'eſt pas une indifference de l'homme (car après que l'homme a une fois jugé ce qu'il eſt meilleur de faire ou de ne pas faire, il n'eſt plus indifférent) mais une indifference des puiffances actives ou operatives de l'homme, lesquelles demeurant tout autant capables d'agir, ou de ne pas agir après qu'avant le decret de la volonté, ſont dans un état qu'on peut appeller, ſi l'on veut, indifference: & auſſi loin que s'étend cette indifference, juſques là l'homme eſt libre, & pas au delà. Par exemple, j'ay la puiffance de mouvoir ma main, ou de la laiſſer en repos; cette faculté operative eſt indifférente au mouvement & au repos de ma main: je ſuis donc libre à cet égard. Ma volonté vient à déterminer cette puiffance operative au repos, je ſuis encore libre, parce que l'indifference de cette puiffance operative qui eſt en moy, d'agir ou de ne pas agir, reſte encore; la puiffance de mouvoir ma main n'étant nullement diminuée par la détermination de ma volonté, qui à preſent ordonne le repos; l'indifference de cette puiffance à agir ou de ne pas agir, eſt juſtement telle qu'elle étoit auparavant, comme il paroît ſi la volonté veut en faire l'épreuve en ordonnant le contraire. Mais ſi pendant que ma main eſt en repos, elle vient à être ſaiſie d'une ſoudaine paralylie, l'indifference de cette puiffance operative eſt détruite, & ma liberté avec elle: je n'ay plus de liberté à cet égard, mais je ſuis dans la néceſſité de laiſſer ma main en repos. D'un autre côté ſi ma main eſt miſe en mouvement par une convulſion, l'indifference de cette faculté operative s'évanouit; & en cas là ma liberté eſt détruite; car je me trouve dans la néceſſité de laiſſer mouvoir ma main. J'ai ajouté ceci pour faire voir dans quelle ſorte d'indifference il me paroît que la liberté conſiſte précifément, & qu'elle ne peut conſiſter dans aucune autre, réelle ou imaginaire.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH S. P. D.

Ampliſſime Vir,

QUOD tantum mea cauſa laborem fuſceperis, ut proluxiori epiſtola ſententiam tuam mihi diſtinctius explicare non fueris gravatus, maximas tibi habeo gratias: legi, relegi, expendi epiſtolam tuam magna cum attentione. Quanto exactius eam expendo, tanto magis obſervare videor, nos tam ſententiis, quam phraſibus ac loquendi modis diſcrepare, & quandoque diverſas ideas iſdem, nonnunquam eaſdem ideas diverſis vocibus designare. Reſpondiſſem citius, verum conſulto reſponſum diſtuli, donec integrum tuum tractatum perlegiſſem. Eo jam perleſto, & cum epiſtola tua collato, magis

magis magisque observare videor, omnem qui inter nos apparet dissensum; non tam circa rem ipsam quam circa voces, ac diversam ejusdem rei explicandæ rationem occupari. Quia vero non ubique phrasium mearum sensum recte percepisse videris, & ut, quicquid fortasse adhuc inter nos restat dissensus, paucis & in compendio comprehendere possit, *primo* sensum vocum ac phrasium quibus usus sum quanta possum perspicuitate explicabo: *deinde* phrasibus clavis & ambiguitati non obnoxiiis sententiam meam quanta possum brevitate exponam. Tandem inquiram in quibus consentiamus, & quis adhuc remaneat dissensus; utrumne ille in re ipsa, an vero in vocibus ac phrasibus, & diversa rem quam inquirimus explicandi ratione consistat. Ita puto, si fortasse nondum per omnia idem sentiamus, brevi omnem dissensum sublatum iri, nec veritatem sincere eam quærentibus diu absconditam fore.

Significationem voluntatis, quod sit *potentia quam homo habet incipiendi, sistendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis vel corporis*, ego tecum agnosco, & ab ea non recedam: à voluntate etiam distinguo desiderium quo ferimur in bonum absens, neque id unquam sub notione voluntatis comprehendam. Agnosco hic me minus exacte locutum, & desiderium à voluntate esse distinguendum. Quod dixi, voluntatem etiam ferri in finem, nihil aliud volui nisi quod tu ipse in epistola tua dicis; *Multiis simul intellectui observantibus bonis non subordinatis nec consistentibus, hominem unum neglectis aliis sibi proponere ut finem, & ut prosequendum: hoc facit voluntarie*. Hæc ergo electio est actio voluntatis: quando hanc sibi electionem fecit homo, desiderio suo fertur in bonum illud quod sibi elegit; & voluntate sua dirigit actiones suas, quibus se bonum desideratum consecuturum credit.

Vox *libertas* mihi designat dominium quod homo habet in actionem suam; quo nempe positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis potest agere & non agere: qui non est actionis suæ dominus, seu agere non potest quod vult, non est liber. Verum ego puto hoc ad omnes hominis actiones, sine ulla exceptione, extendi, tam ad internas actiones mentis, quam externas corporis, adeo ut etiam actio volendi, quæ est interna mentis actio, sit libera. Quando autem dixi voluntatem esse actionum nostrarum dominam, nihil aliud volui, nisi, actiones nostras externas dirigi à volitione nostra, adeo ut faciamus quæ volumus, & non faciamus quæ nolumus, nisi intercedat cohibitio, aut coactio: utraque enim illa libertatem destruit. Semel declaravi, credere me animam seu mentem immediate, absque ullis intermediis facultatibus, intelligere & velle: per intellectum itaque & voluntatem, quotiescunque iis vocibus utor, aliud non intelligo nisi potentiam seu facultatem ipsius animæ qua elicit actionem intelligendi ac volendi, & quam actionem anima immediate exercet. Et hanc significationem te etiam admittere puto.

Supereff ut dicam de *indifferentia*. De qua primo præmoneo, eam non esse nostram, uti tu credis, id est, à nobis inventam, aut ita à nobis adscitam, ut pro ea tanquam necessario in hac quæstione usurpanda contendamus. Nihil minus. Nos diu illa voce usi non fuimus: libertatem definientes, eam ordinarie vocavimus dominium quod homo in actionem suam habet. In disputatione autem contra illos theologos, qui intellectum ac voluntatem statuunt duas esse facultates realiter & ab anima & à se invicem distinctas, quarum una tantum intelligit, nihil autem vult, altera tantum vult, nihil autem intelligit, hanc illorum sententiam hoc argumento oppugnavimus: quod per eam aut omnis libertas tollatur, aut omnis actio hominis reddatur bruta ac irrationalis. Aut enim voluntas determinatur ab intellectu, adeo ut necessario velit quod intellectus illi præscribit: atqui tum omnis actio necessaria est, quia omnis actio intellectus est necessaria: Aut non determinatur ab intellectu, sed seipsam determinat: atqui tum omnis actio voluntatis est bruta & irrationalis, quia supponitur voluntatem nihil intelligere, sed solummodo velle. Hujus argumenti ictum ut evitent, responderunt, radicem libertatis esse in intellectu; quia in intellectu est indifferentia, qua potest quodcumque objectum quod sibi offertur apprehendere & judicare. Responderunt nostri, eam esse tantum indifferentiam passivam, qualis est in oculo, qui etiam quævis objecta sibi occurrentia potest videre eorum-

eorumque imagines recipere; quem tamen nemo propterea dixerit libere videre; quia non potest, quin quod sibi videndum proponitur videat: sicut non potest intellectus quin quod sibi clare proponitur comprehendat; aut dubitet de eo, pro quo utrinque æquæ graves militant rationes. Si vero libertas quærat in indifferentia, oportere eam esse activam, qua homo dominium habet in suam actionem. Exinde, quoniam alii vocem *indifferentiæ* adhibuerunt, nos, ut omnem in disputando ambiguitatem vitaremus, distinctionis causa addidimus vocem *activæ*, diximusque libertatem consistere in indifferentia activa, eamque residere in voluntate. Vides ergo, nos non pro hac voce velle decertare, nec eam à nobis esse excogitatam: sed nos vocem ab aliis usurpatam explicuisse, & additione vocis *activæ* significationem illius explanationem reddidisse. Interim non nego, nos postea quandoque etiam illa in scriptis nostris esse usos, quia juxta explicationem nostram accepta commodissima visa fuit, & idem significare cum phrasi antea à nobis usurpata, dominium in actiones nostras. Idque etiam constat ex definitione hujus indifferentiæ, quam in præcedente mea epistola dedi; quod sit vis illa animi, qua positis omnibus ad agendum requisitis potest agere vel non agere: quod mihi aliud nihil est, quam quod homo dominium habet in actionem suam, ut possit prout ipsi placuerit, vel agere vel non agere. Itaque inter omnia ad agendum requisita vel maxime colloco intellectus judicium, quod præcedere debet; alias volendi actio mere esset irrationalis. Quando autem dico quod *possit agere & non agere*, mens mea non est, quod simul possit agere & non agere; aut nec agere nec non agere, seu nec velle nec non velle: hoc enim contradictorium est; sed quod potentia ad neutrum sit determinata, ac proinde ex duobus oppositis possit eligere quodcumque ipsi libitum fuerit; imo ubi jam se determinavit ad agendum, quod actionem suam sistere possit, & se rursus in partem oppositam determinare. Hoc est, quod dominium habet in suam actionem. Ubi hoc non potest non est liber. Sic recte mones, eum, qui volens in carcere à vino abstinere, non libere abstinere, quia non habet facultatem vinum bibendi: nec qui volens in carcere manere, libere manere, quia non habet facultatem exeundi. Sed vero alia est ratio actionum internarum quæ sola mente perficiuntur. Ad illarum libertatem nihil requiritur nisi libera determinatio voluntatis. Sic qui in carcere concupiscit alterius uxorem, eaque turpi concupiscentia se oblectat, eamque in animo fovet, libere concupiscit & peccat, licet ea concupiscentia intra solam delectationem morosam, uti scholastici loquuntur, consistat; ideoque ad ejus consummationem ipse externus adulterii actus non requiritur. Per *brutum impetum* non intelligo actionem voluntatis sine ulla præcedente cogitatione; sic enim conciperem non hominem; sed præcipitatum actionem, ante debitum & accuratum illius examen: sicuti videmus multos homines vehementi affectu sæpe abripi, ut hoc aut aliud agere velint, antequam omnes actionis circumstantias, rationesque ac argumenta quibus ad eam incitari aut ab ea deterreri possint, rite consideraverint. Hanc ergo tribuo libertatem homini, ut, quando actio ipsi proposita est, possit vel præcipitare judicium, vel mature omnes actionis circumstantias examinare, atque ita vel bruto impetu, vel prævio, maturo, ac deliberato consilio agere: ejusque libertatis unumquemque sibi esse conscium credo. Nec hoc omittendum per *indifferentiam*, me non intelligere statum, in quo homo quasi in æquilibrio est constitutus, nec in unam partem magis propendet quam in alteram; talis enim status indifferentiæ circa actiones morales in nullo homine reperitur: semper in unam partem magis propendemus quam in aliam, in actionibus præsertim moralibus, prout vel affectibus agimur, aut consuetudo ac habitus nos erga virtutem aut vitia proniores reddidit: sed statum in quo homo potentiam habet se determinandi in quamcunque oppositorum partem velit: licet enim magis sit propensus in unam partem quam in alteram, non tamen dominium in actionem suam amisit, sed in alteram partem etiam se determinare potest. Verum quia vox *indifferentiæ* accipi potest pro statu, quo homo in neutram partem inclinatur, sed plane in æquilibrio est constitutus, licet ille sensus directæ explicationi nostræ adversetur, ad omnem vitandam amphibologiam, à voce illa abstinerebo.

Ultimum intellectus judicium ego non confundo cum maturo & recto judicio; sed ibi distinguo ultimum judicium, quod sit vel maturum & rectum, vel pravum & præcipitatum, quod ibi vocavi brutum impetum, quia illud magis sequitur vehementem concupiscentiam carnalem, quam ductum rationis: utrumque est ultimum judicium, quando immediate actionem volendi antecedit, & inter illud actionemque volendi nullum aliud judicium intermedium est.

Ita explicatis terminis quibus usus sum, jam quanta possum brevitate & perspicuitate sententiam meam proponam. Eam his Thesisibus comprehendo.

1. Homo est agens liberum, & habet dominium in actiones suas, illas vel faciendi, vel omittendi.

2. Intellectus & voluntas non sunt duæ facultates realiter ab anima hominis & à se invicem distinctæ; sed anima per suam essentiam immediate intelligit & vult.

3. Homo nihil vult aut facit, nisi desiderio boni, aut sensu molestiæ ex absentia boni desiderati excitatus.

4. Actum volendi antecedit actus intelligendi, quo homo judicium fert de actione sua.

5. Judicium illud vel est prudens post adhibitum maturum rationum ab utraque parte militantium examen: vel est præcipitatum, & ab affectu magis quam ratione dictatum.

6. Judicium hoc, quatenus est merus intelligendi actus, non procedit ultra suasionem, hoc est eligibile, seu, hoc consentaneum est eligere, hoc consentaneum est rejicere: aut inter eligibilia hoc magis hoc minus est eligibile; inter fugienda, hoc magis hoc minus oportet fugere.

7. Judicium quo homo decernit hoc est faciendum, est ipsa volitio; vel ad minimum, actus mixtus ex intellectu & volitione, & ad cujus consummationem actus volendi concurrat.

8. Actus intelligendi, quatenus est merus intelligendi actus, est necessarius, & nititur momento rationum ab homine perceptarum.

9. Actus volendi liber est, habetque homo dominium in illum, ac facultatem eum vel eliciendi vel non eliciendi. Si quæ ergo libertas in judicio est, ea procedit non ab actu intelligendi, sed volendi.

10. Actionum internarum, quæ sola mente perficiuntur, libertas consistit in libera mentis determinatione, qua actionem volendi vel elicere potest, vel cohibere. Ad libertatem vero actionum externarum, ad quarum consummationem concurrere debent membra externa, etiam requiritur ut homo habeat facultatem sive potentiam faciendi quod vult, & omittendi, seu non faciendi, quod non vult: sive liberum & non impeditum membrorum externorum usum.

Ita paucis explicata sententia mea, videamus nunc in quibus conveniamus, & quis inter nos supersit dissensus. Quando epistolam tuam confero cum *lib. ii. cap. xxi. de potentia*, videor mihi posse dicere, nos in quinque primis thesisibus consentire, nec de iis inter nos ullum esse dissensum. De ultima etiam nulla est inter nos controversia, nisi forte quod tu libertatem in sola potentia faciendi quod volumus, & non faciendi quod nolumus collocare videris, cum ego eam etiam ad ipsius voluntatis determinationem, seu volitionis actum extendam. De quo mox. Utroque etiam pollice amplector quod in epistola tua scribis; quod homo fertur in bonum absens, sive finem; & quod multis simul intellectui obversantibus bonis non subordinatis nec consistentibus, homo unum neglectis aliis sibi proponit ut finem, id est, ut prosequendum: & hoc facit voluntarie: ideoque voluntas fertur in illam actionem mentis qua unum præ reliquis sibi proponit ut finem; & in ea actione terminatur: eam autem voluntatis actionem sequitur desiderium finis. Hactenus ergo consentimus. Videamus quousque in reliquis consentiamus, & quis supersit dissensus.

Primo, non videmur convenire in definitione libertatis. Sic enim dicis: *Libertas apud me est potestas hominis agendi vel non agendi secundum suam voluntatem.* Quæ definitio mihi angusta nimis esse videtur: & si ea agnoscatur, tum certum est, libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati: sicut certum est, ani-

mam

mam nunquam posse esse sine cogitatione, si vera sit definitio, anima est cogitatio. Imo si hæc genuina sit definitio libertatis, fieri posset ut libertas consisteret cum summa necessitate. Ut mox ostendam. Ego autem puto libertatem esse dominium quod homo habet in quamcunque suam actionem, eamque extendi non tantum ad actiones, quas facit secundum suam voluntatem, sed & ad ipsum volendi actum, seu volitionem.

Quod sextam & septimam thesin attinet, nescio quousque in illis consentiamus, aut quis de illis inter nos sit dissensus. In postrema mea epistola idem jam affirmavi: verum tu nullam in tua epistola illius mentionem facis: itaque incertus sum quousque hic mecum sentias. Mihi evidens videtur, hominem iudicium suum determinare, quia vult acquiescere rationibus quas expendit: suspendere autem iudicium suum, quia nondum vult acquiescere, sed rationes aut exactius expendere; aut an sint plures, quibus iudicium ejus inclinare possit, inquirere. Atque ita determinationem ultimi iudicii, quo homo decernit hoc est eligendum aut faciendum, si non totam, maximam saltem partem, esse actionem volendi.

Octava Thesis, qua statuo, omnem actum intellectus, quatenus merus intelligendi actus est, esse necessarium, nescio an inter nos controversa sit. Illam enim expresse asserere videris, *lib. iv. cap. xiii. §. 2. & cap. xx. §. 16.* At ea distinctius paulum explicanda est, ut pateat, an aliquis de ea sit dissensus. Hic ergo observo, quod res quas intellectus percipit, sunt vel mere theoreticæ, vel practicæ. Circa veritates theoreticas actio intellectus necessaria prorsus est: proposita veritate clara & evidenti, intellectus necessario assentitur, seu homo necessario eam percipit, illique assensum præbet: propositis argumentis verisimilibus tantum, homo necessario opinatur: propositis utrinque argumentis æqualis ponderis, homo, seu intellectus, necessario dubitat: omnesque hæc intelligendi actiones nituntur momento rationum ab homine perceptarum. Circa veritates practicas actio intelligendi, quatenus mera intelligendi actio est, & nulla intercedit actio volendi, etiam necessaria est, pro rationum enim momento quas intellectus expendit, iudicat quid convenientius, qui minus conveniens, quid ex usu sit facere, vel non facere. Hoc iudicium ducit quidem voluntatem, verum eam non plene determinat: est enim illud imperium tantum suasionis, cui voluntas potest non obtemperare, seu homo potest aliud velle; determinatio autem procedit à voluntate, qua homo decernit hoc est faciendum, eaque determinatio fit vel juxta suasionem intellectus, & tunc est rationalis; vel fieri potest contra eam, & tunc est irrationalis, hoc est, procedit ab affectu carnali, & suasioni intellectus neutiquam auscultat: vel etiam potest esse præceptum & temeraria, ita ut maturum iudicium antevertat. Hic videmur dissentire: Dicis enim *hominem non habere potentiam determinandi actionem volendi contra iudicium intellectus: actio enim volendi hoc aut illud, semper sequitur iudicium intellectus, quo homo iudicat hoc & nunc illud esse melius.* Idem etiam videris affirmare in fine §. 71. dicti capituli. Sed tamen quando hæc confero cum definitione voluntatis in tua epistola, quod sit *potentia quam homo habet incipiendi, sistendi, vel vitandi aliquam actionem mentis vel corporis*, & cum §. 47. cap. xxi. & aliquot anteced. & seqq. dubito an multum dissentiamus, & an non magis diversitas sit in modo explicandi quam in re ipsa. Omnino enim mihi videris illic agnoscere libertatem quandam in iudicando. Dicis enim illic, *liberum esse menti appetitionum suarum objecta considerare, eas intraspicere penitus, & utrum præponderet trutina diligenter examinare. In hoc libertas hominis consistit: & quæ ibi porro egregia habes.* Addis mox: *indultam nobis potestatem voluntatem revocandi à prosecutione hujus aut illius appetitionis. Hic mihi videtur fons esse omnis libertatis*, &c. Ex iis enim liquere videtur, libertatem etiam versari in iudicio formando, imo ibi esse libertatis fontem. Unde colligo libertatem (juxta tuam explicationem) non solummodo consistere in potentia faciendi quod volumus: sed etiam ante volitionis actum, imo ante iudicium de actione sua, hominem esse liberum & libertatem suam exercere. Solummodo discrimen inter nos esset, an iudicium ultimum quo decernitur, non, hoc convenit facere, sed, hoc est faciendum, sit actio intelligendi mera; an vero ad id etiam concurrat actio volendi? & an libertas resideat in actione intelligendi, an volendi? sive, an id quod in iudicio, quo hominis actio determinatur, liberum est, resideat in intellectione an volitione? Si in eo

constat discrimen; puto facile sententias nostras conciliari posse: quamvis enim mihi perspicuum videatur, libertatem residere in actione volendi, nihilque esse liberum, quin sit etiam voluntarium; non tamen hic tantopere videmur posse dissentire, quin facile ad consensum reducamur. Cum enim uterque statuamus, intellectum & voluntatem non esse duas potentias realiter ab anima & à se invicem distinctas; sed hominem, seu animam, immediate per suam essentiam intelligere ac velle, satis convenimus, quando uterque agnoscimus iudicium hominis ultimum libere determinari: quando enim adest potentia faciendi quod ultimum illud iudicium libere à nobis determinatum dicat, & non faciendi, seu omittendi quod ultimo illo iudicio non esse faciendum decernitur, homo plena fruitur libertate, solummodo controvertitur, an illud iudicium, quod homo libere format, & quo actiones ejus determinantur, sit actio intellectus, an voluntatis? sic disquireretur solummodo utra explicatio cum philosophica *axioma* melius conciliari posset, in re ipsa autem foret consensus. Si vero dicamus, omnem actionem intellectus esse necessariam, & ultimum illud iudicium practicum esse merum intellectus actum, ac per illud voluntatem determinari; non video, quomodo ulla in homine reliqua sit libertas. Actiones enim omnes determinantur à voluntate, nisi homo aut cohibeatur quo minus facere possit quod vult, aut cogatur facere quod non vult; cohibitio enim & coactio, ut recte observas, repugnant libertati: & quando nostri juris sumus semper facimus quod volumus. Si autem voluntas determinatur ab intellectu, & intellectus actio sit necessaria; omnia erunt necessaria: nam à principio necessario, hoc est, iudicio intellectus determinatur voluntas; à voluntate actiones: itaque homo ad actiones suas determinatus est; & licet potentiam habeat faciendi quod vult, & non faciendi quod non vult; potentia tamen illa, per antecedentem voluntatis determinationem ad unum determinata est. Atque sic mera in actionibus hominis regnaret necessitas. Prolixior paullo fui; sed prolixitatem, ut perspicue mentem meam explicarem, evitare vix potui. Si alicubi mentem tuam non recte aut non plene percepi, aut me à veritate aberrare credis, me libere moneas & instruas, rogo: veritatem enim unice sector. Et quoniam nunc plenius mentem meam explicui, brevius quicquid tibi non probetur indicare posses. Ut vero plenius sententiam nostram percipias, suaderem ut legas brevem Episcopii tractatum de Libero Arbitrio, qui exstat in Vol. I. Part. II. p. 198. Operum ejus; & Epistolam illius, qua iudicium suum profert de loco quodam ethices non edito: quæ est CXLV. inter Epistolas nostras Ecclesiasticas & Theologicas. Reliqua libri tui mihi valde probantur, multumque me ex illius lectione profecisse gratus agnosco. Lectionem ejus repetere statui. Verum versio Gallica multum Latinæ præstat; eam ego subinde consulo, quando Latina obscurior est, sive interpretis sive typographi culpa. Quæ epistolæ tuæ inclusa sunt errata, & additamentum de indifferentia, nescio an in privatam meum usum miseris, an vero ut imprimantur. Verum ego puto te sententiam nostram de indifferentia non recte percepisse, ideoque eam in hac epistola plenius & distinctius explicui. Sed tandem manum de tabula. Vale, Vir amplissime. Uxor & filia te plurimum salvere jubent. Salutem à nobis officiosissimam dices D. Masham totique familiæ.

*Amstelod. 11 Oct.
1701.*

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNEE LOCKE S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

GRatissimam epistolam tuam 11 Oct. datam legi relegique, & te auctore perlegi Episcopii tractatum de libero Arbitrio. Non tam magnifice de me sentio, ut audeam in tantorum virorum scriptis quicquam reprehendere: fateor tamen nonnulla & in illius dissertatione & in tua epistola occurrere, quæ si coram tibi adessent, explicari à te peroptarem, ut melius perspicere

spicere possem quomodo inter se & cum rei veritate consistere possint. Sed si singula quæ in hoc argumento in aliorum scriptis suboriri possunt dubia persequi velim, & pensiculatus ad trutinam revocare, in volumen abiret epistola: nec meum est aliorum opiniones convellere (quarum ignarus in scribendo nec aliorum sententiam fugi, nec auctoritatem secutus sum) sed solum mea cogitata, quantum ex rebus ipsis perspicere possum, rebus ipsis conformare. Hæc causa esse potest quod inconsultis auctoribus, & mea mecum meditatus terminis & loquendi formulis hoc in subjecto familiaribus non sum usus. Hoc mihi ignoscendum postulo. Nec Episcopii acutissimi, cujus memoria summa apud me in veneratione est, mentionem hic fecissem, nisi te suasore tractatum ejus de libero arbitrio perlegissem quem tuum fecisti, tuamque per omnia sententiam continere mihi notum fecisses.

Hæc à me præfanda erant ne forsan videar aliorum scripta, qui me in hoc argumento præcesserunt insolenter nimis negligere, vel non satis eorum auctoritati tribuere; quod à meo animo, & à mea mediocritate, & est & esse debet remotissimum. Fateor, ego non sector nomina, sed ubique veritati litans, eamque quacunque ducit unice sequor: ideoque gratias tibi ago maximas quod me ubi errasse existimas in viam reducere conaris.

Primum & præcipuum quod in novissima hac tua epistola culpæ videris, est mea definitio *libertatis* quam dicis *nimis esse angustam*. An tua laxior est quam illa, quam ego *lib. 2. c. xxi. §. 8, & 12.* tradidi, tum videbimus cum tu illam proferes. Nam quod dicis *libertatem esse dominium quod homo habet in quamcunque suam actionem*, hoc mihi non videtur esse definitio libertatis, quum nihil aliud dicit nisi hominem habere dominium in actiones suas quod habet; quod huc tantum redit, libertatem esse libertatem quam homo habet in quamcunque suam actionem; quo evenire potest ut nulla omnino sit hominis libertas: scis enim esse aliquos qui negant hominem ullum in actiones suas habere dominium, sed omnia præstituto & ineluctabili duci fato. Quod si dicas te supponere hominem habere dominium in actiones suas, & in eo consistere libertatem; tunc rogo quid sit dominium hominis in actionis suas? *Dominium* enim, sive sit vox tralatitia, sive ob aliquam aliam causam, mihi videtur æque si non magis obscura quam vox Libertas, ideoque non minus eget definitione. Et sic pergam rogando donec perventum erit ad simplices ideas, ex quibus conflatur idea libertatis.

Video ex hac tua epistola quanta sit vis consuetudinis, & qua constantia non cogitantibus etiam & invitis irrepit. Fateris, & candide fateris, voluntatem esse animæ facultatem, & facultates non esse agentes: & tamen, ut alia omittam, hic dicis, *si mea definitio libertatis agnoscat, certum est libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati*. Voluntati enim nullo modo competere potest libertas, nisi pro agente agnoscat. Quippe agentium solummodo est libertas. Scio te Episcopii exemplo posse teipsum excusare, qui in principio dissertationis suæ strenue rejiciens facultatum operationes subinde tamen relabitur in argumentationes quibus supponuntur agentes: permitte tamen ut amice moneam nisi hoc maxime caveas, multum in hac materia tibi faceisses negotium, & tenebras sæpissime tibi offundes.

Ad reliqua de quibus dubitare videris, ne in longitudinem molemque nimiam extendatur responsio, rectius me & compendiosius satisfacturum credo, si aliquas hic illic capiti xxi. inferam explicationes quibus animi mei sensum negligentius forsan vel obscurius traditum clariorem reddam, adeo ut festinanti etiam, uti sit, lectori imposterum pateat, modo quæ tradita sunt memoria tenere non dedignetur. Hæc cum tu attente perlegeris, & cum reliquis quæ in isto capite exposui contuleris, plene tibi satisfactum iri spero. Quod si quæ postea tibi remanserint dubia, & aliqua restant quæ vel obscura nimis, quorum te fugit sensus, vel parum veritati congrua, quibus assensum præbere non potes, moneas rogo, ut aut te auctore corrigam, aut ulterius explicando, veritatem sua propria luce nitentem tibi ante oculos ponam.

664 *Familiar* LETTERS *between* Mr. LOCKE,

Si qua sunt in epistola tua ad quæ non satis distincte responsum a me credas, ignoscas rogo valetudini parum firmæ, quæ languidiorem me & ad scribendum minus aptum reddit. Quanquam spero ex annexis explanationibus, ex quibus mentem meam percipies, perspicuum tibi fore quid ad singulas dubitationes tuas respondi possit. Vale, Vir optime, & ut facis me ama

Oates, 19 Nov.

1701.

Tui studiosissimum,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH S.P.D.

Vir amplissime,

QUOD lectionem tractatus Episcopii de libero arbitrio tibi commenda-
verim, id eo sine non feci, ut viri illius auctoritate contra te utar;
nihil minus: scio enim in sincera veritatis inquisitione nullam valere
auctoritatem humanam, sed tantum momenta rationum quibus veritas
adstruitur. Nec ego, licet Episcopii sententiam approbem, vellem illius
auctoritate constringi, ut omnia, etiam quæ salva principali veritate in du-
bium vocari possunt, admittam, nedum phrasibus ac loquendi formulis ab ip-
so usurpatis alligari me patiar. Sed illius legendi tibi auctor fui, ut ex illo
cognosceres, nos jam à multo tempore renuntiâsse illi sententiæ quæ statuit
animam intermediis facultatibus agere; sed asseruisse tecum, animam imme-
diate per seipsam intelligere ac velle. Unde cognoscere posses, quando com-
munem loquendi usum secuti utimur vocibus intellectus ac voluntatis, nos iis
non intelligere facultates realiter ad anima distinctas; sed ipsas intelligendi
ac volendi actiones quas anima immediate ex seipsa elicit. Hoc ego etiam
brevioribus verbis significatum dedi in Theologia mea Christiana lib. ii.
cap. xxiii. §. 1, 2. Itaque si per incogitantiam ex inveterata consuetudine
mihi forte exciderit voluntatem esse liberam, rogo ut id meo sensu accipias,
ac si dixissem actio volendi est libera, seu homo in elicienda actione volendi
est liber: ac proinde pro verbis meis, si tua libertatis definitio agnoscat,
*certum est libertatem nullo modo competere voluntati, hæc substituas, certum est actio-
nem volendi neutiquam esse liberam, seu hominem non libere velle.* Gratias interim
tibi ago, quod inconsideratam hanc meam locutionem mihi indicaveris: ego
annitar ut in posterum omnem ambiguam locutionem vitæ, & ab inolita
loquendi consuetudine non abripiar; ne ulla in verbis meis sit obscuritas.

Libertatem ego definivi per dominium in actiones: quia vox Domini tibi
explicatione indigere videtur, simplicius dico libertatem esse facultatem ho-
minis actionem suam vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi: qui alterutrum tantum
potest, non est liber. Per actionem autem ego intelligo actionem quamcun-
que, etiam actiones internas intelligendi ac volendi: circa quasunque actio-
nes non habet homo hanc facultatem eas vel eliciendi, vel non eliciendi,
sed alterutrum tantum potest, hæc non sunt liberæ: & quia illi hanc faculta-
tem tribuo circa actiones volendi, ideo eas liberæ voco: quando hac facul-
tate homo destitutus est, libere nec vult, nec velle potest.

Utinam facultas esset coram tecum de omnibus his differendi, & ex ore
tuo plenior omnium circa quæ hæsito explanationem audiendi; meamque
sententiam, ac loquendi phrasas distincte explicandi, non dubito quin felicius
totam hanc quæstionem terminare possemus. Nunc etiam circa ea,
quæ explanationis gratia addidisti, hæsito, an statuas iudicium illud, quo for-
mato non amplius in homine libertas est non volendi, sit actio mera intelligen-
di, eaque intelligendi actio sit libera vel necessaria: si in ea elicienda homi-
nem liberum agnoscas, non video quis inter nos, quoad summam rei, maneat
dissensus. Sed coram possemus hæc distinctius & exactius expendere;
idque maxime percuperem, ut uterque in hac materia quanta fieri potest per-
spicuitate nos explicemus, & difficultatibus hinc inde oborientibus occurramus.
Nunc quoniam utriusque ætas id neutiquam permittit, quæ misisti, semper

per quando de hac materia ago, consulam, ne aut ipse errem, aut aliis inconsiderata loquendi ratione errandi occasionem præbeam. Vale, Vir amplissime. Salutat te uxor ac filia, omnesque prosperam tibi precamur valetudinem. Generoso Domino Masham gratulamur continuatam dignitatem: illi, ut & Domina Masham totique familiae, ut annus hic ex voto fluat precamur.

Amstelod. 3 Jan.
1702.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

DE Valetudine satis constanti quod scribis maxime lætor, & quod palpitatio illa cordis molesta amplius non fuerit gaudeo. Quæ ad sanitatem tuendam faciunt tam recte & prudenter moderaris, ut sperem te diu ab illo aliisque morbis tutum & sospitem futurum; præcipue si dictæ mediocritati venæ sectionem, si plethoram vel sentias vel metuas, quotiescunque inde malum ingruit, addere velis.

Nunc demum si placet ad diu intermissa studia redeamus. Habeo jam præ manibus literas tuas 3 Januarij datas, in quibus videris mihi dubitare, an ego statuam hominem esse in volendo vel in intelligendo liberum; ita enim quæstionem tuam interpretor: etiam tu rogas an actio volendi vel intelligendi sit libera? Ad quam quæstionem sic respondeo:

1. Generaliter, nempe quod mea sententia homo in omni actione tam volendi quam intelligendi liber est, si ab actione illa volendi aut intelligendi potuit abstinuisse; si non, non.

2. Specialius, quoad voluntatem, aliqui sunt casus in quibus homo non potest non velle, & in omnibus istis volendi actibus homo non est liber, quia non potest non agere. In cæteris ubi potuit velle vel non velle liber est.

3. Quoad actus intelligendi, in ista voce *intelligendi* suspicor latere amphibologiam, nam significare potest actionem cogitandi de aliquo subjecto; & in isto sensu homo plerumque liber est in istiusmodi actionibus intellectus. V. g. possum cogitare de peccato Adami, vel inde amovere cogitationem meam ad urbem Romam, vel ad artem bellicam præsentis sæculi. In quibus omnibus & huiusmodi aliis infinitis liber sum, quia pro libitu meo possum de hoc vel illo cogitare vel non cogitare. Vel actus intelligendi potest sumi pro ea actione qua percipio aliquid esse verum, & in hac actione intelligendi, V. g. quod tres anguli trianguli sunt æquales duobus rectis, homo non est liber, qui excussa demonstratione non potest non hoc intelligere. Homo potest plerumque non aperire oculos, vel non advertere aciem oculorum ad hoc vel illud objectum, verum apertis & conversis ad solem vel lunam oculis, necessario videt & splendorem & figuram quæ se offert intuitui videndam. Quod de oculis dixi ad intellectum transferre licet. Par utrinque est ratio. Sed de his hæcenus. Si satisfactum tibi sit gaudeo. Sin dubia restent utere libertate tua, ego paratus sum & in his & in omnibus quantum in me est tibi obtemperare.

Oates 28 Sept.
1702.

Tui studiosissimus,

J. LOCKE.

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

MUltis me obruis beneficiis, quorum memoriam nulla unquam eluet ætas. Ego hæcenus Dei gratia bene valeo: ante septem circiter hebdomadas plethoram mihi molestanti sensi, sine tamen gravi cordis palpitatione: quare venæ sectionem adhibui, atque ita omnis illa molestia evanuit.

1. Quæ de libertate hominis in actione intelligendi ac volendi scribis, tecum verissima agnosco; nimirum in omnibus actionibus, à quibus homo potuit abstinuisse, esse liberum: minime vero si abstinuisse non potuit.

2. Simi-

2. Similiter, quosdam esse casus, in quibus homo non potest non velle, & non agere; quia facultate non agendi destitutus est. Sed vero in omnibus actibus obedientiæ ab ipso præstandis, & ob quos non præstitos pœnæ reus sit, liberum credo, neque quemquam posse reum pœnæ fieri, ob non præstitum actum sibi minime possibilem, aut ob præstitum sibi inevitabilem: nihil enim homini magis liberum esse debet, quam id ob quod pœnæ reus redditur.

3. Hominem esse liberum, ut contemplationem vel cogitationem suam ab uno objecto avertat & in aliud dirigat, atque hoc respectu in actionibus intellectus liberum dici posse tecum agnosco: Verum hæc actio, si accurate loqui velimus, proprie est actio volendi, non intelligendi: avertit enim homo cogitationes suas ab uno objecto, & in aliud dirigit, quia non vult priores cogitationes continuare, & quia vult novas inchoare. Quod vero actionem intelligendi attinet, qua homo aliquid percipit esse verum, eam recte dicis non esse liberam: idque locum habet tam in percipiendis iis quæ philosophi per solam intelligentiam cognosci dicunt; ut, bis duo sunt quatuor; idem non potest simul esse & non esse, &c. quam illis quæ excussa demonstratione cognosci optimè dicis; videl. tres angulos trianguli esse æquales duobus rectis. Idem etiam locum habere censeo in aliis intelligendi actionibus, quando res est obscura aut dubia, & nullæ sunt rationes eam evidentiter probantes, aut pro utraque sententia rationes sunt æqualis ponderis; tum enim homo necessario aut suspensus est, aut dubitat, aut leviter tantum assentitur, ita tamen ut falli posse se credat. Adeo ut intelligendi actio accommodata sit rationibus ac argumentis, quorum pondere in hanc aut illam partem inclinatur. Qualia plurima sunt in vita humana. Et actio illa intelligendi non mutatur, quamdiu non accedunt novæ rationes, aut rationum quibus rei veritas innititur, clarior & evidentior perceptio. Non nego tamen in ejusmodi cognitione inevidenti fieri posse, quin & sæpius contingere, ut nulla accedente nova luce, aut magis distincta perceptione, homo aut eliciat plenum assensum, aut opinionem suam mutet: verum illa mutatio judicii aut assensus, non procedit ab actione aliqua intelligendi, sed volendi; quia nimirum homo, licet nova ratione minime illustratus judicium suum in alteram partem inclinare vult. Scimus affectus nostros valde inclinare judicium nostrum: itaque indulgendo affectui cuiuspiam qui me in alteram partem impellit, eo etiam judicium & assensum meum inclinare possum. Atque ita judicium hoc meum erit actio mixta, partim intelligendi, partim volendi: quatenus intelligendi est actio, seu rem percipit, est necessaria: verum quicquid in judicio liberum est procedit ab actione volendi: quatenus scilicet ego rationibus allatis acquiescere volo, ut judicium feram. Qualem actionem mixtam ego etiam credo fidem nostram esse, prout explicui in *Theol. mea* *Christ. lib. v. cap. ix. §. 21, 22, 23.* ibique plenius ostendo, quomodo actio intelligendi & volendi in fide christiana concurrunt: solummodo ex inveterata loquendi consuetudine, usus sum vocibus intellectus & voluntatis, quibus actiones intelligendi & volendi designo, juxta ea quæ jam declaraveram *lib. ii. cap. xxiii. §. 1, 2.* Hæc sic distincte considerata existimo: verum nolim ego multum contendere, utrum illa libertas etiam sit dicenda inesse actioni intelligendi, dummodo constet hominem in actione illa liberum esse: & hominem libere ab una cogitatione se convertere in alteram. Distinctione tamen hac adhibita puto rem dilucidius explicari. Et sic etiam similitudo tua ab oculis desumpta plenius applicatur: quod enim homo non aperiat oculos, aut oculorum aciem non advertat, hoc facit quia ita vult: oculi autem quando aperiuntur & in objectum diriguntur, illud quale se oculis repræsentat necessario conspiciunt: si in debita distantia oculis objiciatur, etiam necessario distincte videtur: si nimis remotum sit, distincte videri non potest; neque homo libertatem habet procurandi ut objectum in tali distantia ipsi distincte appareat: sed si distincte contemplari velit, libertatem habet propius accedendi. In his puto nos consentire: atque ita in summa rei nullum esse dissensum, licet forsitan in modo explicandi aliqua discrepantia sit. Vale, Vir amplissime, & salve ab uxore, filia, & me

Amstelod. 27 Oct.

Tui amantissimo,

1702.

P. à LIMBORCH.

JOANNI

JOANNI LOCKE PHILIPPUS à LIMBORCH S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

POSTquam afflicta tua valetudo, præsertim in extrema senectute, nos admodum de te sollicitos habuit, tandem gravior paullo nuntius nos recreavit calore æstatis, qui tamen nunc apud nos calorem vernum non excedit, te nonnihil respirare, & meliuscule te habere. Utinam firmam tibi valetudinem concedat benignum numen, ut quos vitæ tuæ adjicere dignabitur dies iis, quibus te consecrasti, studiis impendas, & donec hujus vitæ usura frueris doctissimis tuis lucubrationibus orbi christiano inservire possis! Quæ tu concordia christianæ jecisti semina, licet nunc ab ingratis conculcentur, gratæ posteritati fructus suos ferent. Quod licet mens mihi certo præfagiat, nihilominus quando servilia plurimorum, & pro auctoritate humana decertantia ingenia considero, ægre sperare licet, eos depositis præjudiciis & affectibus, animo puro ac sincero momenta rationum quibus veritas nititur ponderaturos, ac uni veritati candide cessuros. Etiam reformatos, qui sese opponendo Papatui nulla se humana auctoritate constringi velle aut posse, protestati sunt, nimium humanæ auctoritati tribuere, scriptaque humana majore quam par est in veneratione habere, actus singulis trienniis in patria nostra repetitus, & cujus solennem repetitionem novellæ nostrates paucas ante hebdomadas nobis retulerunt, argumentum est omni exceptione majus: cujus quoniam nunc recens memoria est quia illius narrationem tibi non ingratam fore confido, licet res ipsa maxime displiceat, eam distinctius & cum præcipuis circumstantiis describam. Jam anno CIO IOCXXV. Ordines Generales decreverunt, ut singulis trienniis acta authentica synodi Dordracenæ, quæ Hagæ asservantur, à deputatis ordinum & ecclesiarum inspiciantur: postquam deinde anno CIO IOCXXXVII. prodiit nova bibliorum versio, jussu ejusdem synodi adornata, illius etiam exemplar, à translatoribus & revisoribus, hunc in finem Lugdunum evocatis, ultimo correctum, quod Lugduni Batavorum asservatur, inspicere solet. Redeunte itaque quolibet triennio deputati synodorum Hollandiæ Australis & Borealis cœtum convocant ex omnium provinciarum ecclesiis, necnon ex ecclesia Walonica. Hi patres conscripti ubi convenire, præfidi Ordinum Generalium adventum fratrum indicant: precibus à pastore loci, si cœtus membrum sit, habitis, & literis credentialibus lectis, præses & scriba eliguntur. Præcedentis cœtus acta præleguntur: exinde deputati cœtus ad Ordines Generales mittuntur, ut scriptorum synodaliū visionem petant, & ut aliquos è collegio suo ad eam deputent, locum & tempus statuunt, quin & per epistolam consules Lugdunenses præmoneant, & Collegii regentem, unius clavis custodem, ut adsit, quando Lugdunum convenient ad inspiciendum autographa versionis. His peractis, certa à deputatis Ordinum constituta hora comparent in Ordd. Generalium camera; primo funduntur preces, quibus Deo gratiæ aguntur, quod ecclesiam reformatam à variis erroribus purgaverit, quod synodum ipsis concefferit, cujus acta authentica in præcedente cœtu adhuc incorrupta conspexerunt; & quoniam nunc convenerunt ut ea denuo inspiciant, oratur Deus ut gratiam hanc ipsis concedat, ut integra æque ac incorrupta ab ipsis conspiciantur, perinde uti ante triennium conspecta fuere. Postquam scripta inspecta sunt, gratiæ Deo pro tanto beneficio aguntur, idque depositum denuo tutelæ divinæ committitur, ut in proximo cœtu æque sincerum atque incorruptum reperiatur prout nunc deponitur. Postridie Lugdunum proficiscuntur, & à Magistratu in curiam adsciti authentica versionis inspiciunt. Hæc inspectio similibus precibus inchoatur ac finitur. Exin lauto excipiuntur convivio, in quo à præfide cœtus & scriba deputatis Ordinum & magistratus Lugdunensis gratiæ aguntur, Hagam reversi in actis scribunt, scripta illis integra adhuc, & à vermibus, tinea & muribus inviolata esse reperta: atque ita cœtui finis imponitur. Hæc est illa triennis sollemnitas, visioni scriptorum synodaliū destinata, quam paullo distinctius, variisque circumstantiis vestitam tibi scribere volui, ut, quanta veneratione synodi illius famosæ reliquiæ hic asserventur, cognoscas. Hæc ego excerpti ex narratione cujusdam ministri, qui ipse

cœtus

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cetus illius membrum fuit, scripta inspexit, & in quorundam amicorum gratiam hanc historiolum scripto consignavit. Cui etiam consonant aliorum qui solemnitati illi interfuerunt relationes. Non credo Romæ tanta cum veneratione tantisque sumptibus acta concilii Tridentini inspicere. Ridenda hæc forent, si quorundam privatorum inconsiderato zelo agerentur; nunc, quia auctoritate publica fiunt, dolenda sunt. Quid Gallica synodus nuperime contra D. Clerici versionem Gallicam Novi Testamenti ejusque notas decreverit, quam frivola illius sint criminationes, quam plene brevi scripto edito eas D. Clericus refutaverit, ipse tibi aut jam scripsit, aut brevi, ut credo, scripturus est. Hæc similiaque quando considero, bonæ conscientiæ studio acquiescendum, & neglectis hominum iniquorum molitionibus, veritati ac paci indefesso studio unice litandum, laborumque nostrorum benedictionem à solo Deo, qui è tenebris lucem eruere potest, expectandum esse certus sum. Illius te tutelæ commendo, illum oro ut omnia tibi largiatur fausta ac salutaria, nec non honoratissimæ in qua vivis familiæ. Salutant te, Dominum ac Dominam Masham, una cum dignissima filia ac filio, uxor ac filia. Salutem etiam à me dices D^o. Coste.

Amstelod. Jun. 21.
1704.

Tui amantissimus,

P. à LIMBORCH.

PHILIPPO à LIMBORCH JOANNES LOCKE S. P. D.

Vir amplissime,

PUDET me sane tam diuturni silentii, nec ab infirma & plane fracta valetudine satis excusatum credo, etiamsi admixta etiam aliqua tui reverentia me à scribendo aliquantulum detinuit satis ex ipso morbo desidiosum. Quorsum enim attinet te eruditioribus sermonibus aptum & commerciis literarum docto liberoque animo dignis, ægrotantis querelis, laboriosisque verbis anhelum scriptorem redolentibus fatigare? Juvat tamen experiri amicitiam tuam, veterem amicum etiamsi senio & morbo mutilum ad sepulcrum usque prosequi. Nihil sane jucundius, nec est quod magis animum debilem & languiscentem refocillat, quam constans & vegeta amicorum benevolentia; magnum perfugium humanæ fragilitatis, in quo reperitur magna pars voluptatis, cum reliqua plane insipida sunt & frustra sollicitantur. Gratissimæ igitur mihi fuerunt epistolæ tuæ benevolentia & amicitia plenæ, nec quantum ex illis solatii perceperim ex taciturnitate mea, sed ex voluptate quam profiteor, judicare debes. Ea enim infirmi corporis morbus est, hoc sentientis grati & animi testimonium.

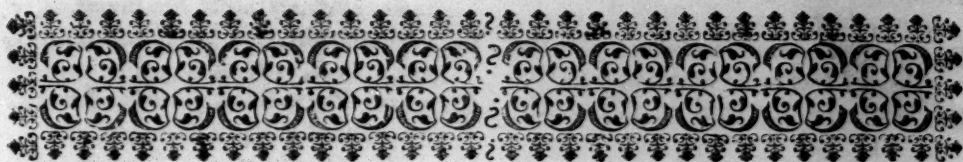
Etiamsi servilium ingeniorum, humana venerantium, exempla cumulate satis mihi obtulit longa dies, nec melior omnino mihi spes est de futuro; donec placuerit Deo optimo maximo ex misericordia sua secundo filii sui adventu restaurare ecclesiam; maxime tamen mihi placuit historia ista quam in novissimis tuis perscripsisti. Actus ille triennalis cum omni suo apparatu partim ridiculo, partim superstitioso, habet in se quod & stomachum & splenem moveat: certe cum omnibus suis circumstantiis ita graphice depictus conservari debet, etiam ubi commode fieri potest typis mandari & in publicum prodire, ut quod privatim obtinet, oculis hominum obversetur, & pudeant qui sic sacris illudunt, Deique nomen sacrosanctum, placitis inventisque suis audacter præfigunt. Viram tibi in utilitatem religionis longam validamque, & in usum familiæ & amicorum tuorum animum precor, uti & omnia prospera tibi tuisque. Optimam tuam sceminam filiamque reliquosque amicos nostros meo nomine rogo officiosissime salutes. Hæc tota familia te tuosque salutat. Vale, Vir amplissime, & me ama

Oates, 4 August.
1704.

Tui amantissimus,

J. LOCKE.

FINIS.



T H E I N D E X

To the T H I R D V O L U M E.

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